

THE
HISTORY OF THE REFORMATION.

THE
HISTORY OF THE REFORMATION
OF THE
CHURCH OF ENGLAND.

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WITH NUMEROUS ILLUSTRATIVE NOTES, AND A COPIOUS INDEX.

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THE HISTORY

REFORMATION OF THE CHURCH OF ENGLAND.

PART IV.—BOOK III.

OF WHAT HAPPENED DURING THE TIME COMPREHENDED IN THE THIRD BOOK OF THE HISTORY OF THE REFORMATION; FROM THE YEAR 1535 TO KING HENRY'S DEATH, ANNO 1546.

KING HENRY seemed not a little pleased with his title of the Supreme Head of the Church of England; of which it was enacted, in the session of parliament that sat after the breach was made with Rome, that it should be for ever joined to the other titles of the crown, and be reckoned one of them. He ordered an office for all ecclesiastical matters, and a seal to be cut; which, in an inhibition sent to the archbishop, in order to a royal visitation of the whole clergy of all England, is, for aught I know, first mentioned. It is dated the 18th of September 1535; and at the end these words are added; "under our seal, that we use in ecclesiastical matters, which we have ordered to be hereunto appended."

The archbishop of Canterbury's title was also in convocation ordered to be altered: instead of the title of legate of the apostolic see, he was to be designated Metropolitan and Primate. This last was one of his antient titles. In that session there was some discourse concerning heresy, and of some English books; in particular of Tindal's books. And there was a book laid before them, with the title of a "Primer;" of which there is no other account given but that from the Rubrics of it, they suspected it was a book not fit to be published. This, it seems, produced a petition to the king, that he would command all heretical books to be called in within a time limited; and that he would appoint the Scripture to be translated in the vulgar tongue; but that though the laity might read it, yet they were to be required not to dispute concerning the catholic faith.

It is very probable that a breach was upon this occasion begun between Cranmer and Gardiner. The sharpness against heresy was probably supported by Gardiner; as the motion for the translation of the Bible was by Cranmer. But when Cranmer, in order to an archiepiscopal visitation of the whole province, having obtained the king's licence for it on the 28th of April, sent out his inhibition, according to form, to the ordinaries during the visitation; upon this Gardiner complained to the king of it for two reasons. He thought the title of Primate of England did derogate from the king's power. The other was, that since his diocese had been visited within five years last passed, and was now to pay for ever tenths to the king, it ought not

to be charged with this visitation. Of this Cromwell gave Cranmer notice. He, on the 12th of May, wrote a vindication of himself, which will be found in the Col. Num. 37. Collection.

“He believed that Gardiner (who wanted neither law, invention, nor craft, to set out his matters to the best advantage), studied to value himself upon his zeal for the king’s supremacy, that so he might seem more concerned for that than for himself. Cranmer laid himself and all his titles at the king’s feet: but he wrote why did not Gardiner move this sooner? for he had received his monition on the 20th of April. The pope did not think it lessened his supremacy, that he had many primates under him: no more did his title lessen the king’s supremacy. Gardiner knew well, that if the pope had thought those subaltern dignities had weakened his supreme one, he would have got all the bishops to be put on the level, there being many contentions concerning jurisdiction in the court of Rome. But if all the bishops of the kingdom set no higher value on their styles and titles than he did, the king should do in those matters what he pleased: for if he thought that his style was in any sort against the king’s authority, he would beg leave to lay it down. He felt in his heart that he had no sort of regard to his style or title, further than as it was for the setting forth of God’s word and will; but he would not leave any just thing at the pleasure of the bishop of Winchester, he being no otherwise affectionate to him than he was. In the apostles’ days there was a Diotrephes, who loved the pre-eminence; and he had more successors than all the other apostles, from whom all glorious titles and much pomp was come into the church. He wished that he and all his brethren might leave all their styles, and call themselves only the apostles of Jesus Christ; so that they took not the name vainly, but were such indeed; and did order their dioceses, so that not parchment, lead, or wax, but the conversation of their people might be the seals of their office; as St. Paul said the Corinthians were to him.” He answers the other part very fully; but that will be found in the letter itself; it not being of that importance to deserve that any abstract should be made of it.

It was soon observed, that there was a great faction formed against any reformation in doctrine or worship; and that those who favoured and promoted it, were ill-used by the greater part of the bishops: of which I shall give one instance, and by it one may judge of the rest, for I have seen many complaints to the same purpose. Barlow was, by queen Anne’s favour, made prior of Haverfordwest in Pembrokeshire. He set himself to preach the pure gospel there, and found many were very desirous to hear it; but he was in danger of his life daily by reason of it: and an accusation being brought against him by a black friar there, set on by Rawlins, then bishop of St. David’s, who both rewarded him for it, and recommended him to the Arches: for Barlow had appealed to the king. He owns that by Cromwell’s favour, their design against him was defeated: but he having sent a servant home about business, the bishop’s officers cited him to their courts, and ransacked his house, where they found an English Testament, with an exposition of the sermon on the mount, and of some other parts of the New Testament. Upon this they clamoured against him as a heretic for it. They charged the mayor of the town to put him and some others in prison, seeking by all means to find witnesses against them; but none appearing, they were forced to let them go, but valued themselves upon their zeal against heresy. He sets forth the danger that all were in who desired to live according to the laws of God, as became faithful subjects: for in that multitude of monks, friars, and secular priests, that was then in those parts, there was not one that sincerely preached the word of God, and very few that favoured it. He complains of the enormous vices, fraudulent exactions, and heathenish idolatry, that was shamefully supported under the clergy’s jurisdiction; of which he offered to make full proof if it should be demanded and received: but that being done, he desired leave to remove from thence; for he could neither go home nor stay there safely, without a special protection. This letter will be found in the Collection.

Barlow was that year made bishop of St. Asaph, and the year after was translated to St. David’s; and was after that removed to Wells, but driven out by queen Mary; and was made bishop of Chichester by queen Elizabeth, in which he lived ten years.

Bishops proceeded against those who desired a Reformation.

Collection, Number 38.

The secret opposition that the bishops gave to the steps made towards a reformation, obliged Cromwell to send many agents in whom he trusted up and down the nation, to observe all men's tempers and behaviour. Legh, among others, being sent to York, did (in January) enjoin the archbishop, by an order from the king, to preach the word of God, and to set forth the king's prerogative. He also enjoined him to bring up to the king all the foundations of his see, and all commissions granted to it. In these, he did not doubt, but they would find many things fit to be reformed: and he advised that every bishop might be so ordered, that their dioceses might be better instructed and edified. That would establish them in their fidelity to the king

Collection,
Number 39.

and to his succession: but the jurisdictions might be augmented or diminished, as should seem convenient. This letter, which will be found in the Collection, opens a design that I find often mentioned, of calling in all the pope's bulls and all the charters belonging to the several sees, and regulating them all. But, perhaps, the first design being the suppressing the monasteries, it was not thought fit to alarm the secular clergy till that was once done: yet the order for sending up all bulls was at the same time

Collection,
Number 40.

generally executed. There is a letter of Tonsal's, writ soon after this to Cromwell, put in the Collection, in which he mentions the king's letters to all the bishops to come up immediately after the feast of the purification, with all the bulls they had obtained from Rome at any time. But the king considering that Tonsal had gone down but late, ordered Dr. Layton to write to him that he needed not come up; but advised that he should write to the king that he was ready to do as other bishops did, and to deliver up all such bulls as the king desired of him. Layton wrote to him that Cromwell, as his friend, had assured the king that he would do it.

In answer to this, Tonsal thanked him for his kindness on that and on many other occasions. "He did not understand to what intent these bulls were called for (and it seems he apprehended it was to have all the bishops give up their right to their bishoprics), yet he had sent them all up to be delivered at the king's pleasure: he adds, that he hoped by this demand, the king did not intend to make him leave his bishopric, and both to turn him out of his living, and to ruin all his servants, that had their living only by him; in which he wrote he could not be thought either ambitious or unreasonable: so he desired to know what the king's pleasure was; not doubting but that the king would use him as well as he used the other bishops in the kingdom, since as he had obtained these bulls by him, he had renounced everything in them that was contrary to his prerogative. He had but five bulls,

Cotton Libr.
Cleop. E. 4.

for the rest were delivered to those to whom they were addressed: so he commits himself to the king's goodness, and to Cromwell's favour." Dating his letter from Aukland the 29th of January, which must be in the year 1538.

Tonsal might be under more than ordinary apprehensions of some effect of the king's displeasure; for as he had opposed the declaring him to be the Supreme Head in the convocation of York; so he had stuck firmly to the asserting the lawfulness of the king's marriage to queen Katherine. Before the meeting of the parliament, on which that matter was determined; he with the proxy that he sent to the bishop of Ely, wrote him a letter, of which Mr. Richard Jones saw the original, which he has inserted in his voluminous collections that are in the Bodleian library; in which these words are, after he had told him that he had given him full power to consent or dissent from everything that was to be proposed: he adds,

"Yet, nevertheless, I beseech you, if anything harmful or prejudicial in any point to the marriage between the king's highness and the queen's grace shall be proposed, wherein our voices shall be demanded; in your own name say what you will, and what God putteth in your mind: but I desire you, and on God's behalf I require you, never in my name to consent to any such thing proposed, either harmful or prejudicial to the marriage aforesaid; but expressly to dissent unto the same: and for your discharge on that behalf, ye may show, when you think it requisite, this my particular declaration of my mind, made unto you therein: and what I have willed and required you to do in my name in this point, praying your lordship not to do otherwise in my name, as my singular trust is in you, that ye will not." Dated from Aukland in January, but neither day nor year are mentioned.

The session of parliament in which the act of the succession passed, by which the king's marriage with queen Katherine was condemned, meeting in January, this letter seems to be written before that session; and yet no opposition was made to that act in the house of lords, either by the bishop of Ely or by the bishop of Bath, whom he had made his second proxy as appears by the same letter, in which he is also named: the act passed so soon, that it was read the first time on the 20th of March, and passed on the 23rd in the house of lords, without either dissent or protest. It is also certain that Tonsal afterwards took the oath enjoined by that act. But how these bishops came to be so silent upon that occasion, being so solemnly required to do otherwise by Tonsal; and how he himself came to change and to take the oath, is that of which I can give no account. It is certain king Henry had a very particular regard for him; but yet by this letter it appears that he had some fears of a severity aimed at himself: but he was afterwards in all things very compliant, even to the end of king Edward's reign.

Cotton Libr.
Cleop. E. 4.

There came up from all parts of the kingdom many complaints of the ill-behaviour and bad practices of the monks and friars: of the last chiefly, for the Mendicant order being always abroad begging, they had many more occasions to show themselves: and though the monks had not those occasions to be in all public places, yet it was very visible that they were secretly disposing the people to a revolt. So it was resolved to proceed against them all by degrees: and after the visitations and injunctions, which had no great effect, they began with the smaller houses that were not above 200*l.* a year: this swept away at once all the Mendicants, who were the most industrious, and by consequence the most dangerous.

The archbishop of York was much suspected; and if many apologies look like intimations of some guilt, he had a great deal, for he took many occasions to justify himself. Upon the act for taking all the lesser monasteries into the king's hands, he expressed great zeal in serving the king, which appeared in a letter of his to Cromwell in April 1536. He gave a strict commandment to his archdeacons to warn all in the monasteries within the act, not to embezzle or to convey away any thing belonging to the house; and if they had done any such thing to restore it. He ordered them to give warning to all others not to meddle with any such goods. He had also warned the mayor of York and his brethren, and the master of the mint there, to receive none of the goods or plate of these monasteries: having thus expressed his care in that matter, he made an earnest suit for two places that were of the patronage of his see. The one was St. Oswalds, which was a free chapel; the prior was removable at the archbishop's pleasure, and he might put secular priests in it if he pleased. The other was Hexham upon the borders of Scotland, which was once an episcopal see; and there not being a house between Scotland and that lordship, if that house should go down, there would be a great waste that would run far into the country: whether he obtained these suits or not, does not appear to me: after that he adds, that he had given order that no preachers should be suffered that preached novelties, and did sow seeds of dissension: some after that they were forbid to preach, did go on and preach still, he had ordered process against them; some of them said they would get the king's licence: if that were done, he must be silent, but he hoped Cromwell would hinder that, and give him notice if they had obtained the king's licence: some said they had the archbishop of Canterbury's licence; but none of these should be obeyed there, none but the king's licences and his.

Upon the many complaints of preachers of all sorts, king Henry wrote a circular letter to all the bishops on the 12th of July, letting them know that, considering the diversity of opinion in matters of religion, he had appointed the convocation to set forth certain articles of religion most catholic; but, to prevent all distraction in the minds of his people, he ordered that, till that was published, no sermons should be preached till Michaelmas, unless by the bishop, or in his presence, or in his cathedral, where he is to take care to furnish such as he can answer for: every bishop is therefore required to call in all his licences for preaching, and to publish this in the king's name. He is also required to imprison all those who acted against this order, and not to suffer any private conventicles or disputations about these matters. To this is added a direction for the "bidding of prayers;" that they should pray for departed souls,

Reg. Heref.
Fox, Fol. 6.
All Preaching
is for some
Time prohi-
bited.

that God would grant them the fruition of his presence : and a strict charge is laid on curates, that when the articles of religion shall be sent them they should read them to their people without adding or diminishing, excepting only such to whom he shall, under his seal, give power to explain them.

The blind bishop of Norwich, Nix, was condemned in a *præmunire*, and put out of the king's protection, for breaking through a custom that the town of Thetford had enjoyed past all memory,—that no inhabitant of that town could be brought into any ecclesiastical court, but before the dean of that town ; yet that old and vicious bishop cited the mayor before him, and charged him, under the pain of excommunication, not to admit of that custom. Upon this, judgment was given in the temporal courts against the bishop ; but he was now received into the king's protection. In the pardon, mention is made of his being convicted upon the statute of provisors. Stokesly, bishop of London, was charged with the breach of the same statute, for which he took out a pardon.

During these years, Cromwell carried no higher character than that of secretary of state ; but all applications were made to him in ecclesiastical matters : so whether this was Rymer.

only by reason of his credit with the king, or if he was then made vicar-general, does not appear to me. But as the king took care to keep all things quiet at home, so he set himself to cultivate a particular friendship with the princes of the empire of the Augsburg confession, hoping by their means to be able to give the emperor a powerful diversion if he should go about to execute the pope's censures. The king of France had been for some time endeavouring to beget a confidence of himself in the minds of those

A Treaty with the Lutheran Princes.

princes, pretending that he was neither for the divine nor the unbounded authority that the popes had assumed, but only he thought it was reasonable to allow them a primacy in the church, and to set limits to that. Langey was the person most employed in the managing of this matter : but when the king came to understand that the king of France had sent for Melancthon, being then at Langley, he ordered the duke of Norfolk and the lord Rochford to write to Cromwell, commanding him to despatch Barnes immediately to Germany ; and to use such diligence, that if it was possible he might meet Melancthon before he was gone into France, and to dissuade his going thither, since the French king was then persecuting those who did not submit to the pope's usurped authority. He was to use all possible arguments to divert him from going, and to persuade him all he could to come over to England ; showing him the conformity of the king's opinions with his own, and setting forth the king's noble and generous temper. But if he was gone into France, Barnes was to go on to the princes of Germany, and Cromwell was to send a messenger with him, to be sent back with an account of the state of matters among them. He was to engage the princes to continue firm in the denial of the pope's authority, in which their honour was deeply concerned ; and they might depend upon the king in that matter, who had proceeded in it with the advice of the most part of the great and famous clerks in Christendom, from which he would never vary, nor alter his proceedings. Barnes was to carry over a book written on that subject, and some sermons of the bishops, and to put the princes on their guard as to the French king ; for he assured them that both he and his council were altogether papists.

Barnes was likewise directed to send Hains (afterwards dean of Exeter) and Christopher

Mount (an honest German, who was long employed by the crown of England,) to sir John Wallop, the king's ambassador in France, on pretence that they went as Barnes sent to them.

his friends to visit him. If Melancthon was in France, they were to go secretly to him to dissuade his stay long there, or his altering his opinion in any particular. Some copies of the book and the sermons were to be carried by them to France. If it is true that the king of France was so set to maintain the pope's supremacy, Wallop was to represent to him how contrary that was to his honour to subject himself to the pope, and to persuade others to do the same ; and to charge him that he would remember his promise to maintain the king's cause and proceedings ; and since the king did not move the subjects of any other prince, why should the French king study to draw the Germans from their opinion in that matter which the king thought himself much concerned in, since it was so much against the king's interest and his own promise. Wallop was to use all means to incline him rather to

be of the king's opinion. They also ordered Cromwell to write to the bishop of Aberdeen, that the king took it very unkindly that his nephew, the king of Scotland, was suing to marry the duke of Vendome's daughter without his advice: he had proposed it to him before, and then he would not hearken to it. This negligence the king imputed to that bishop and to the rest of the Scottish council: the latter concludes that Barnes should not be stayed for further instructions from the bishop of Canterbury: these should be sent afterwards by the almoner (Fox). This letter will be found in the Collection.

Col. Num. 42.

This came soon enough to stop Melancthon's journey to France. The great-master and the admiral of France did not think of anything with relation to Germany, but of a civil league, to embroil the emperor's affairs: they were against meddling in points of religion, and so were against Melancthon's coming to France. They were afraid that the French divines and he would not agree; and that might alienate the German princes yet more from the court of France. Hains and Mount wrote this over from Rheims, on the 8th of August, 1535. It is true, Langey was sent to bring him, hoping to meet him at Wirtemberg; but he was not come thither; only the heads of their doctrine were sent to him: with these he came back to France. The king's divines made some emendations, which Langey said to Mount he believed the Germans would submit to: and so he was sent back, with a gold chain and letters, to bring Melancthon, and six other eminent German divines with him. Of this, Mount gave the king advice, the 7th of September, in that year.

Melancthon's
going to
France pre-
vented.
Paper-Office.

This whole matter came to nothing; for Francis's sister, the queen of Navarre, was the person who pressed him chiefly to it, hoping by this, once to engage him in some point of doctrine which, as she hoped, might draw on a rupture with Rome. But his ministers diverted him from all thoughts of engaging in doctrinal matters; and they put him on entering into a league with the princes of the empire only with relation to their temporal concerns. Nor were the German princes willing to depart in a tittle from the Augsburg confession, or enter upon new treaties about points that were settled already among them, which might give occasion to new divisions among themselves. And no doubt the king's interposing in the matter with such earnestness had great weight with them: so he was delivered from the alarm that this gave him. But to go on with our king's affairs in Germany.

Fox, with Heath (on whom Melancthon set a high value), was sent soon after Barnes, to negotiate with the Germans. He had many conferences with some of their divines; and entered into a large treaty, about several articles of religion, with those of Wittemberg, which lasted three months, to the elector's great charge, and the uneasiness of the Germans.

Seck. 1. 3,
§ 13, par. 39.
Fox sent to
Germany.

Melancthon had dedicated his Commentary on the Epistles to the king, who sent him (upon it) a present of two hundred crowns, and wrote a letter to him full of particular expressions of esteem, and assurances that he would always assist him in those his pious labours; dated from Winchester, the 1st of October, 1535. Fox seemed to assure them that the king would agree with them in all things; and told them that the king had already abolished the popish superstitious, which he called the Babylonish tyranny; calling the pope antichrist. They of Wittemberg insisted on the abuses of the mass, and on the marriage of the clergy; and took notice that the king had only taken away some smaller abuses, while the greatest were still kept up. So that Melancthon wrote on the margin of their paper, at this part of it, in Greek, "Nothing sound." All this was sent over to the king, but did not at all please him; for, in an answer written by Cromwell, these words are a part of it: "The king knowing himself to be the learnedest prince in Europe, he thought it became not him to submit to them; but he expected they should submit to him." They, on the other hand, saw the great advantage of his protection and assistance; so that they brought Luther to make an humble submission to him, asking him pardon for the manner of his writing against him, which I find intimated, though it never came in my way. They studied also to gain both upon his vanity—offering him the title of the defender, or "protector of their league,"—and on his interest, by entering into a close confederacy with him.

It was an opinion, common enough in that time, that the emperor was the sovereign of

Germany. Gardiner, in several of his letters, seems to be of that mind; and upon that account he endeavoured to possess the king with a prejudice against his treating with them, that it was to animate subjects to revolt against their prince: whereas, by the constitution and laws of the empire, the princes had secured to themselves the right of coining, fortifying, arming, and entering into treaties, not only with one another, but with foreign princes, for their defence. A homage was indeed due to the emperor, and a much greater submission was due to the diet of the empire; but the princes were sovereigns in their own territories, as the Hanse towns were free states. Fox pressed them to approve of all that the king had done in the matter of his divorce, and of his second marriage. To which they gave the answer that I had inserted in my History, among the transactions of the year 1530: but the noble Seckendorf shows that it was sent in the year 1536. In their answer, as they excused themselves from giving their opinion in that matter till they were better informed, they added (which, it seems, was suppressed by Fox), "Though we do agree with the ambassadors, that the law against marrying the brother's wife ought to be kept, yet we are in doubt whether a dispensation might not take place in this case, which the ambassadors denied; for that law cannot oblige us more strictly than it did the Jews. And if a dispensation was admitted to them, we think the bond of matrimony is stronger." Luther was vehemently against the infamy put on the issue of the marriage: he thought the lady Mary was cruelly dealt with when she was declared a bastard. Upon queen Katherine's death, they earnestly pressed the restoring her to her former honour; so true were they to that which was their principle, without regarding the great advantage they saw might come to them from the protection of so great a king.

His ambassadors, at that time, gave these princes an advertisement of great importance to them, that was written over to the king by Wiat, then his ambassador in Spain: that the emperor had, in a passionate discourse with him, called both the elector and the landgrave his enemies and rebels. The truth was, the elector did not entirely depend on all that Fox said to him: he thought the king had only a political design in all this negotiation, intending to bring them into a dependence on himself without any sincere intentions with relation to religion. So he being resolved to adhere firmly to the Augsburg confession, and seeing no appearance of the king's agreeing to it, he was very cold in the prosecution of this negotiation. But the princes and states of that confession met at this time at Smalcald, and settled the famous Smalcaldic league, of which the king's ambassadors sent him an authentic copy, with a translation of it in English, which the reader will find in the Col. Num. 43. Collection.

By it, "John Frederick, elector of Saxony, with his brother Ernest; Philip, Ernest, and Francis, dukes of Brunswick; Ulric, duke of Wirtemberg, Philip, landgrave of Hesse, the dukes of Pomeran; four brothers, princes of Anhalt; two brothers, counts of Mansfield; the deputies of twenty-one free towns" (which are not named in any order, for Hamburg and Lubeck are the last, save one; but, to avoid disputes, they were named in the order in which they came, and produced their powers): all these "did, on behalf of themselves and their heirs, seeing the dangers of that time, and that many went about to disturb those who suffered the sincere doctrine of the gospel to be preached in their territories; and who, abolishing all abuses, settled such ceremonies as were agreeable to the word of God; from which their enemies studied to divert them by force and violence: and since it was the magistrate's duty to suffer the sincere word of God to be preached to his subjects, and to provide that they be not violently deprived of it; therefore, that they might provide for the defence of themselves and their people, which is permitted to every man, not only by the law of nature, but also by the written laws, they entered into a Christian, lawful, and friendly league, by which they bound themselves to favour all of their body, and to warn them of any imminent danger, and not to give their enemies passage through their territories. This was only for their own defence, and not to move any war. So if any of them should be violently assaulted for the cause of religion, or on any pretence, in which the rest should judge that religion was the true motive, the rest of the confederacy were bound, with all their force and power, to defend him who was so assaulted, in such a manner as, for the circumstances of the time, shall be adjudged: and none of them might make any agreement or truce without the

consent of the rest. And that it might not be understood that this was any prejudice to the emperor their lord, or to any part of the empire, they declare, that it was only intended to withstand wrongful violence. They also resolved to receive all into this confederacy who received the Augsburg confession, and desired to be joined to it. And whereas the confederacy made six years before was to determine on the Sunday *Invocavit* of the following year, in which the princes of Wirtemberg, Pomeran, and Anhalt, and six of the cities, were not comprehended, they received them into this confederacy, which was to last for ten years after the Sunday *Invocavit*. And if any war should be begun, but not finished within these ten years, yet it shall be continued till the war is brought to an end; but at the end of the ten years, it shall be lawful to the confederates to prolong it further. And they gave their faith to one another to observe this religiously; and set their seals to it."

On the same day, the king's answer was offered to the demands the princes had made: both which are in the Paper-office, and both will be found in the Collection. Col.Num.44. Their demands were, "That the king would set forth the true doctrine of Christ, according to the Augsburg confession; and that he would defend that doctrine at the next general council, if it be pious, catholic, free, and truly Christian: and that neither the king, nor the princes and states of that union, should, without mutual consent, agree to any indiction of a general council made by the bishop of Rome; but that if such a council should be called, as they had desired in their answer to Vergerius, the pope's ambassador, it should not be refused: and that if a council shall be celebrated, to which the king and these princes do not agree, they shall (to their power) oppose it. And that they will make protestations against it; that they will not obey any constitution made in it; nor suffer any decrees made in it to be obeyed, but will esteem them null and void; and will make their bishops and preachers declare that to their people. That the king will associate himself to the league, and accept the name of the defender or protector of it. That they will never suffer the monarchy of the bishop of Rome to take place; nor grant that it is expedient that he should have pre-eminence before all other bishops, or have any jurisdiction in the dominions of the king and of the princes. That upon these grounds they enter into a league with one another. And in case of any war, either for the cause of religion, or any other cause whatsoever, that they should not assist those who begin any such war. That the king shall lay down a hundred thousand crowns, which it shall be lawful to the confederates to make use of as a moiety of that which they themselves shall contribute; and, if need be, in any cause of urgent necessity, to contribute two hundred thousand crowns, they joining as much of their own money to it. And if the war shall end sooner than that all the money is employed in it, what remains shall be restored to the king. And they assured him, that they should not convert this money to any other use, but to the defence of the cause of religion, together with their own money. And since the king's ambassadors were to remain some time in Germany, disputing with their learned men about some points, they desire that they may know the king's mind, and that he will signify it to the elector of Saxony and the landgrave of Hesse; and then the princes will send their ambassadors, and a learned man with them, to confer with the king about the articles of doctrine and the ceremonies of the church."

To these the king sent two different answers, one after another. The first, that will be found in the Collection, was, "That the king intended to set forth the true Col.Num.45. doctrine of Christ, which he was ready to defend with life and goods; but that he being reckoned somewhat learned, and having many learned men in his kingdom, he could not think it meet to accept at any creature's hand what should be his faith or his kingdom's, the only ground of which was in Scripture; with which he desired they would not be grieved; but that they would send over some of their learned men to confer with him and his learned men, to the intent that they might have a perfect union in faith. He would also join with them in all general councils that were catholic, free, and held in a safe place for the defence of the true doctrine of the gospel. And as for ceremonies, there may be such a diversity in these used through the whole world, that he thought that ought to be left to the governors of the several dominions, who know best what is convenient for themselves. He agreed, that neither he nor they should accept of the indiction of a general council, but

by all their mutual consent; but that if such a free council may be held in a safe place, it shall not be refused. The king did not think fit to accept the title offered by them, till first they should be thoroughly agreed upon the articles of doctrine; but that being once done, he would thankfully accept of it. To that of a defensive league, he added one clause—that they should not suffer any of their subjects to serve those who set on them in any such war. He thought it not reasonable that he should bear any share of the wars already past (which it seems was secretly mentioned, though not expressed in their demands), but for the future he was willing to contribute a hundred thousand crowns as they desire.” Upon further considering their demands, the king sent a second and fuller answer, which will be likewise found in the Collection.

“It begins with very tender expressions of the sense the king had of their benevolence to him, and of their constancy in adhering to the truth of the gospel. He acknowledges the goodness of God in giving them such stedfastness and strength: their wondrous virtues had so ravished the king, that he was determined to continue in a correspondence of love with them on all occasions.” Then follow some explanations of the former memorial, but not very important, nor differing much from it; only he lets them know “that it was not for any private necessity of his own that he was moved to join in league with them; for by the death of a woman all calumnies were extinct (this is meant of queen Anne), so that neither the pope nor the emperor, nor any other prince, had then any quarrel with him: yet, that they might know his good affection to them, he would contribute the sum they desired, and upon the terms they proposed; only, on his part, he demanded of them, that in case any prince invaded his dominions on the account of religion, that they would furnish him, at their expense, with five hundred horsemen, completely armed, or ten ships, well arrayed for war, to serve for four months. And that it should be at the king’s choice, whether horse or ships. And that they should retain, at the king’s charge, such a number of horse and foot as the king should need, not exceeding the number of two hundred horse and five thousand foot; or, instead of the foot, twelve ships in order, with all things necessary, which the king might keep in his service as long as he pleased. And last of all, that the confederates will promise, in all councils, and everywhere else, to promote and defend the opinion that Dr. Martin (so they named Luther), Justus, Jonas, Cruciger, Pomeran, and Melancthon had of his marriage.” This negotiation sunk to a great degree upon queen Anne’s tragical fall; and as the king thought they were no more necessary to him, so they saw his intractable humour, and had no hope of succeeding with him unless they would have allowed him a dictatorship in matters of religion. Yet, to end all this negotiation at once,

The elector of Saxony and the landgrave of Hesse wrote a letter to the king, which will be found in the Collection, taken from the original, occasioned by pope Paul III.’s summoning a general council to meet at Mantua on the 23rd of May, “upon which the emperor had sent messengers to them to give them notice of it, and to require them to come to it, either in person or by their proctors. But though they had always desired a council for the reforming of those abuses that had continued so long by the negligence or corruption of popes and prelates, yet in this bull the pope clearly insinuates that he will not suffer the restoring of true doctrine, or the correcting of abuses to be treated of; but that their doctrine, without any examination, was to be condemned with infamy. He also endeavoured to oblige all by the receiving of his bull, without taking cognizance of the matter, to extirpate and destroy the doctrine they professed. So that if they had accepted the bull, they had seemed to be involved in that design. They therefore told the emperor’s minister, that they looked on that bull as unjust and pernicious; and they desired he would let the emperor know that they could not accept of it. They did not doubt but the pope, or his party about the king, would, upon this occasion, pretend that the pope had done his duty, and would study to load them with ill characters; so they thought it necessary to justify themselves to the king and other princes on this occasion.

“They sent over with this a full vindication of their proceedings, which they desired the king would read; and that he would consider not only the present danger of the Germans, but the common concern of the whole church, in which it was visible that all good discipline

was lost ; and that great and worthy men had wished and desired that some received abuses, that could not be denied, might be amended. Therefore they recommend the cause of the church and their own cause to his care." This is dated the 25th of March, 1537.

I have, in my other work, given an account of the ambassadors whom they sent into England, of the representations they made, and of a full paper that they offered to the king. To all which I have nothing now to add, but that I have found a letter of Cranmer's to Col. Num. 48. Cromwell, which I have put in the Collection, in which he complains of the backwardness of the bishops. The ambassadors had been desired to tarry one month, that their book might be considered ; but though he moved them to treat about it, as they had done upon other articles, they answered him they knew the king had taken it on himself to answer them, and that a book to that end was already devised by him ; therefore they would not meddle with the abuses complained of. The bishops desired that the archbishop would go on to treat of the sacraments of matrimony, orders, confirmation, and extreme unction ; in which they knew certainly that the Germans would not agree with them, except only in matrimony. " He saw the bishops were seeking an occasion to break the concord, and that nothing would be done unless there came a special command from the king. They saw they could not defend the abuses, and yet they would not yield that point. He complains likewise that the ambassadors were very ill lodged ; multitudes of rats were running in their chambers, day and night ; and their kitchen was so near their parlour, that the smell was offensive to all that came to them. He wishes that a more convenient house might be offered them."

It is true the king used them with a particular civility, and spoke to them before all his court in a most obliging manner, and often wished that Melancthon might be sent over to him. Cranmer and Cromwell used them with all possible kindness. Cranmer wrote often by them to the elector, exhorting him to continue firm and zealous for the truth and purity of the gospel : but under all the shows of the king's favour, they understood that his heart was turned from them. He wrote, when he dismissed them, to the elector, in terms full of esteem for their ambassadors : " Not doubting but good effects would follow on this beginning of the conferences with them : but the matter being of the greatest importance, it

Seck. L. 3. ought to be very maturely considered. He again desired that Melancthon might Par. 66. be sent over to him, that he might treat with him, promising that he would apply himself wholly to what became a Christian prince to pursue." Dated the 1st of October 1538. During this embassy there was an anabaptist seized by the landgrave of Hesse, in whose papers they found that he had some followers in England, that he had hopes of great success there, and was designing to go thither, but he said he was forbidden by the Spirit : upon this they wrote an account of all they found to the king, and gave him a description of the anabaptists of Germany. They were much spread through Frisia and Westphalia and in the Netherlands ; chiefly in those places where none of their preachers were tolerated. The not baptising infants was the known character of the party ; but with this, they were for a community of goods : they condemned all magistracy, and all punishing of crimes, which they thought was revenge forbidden by Christ : they condemned all oaths, and were against all order and government. They seemed to be Manicheans in religion : they despised the Scriptures, and pretended to particular illuminations ; and allowed both polygamy and divorce at a man's pleasure : and wheresoever their numbers increased, they broke out into sedition and rebellion. They wrote all this to the king in a letter, that by the style is believed to be penned by Melancthon, both to let him see how far they themselves were from favouring such corruptions, and to put the king on his guard against them.

Here ends this negotiation ; for I find no mark of any further commerce between them : and though this run out far beyond the year 1535, in which it was begun, yet I thought it best to lay it all together, and so to dismiss it. The unlooked-for accidents that happened in England, had wrought much on the king's temper ; his own inclinations were still biassing him to adhere to the old opinions and practices ; and the popish party watched and improved all advantages, of which a very signal one happened soon to their great joy.

Queen Katherine, or, as she was called, the princess dowager, died first. I have nothing to add concerning her, but that I fell on a report of a conversation that sir Edmond Bedingfeld and Mr. Tyrrel had with her, in which she solemnly protested to them that prince Arthur never knew her carnally, and insisted much on it; and said many others were assured of it. But on the contrary, Bedingfeld urged very fully all the probabilities that were to the contrary; and said, that whatever she said on that subject, it was little believed, and it seemed not credible. The tragedy of queen Anne followed soon after this: it broke out on the 1st of May, 1536, but it seems it was concerted before; for a parliament was summoned, at least the writs were tested the 27th of April before.

There is a long account of her sufferings given by Meteren in that excellent history that he wrote of the "Wars in the Netherlands," which he took from a full relation of it given by a French gentleman, Crispin, who was then in London, and as *Meteren, Hist. des Pays Bas, L. 1. F. 20.* Meteren relates the matter, wrote without partiality. He begins it thus:—"There was a gentleman who blamed his sister for some lightness that appeared in her behaviour: she said the queen did more than she did, for she admitted some of her court to come into her chamber at undue hours; named the lord Rochford, Norris, Weston, Brereton, and Smeton the musician: and she said to her brother, that Smeton could tell much more." All this was carried to the king.

When the matter broke out on the 1st of May, the king, who loved Norris, sent for him, and said, if he would confess those things with which the queen was charged, he should neither suffer in his person nor his estate, nor so much as be put in prison: but if he did not confess, and were found guilty, he should suffer the extremity of the law. Norris answered, he would much rather die than be guilty of such falsehood: that it was all false, which he was ready to justify in a combat against any person whatsoever: so he was sent with the rest to the Tower. The confession of Smeton was all that was brought against the queen: he, as was believed, was prevailed on to accuse her; yet he was condemned contrary to the promise that had been made him: but it was pretended that his crime was, that he had told his suspicions to others, and not to the king: and when it was alleged that one witness was not sufficient, it was answered that it was sufficient. He adds that the queen was tried in the Tower, and that she defended her honour and modesty in such a way, as to soften the king (for she knew his temper) by such humble deportment, to favour her daughter. She was brought to her trial without having any advocate allowed her; having none but her maids about her. A chair was set for her, and she looked to all her judges with a cheerful countenance, as she made her curtsies to them without any fear: she behaved herself as if she had been still queen: she spoke not much in her own defence; but the modesty of her countenance pleaded her innocence much more than the defence that she made; so that all who saw her, believed her innocent. Both the magistrates of London, and several others who were there, said, they saw no evidence against her; only it appeared that they were resolved to be rid of her.

She was made to lay aside all the characters of her dignity, which she did willingly, but still protested her innocence. When she heard the sentence that she was to be beheaded or burnt, she was not terrified; but lifted up her hands to God and said; "O Father! O Creator! Thou, who art the Way, the Truth, and the Life; Thou knowest that I have not deserved this death!" And turning herself to her judges (her uncle, the duke of Norfolk, being the lord high steward), she said, "My lords, I will not say that your sentence is unjust; nor presume that my opinion ought to be preferred to the judgment of you all. I believe you have reasons, and occasions of suspicion and jealousy, upon which you have condemned me: but they must be other than those that have been produced here in court; for I am entirely innocent of all these accusations; so that I cannot ask pardon of God for them. I have been always a faithful and loyal wife to the king. I have not, perhaps, at all times showed him that humility and reverence, that his goodness to me, and the honour to which he raised me, did deserve. I confess I have had fancies and suspicions of him, which I had not strength nor discretion enough to manage: but God knows, and is my witness, that I never failed otherwise towards him: and I shall never confess any other at the hour of my

death. Do not think that I say this on design to prolong my life : God has taught me to know how to die ; and he will fortify my faith. Do not think that I am so carried in my mind, as not to lay the honour of my chastity to heart ; of which I should make small account now in my extremity, if I had not maintained it in my whole life long, as much as ever queen did. I know these, my last words, will signify nothing, but to justify my honour and my chastity. As for my brother and those others who are unjustly condemned, I would willingly suffer many deaths to deliver them : but since I see it so pleases the king, I must willingly bear with their death, and shall accompany them in death, with this assurance, that I shall lead an endless life with them in peace." She said all this and a great deal more : and then, with a modest air, she rose up and took leave of them all. Her brother and the other gentlemen were executed first. "He exhorted those who suffered with him to die without fear ; and said to those that were about him that he came to die, since it was the king's pleasure that it should be so. He exhorted all persons not to trust to courts, states and kings, but in God only. He had deserved a heavier punishment for his other sins ; but not from the king, whom he had never offended. Yet he prayed God to give him a long and a good life." With him, all the rest suffered a death which they had no way deserved. Mark Smeton only confessed, he had deserved well to die, which gave occasion to many reflections.

When the queen heard how her brother and the other gentlemen had suffered, and had sealed her innocence with their own blood ; but that Mark had confessed, he deserved to die ; she broke out into some passion, and said, "Has he not then cleared me of that public shame he has brought me to ? Alas ! I fear his soul suffers for it, and that he is now punished for his false accusation. But for my brother and those others, I doubt not, but they are now in the presence of that Great King, before whom I am to be to-morrow."

It seems that gentleman knew nothing of the judgment that passed at Lambeth, annulling the marriage, for it was transacted secretly. It could have no foundation or colour, but from that story mentioned in Cavendish's "*Life of Wolsey*," of the lord Percy's addresses to her. He was now examined upon that : but it will appear from his letter to Cromwell, that he solemnly purged both himself and her from any precontract ; being examined upon oath by the two archbishops : and that he received the sacrament upon it before the duke of Norfolk and some of the king's council that were learned in the spiritual law ; assuring them by his oath, and by the sacrament he had received, and intended to receive, that there was never any contract, or promise of marriage, between her and him. This he wrote on the 13th of May, four days before queen's execution, which will be found in the Collection.

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Number 49.

This shows plainly that she was prevailed on, between fear and hope, to confess a precontract, the person not being named.

The French gentleman gives the same account of the manner of her death, and of her speech, that all the other writers of that time do. "When she was brought to the place of execution within the Tower, he says, her looks were cheerful, and she never appeared more beautiful than at that time. She said to those about her, be not sorry to see me die thus ; but pardon me from your hearts, that I have not expressed to all about me that mildness that became me ; and that I have not done that good that was in my power to do. She prayed for those who were the procurers of her death. Then, with the aid of her maids, she undressed her neck with great courage, and so ended her days."

This long recital I have translated out of Meteren ; for I do not find it taken notice of by any of our writers. I leave it thus, without any other reflections upon it, but that it seems all over credible.

Thevet, a Franciscan friar, who, for seventeen or eighteen years had wandered up and down Europe, to prepare materials for his *Cosmography* (which he published in the year 1563), says, that many English gentlemen assured him, that king Henry expressed great repentance of his sins, being at the point of death ; and, among other things, of the injury and the crime committed against queen Anne Boleyn, who was falsely accused, and convicted of that which was laid to her charge. It is true, Thuanus has very much disgraced that writer, as a vain and ignorant plagiarist : but he

Cosmog. L.
16. c. 5.

having been of the order that suffered so much for their adhering to queen Katherine, is not to be suspected of partiality for queen Anne. We must leave those secrets to the great day.

It may be easily believed, that both the pope and the emperor, as they were glad to be freed from the obligation they seemed to be under to protect queen Katherine, so queen Anne's fall gave them a great deal of ill-natured joy. The pope, upon the first news of her disgrace, sent for Cassali, expressing a great deal of pleasure upon the queen's imprisonment, and, at the same time, spoke very honourably of the king. "He hoped, upon these emergents, all matters would be brought to a good agreement; and that the king would reconcile himself to the see, by which he would become the arbiter of all Europe. He told Cassali that he knew how good an instrument he was in pope Clement's time, and what pains he took both with the pope and the emperor to prevent the breach. He added, that the naming of Fisher to be a cardinal was so pressed on him, that he could not decline it. He desired Cassali would try how any messenger that he might send to the king would be received: for as soon as he knew that, he would send one immediately." Of all this, Cassali wrote an account to the king.

At the same time, Pace gave him an account of a long conversation he had with the emperor on the same subject: for he was then the king's ambassador in that court. "The emperor excused his adhering to his aunt, whom he could not in honour forsake: but at the same time, he said, he abhorred the pope's bull for deposing the king; and he was so far from any thoughts of executing it, that he commanded it to be suppressed in his dominions: nor did he encourage, as was suspected, the king of Scotland to undertake to execute it. He imputed the breach that had been made between him and the king, to the French king, who, he said, was like an eel in a man's hand, ready to forsake him, and even to renounce God, who, he believed, had given him over to a reprobate mind. He was resolved now to return to his old friendship with the king, and he would not hearken to intimations given him by the agent of France, that the king had poisoned his aunt. He pressed him to legitimate the princess Mary. He might do that without owning the lawfulness of the marriage, which was a point in which he would stir no more. She was born in a marriage in fact, and *bonâ fide*; and in many cases in which marriages had been dissolved, yet the legitimacy of the issue was often secured."

Of all this Pace gave the king an account; and pressed, with some vehemence, the legitimating the princess. The emperor was then going to Rome; so king Henry intended to join Cassali with Pace in his embassy to the emperor. Pace begged that might not be done, expressing a great aversion to him, as being a base and a perverse man. It is plain, Pace pressed the king much to think of being reconciled to the pope. Cardinal Ghinucci offered his service again to the king with expressions full of zeal. Grandville also entered with Cassali upon the same subject; but Cassali wrote to the king, that he did not at all meddle in that matter. The emperor went to Rome, and Pace followed him thither. The king sent a despatch to Pace, which will be found in the Collection, telling him of the motion that the emperor's ambassador made to him for returning to the old friendship with their master: they also made him some overtures in order to it. First, the emperor would be a mean to reconcile him to the bishop of Rome: he also hoped that the king would contribute towards the war against the Turk; and that since there was an old defensive league between them, and since it seemed that the French king intended to invade the duchy of Milan, he expected the king would assist him according to that league.

To all this the king answered, "That the interruption of their friendship proceeded from the emperor, who had made him ill returns for the services he had done him. For he pretends he made him first king of Spain, and then emperor: when the empire was at his disposition, he had furnished him with money, so that he ought to thank the king only for all the honour he was advanced to; but in lieu of that, he had showed great ingratitude to the king, and had not only contemned his friendship, but had set on all the ill-usage he had met with from the bishop of Rome, which, as he under-

stood, he owed chiefly to him : yet such was the king's zeal for concord among Christian princes, and such was his nature, that he could continue his displeasure against no man, when the cause of it was once removed ; so if the emperor would desire him to forget all that was passed, and would purge himself of all particular unkindness to him, he would be willing to return to their old friendship : but he having received the injuries, would not sue for a reconciliation, nor treat upon the foot of the old leagues between them, till the reconciliation should be first made, and that without any conditions : when that was done, he would answer all his reasonable desires.

“ But as for the bishop of Rome, he had not proceeded on such slight grounds that he could in any sort depart from what he had done ; having founded himself on the laws of God, of Nature, and honesty, with the concurrence of his parliament. There was a motion made to him from that bishop for a reconciliation, which he had not yet embraced, nor would he suffer it to be compassed by any other means : and therefore he would not take it in good part, if the emperor would insist in that matter, for the satisfaction of the bishop of Rome, that was his enemy ; or move him to alter that which was already determined against his authority. When there was a general peace among Christian princes, he would not be wanting to give an aid against the Turk ; but till the friendship between the emperor and him was quite made up, he would treat of nothing with relation to the king of France : when that was done, he would be a mediator between them. This was the answer given to the emperor's ambassador, which was communicated to Pace, that in case he had any discourse with the emperor on the subject, he should seem only to have a general knowledge of the matter, but should talk with him suitably on these grounds ; encouraging the emperor to pursue what he had begun, and extolling the king's nature and courage, with his inclination to satisfy his friends, when he was not too much pressed : that would hurt and stop good purposes : and he orders him to speak with Grandville of it, of whom it seems he had a good opinion, and that he should represent to the emperor the advantage that would follow on the renewing their old friendship, but not to clog it with conditions ; for whatever the king might be afterwards brought to upon their friendship, when made up, the king would not suffer it to be loaded with them ; for the king had suffered the injury : but he was ordered to say all this, as of himself, and Pace was ordered to go to court and put himself in Grandville's way, that he might have occasion to enter upon these subjects with him.” Thus that matter was put in a method ; so that in a little time the friendship seemed to be entirely made up.

The king would never hearken to a reconciliation with the pope. On the contrary, he went on in his design of reforming matters in England. In the convocation, in the year 1536, Cromwell came and demanded a place as the king's vicar-general ; the archbishop assigned him the place next above himself. On the 21st of June, the archbishop laid before the house the sentence definitive of the nullity of the king's marriage with queen Anne, which Cromwell desired they would approve. It was approved in the upper house, and sent down to the lower, in which it was also approved. On the 23rd of June, the prolocutor, with the clergy, offered a book to the upper house, in which they set forth a collection of many ill doctrines that were publicly preached within the province. On the 28th of June, the confirmation of the decree concerning the king's last marriage was subscribed by both houses. On the 11th of July, the book concerning the articles of faith, and the ceremonies, was brought in by the bishop of Hereford, and was signed by both houses. These were also signed by the archbishop of York and the bishop of Durham. On the 20th of July, the bishop of Hereford brought another book containing the reasons why the king ought not to appear in a council summoned by the pope to meet at Mantua : this was likewise agreed to, and subscribed by both houses. I have nothing new to add to the account I have given in my History of the other proceedings in matters of religion this year, in which no convocation sate at York. There are several draughts of these articles that are in several places corrected by the king's own hand. Some of the corrections are very long and very material : of these only it was that I meant, and not of the engrossed and signed articles themselves, when I said they were corrected by the king ; as I have been misunderstood.

By these steps it appearing clearly that the king had no thoughts of a reconciliation with Rome, the pope on his part resolved to create him as much trouble as he could. Pole made a Cardinal. Pole had been sent over from England to Paris, while the suit of divorce was in dependence: he was particularly recommended by the bishop of Bayonne in one of his letters to Montmorency, as a person of great hopes, and much favoured by the king: he came after that to England; for he tells himself that he was in England while the point of the "Supreme Headship" was in debate. He says he was then absent, which shows that at that time he was contented to be silent in his opinion, and that he did not think fit to oppose what was doing. He was afterwards suffered to go and settle at Padua, where the gravity of his deportment, that was above his age, and the sweetness of his temper, made him be very much considered. He was still supported from England, whether only out of his deanery of Exeter, or by any farther special bounty of the king's, is not certain. In several letters from Padua, he acknowledges the king's bounty and favour to him, and in one he desires a farther supply. He being commanded by the king to do it, wrote over his opinion concerning his marriage: the king sent it to Cranmer before his being sent out of England: for that faithful and diligent searcher into the transactions of those times, Mr. Strype, has published the letter that he wrote upon it; the year is not added, but the date being the 13th of June, it must be before he was sent out of England, this being writ before he was consecrated; for he subscribes Cranmer, and upon his return he was consecrated long before June. It is written to the earl of Wiltshire: he mentions Pole's book, and commends both the wit and eloquence of it very highly: he thinks if it should come abroad, it would not be possible to stand against it. Pole's chief design in it was to persuade the king to submit the matter wholly to the pope. In it

"He set forth the trouble that might follow upon the diversity of titles to the crown, of which the wars upon the titles of Lancaster and York had given them a sad warning. All that was now healed, and therefore care should be taken not to return to the like misery. He could never agree to the divorce, which must destroy the princess's title, and accuse the king of living so long in a course of incest against the law of God and of Nature. This would increase the hatred the people began to bear to priests, if it should appear that they had so long approved that which is found now to be unlawful. As for the opinions of the universities, it was known they were often led by affections, and that they were brought over with great difficulty to declare for the king: but he sets in opposition to them, the king's father and his council, the queen's father and his council, and the pope and his council: it could not be expected that the pope would condemn the act of his predecessor, or consent to the abridging his own power, and do that which would raise sedition in many kingdoms, particularly in Portugal. He next shows the emperor's power and the weakness of France, that the prohibiting our trade to the Netherlands would be very ruinous, and that the French were never to be trusted: they never kept their leagues with us; for neither do they love us, nor do we love them; and if they find their aid necessary to England, they will charge it with intolerable conditions." This is the substance of that letter. So that at this time Pole wrote only to persuade the king by political considerations to submit wholly to the pope's judgment. The matter rested thus for some time: but when the breach was made, and all was passed reconciling, then Cromwell wrote to him by the king's order, to declare his opinion with relation to the king's proceedings. Upon this reason only he wrote his book, as he set forth in a paper of instructions given to one to be showed to the king, which will be found in the

Collection,
Number 51.

had reason

Sends one to
the King with
Instructions.

Collection. In which he writes, "That he thinks if it had not been for that, he had never meddled in the matter, seeing so little hope of success; and that he had reason to think that what he should write would not be acceptable. They had sent unto him from England the books written on the contrary part: but he said he found many things suppressed in these; and all the colours that could be invented were set upon untrue opinions. Besides, what had followed was grievous, both in the sight of God and in the judgment of the rest of Christendom: and he apprehending yet worse effects, both with relation to the king's honour and the quiet of his realm, did upon that resolve to employ all the wit and learning that God had given him to

dying for the authority of the bishop of Rome. He assures him, that from the time that he understood the progress of Christ's church from the beginning, and had read ecclesiastical history, he never thought to shed one drop of blood in that cause. None of those who had advantage by that authority would have lost one penny of it to have saved his life. He would do what in him lay to cool that indignation which his book had raised in the king. He desired him not to fancy (from what he saw in Italy or in other places) that it was so from the beginning: the councils would show him how that dignity was given to the bishops of Rome. The emperors called those councils; and the dignity that was given him was because he was bishop of the chief city of the empire, and not for the sake of Peter and Paul. The second place was given to the patriarchs of Constantinople, because it was called New Rome, and so was preferred to Antioch, where St. Peter was bishop, and where the name Christian first began; and it was set before Alexandria, and likewise before Jerusalem, where Christ himself preached, and the whole college of the apostles after him, and where James (the brother of our Lord) was the first bishop. That church was called the mother of all the churches: it was also set before Ephesus, where St. John wrote his gospel, and died. To all these, Constantinople was preferred; and yet this was fully settled in the council of Calcedon, where 630 bishops met. If he read the Greek fathers, Basil, Nazianzen, Chrysostome, and Damascen, he would find no mention of the monarchy of the bishop of Rome. He desired him to search further into this matter, and he would find that the old fathers knew nothing of the pope's late pretensions and usurpations. He wished, therefore, that he would examine these matters more carefully, which had been searched to the bottom in England. The learned men here thought they were happily delivered from that captivity to which he endeavours to bring them back. He tells him how much all his family and kindred would be troubled to see him so much engaged against his king and his country, whom he might comfort, if he would follow the establishment of the whole church of God from the beginning, and leave the supporting of those usurpations. He refers him to Gregory the Great, who wrote against the bishop of Constantinople, pretending to the like monarchy. St. Cyprian writes, that all the apostles were of equal dignity and authority, which is also affirmed by the third council of Ephesus. He begged him not to trust too much to himself, but to search further, and not to fancy he had found out the matter already. He prayed him to burn all his papers; and then he hoped he should prevail with the king to keep that which he had sent him secret. He concludes all with some very kind expressions."

This I have abstracted the more fully for the honour of Tonsal's memory, who was a generous and good-natured, as well as a very learned man. Pole, who was then a cardinal, wrote no answer to this, that I could find; but he wrote a long letter, either to Col. Num. 53. Tonsal or to Cromwell, in May 1537, which will be found in the Collection.

"He begins it with protestations of his affection to the king, though the king had taken such methods to destroy him as the like had not been known in Christendom against any who bore the person that he did at that time; yet he still maintained a deep affection to him. He knew well all that the king had designed against him, which, if he bore the king a small degree of love, would be enough to extinguish it. He saw what he did for the best was taken in the worst part. He did not think it possible that the king should conceive such indignation against him as to break through all laws to have him in his hands, and to disturb the whole commerce of nations rather than not have his person in his power. But he still adhered to his former principles, and maintained his former temper towards the king.

"Upon his arrival in France, he was ashamed to hear that, he coming thither in the quality of an ambassador and legate, one prince should desire of another to betray him, and deliver him into the king's ambassador's hands. He himself was so little disturbed at it, when he first heard of it, that he said upon it (to those who were about him), that he never felt himself in full possession of being a cardinal till then, since he was now persecuted by him whose good he most earnestly desired. Whatever religion men are of, if they would observe the law of nations, the law of nature alone would show how abominable it was to grant such a request; and it was no less to desire it. So that if he had the least spark of an alienation from the king in him, such proceedings would blow it up into a fire. He

might, upon this, be justly tempted to give over all commerce with the king, and to procure (by all honest ways) the means to repay this malignity by doing him the utmost damage he could devise : but he did not, for that, abstain from trying to do all he could for the king's honour and wealth. He acknowledges, that the bishop of Verona was sent by him to the court of France to intimate that the pope (for the common good of Christendom) had committed some affairs to him to treat with the king. That bishop passed through Abbeville when the bishop of Winchester and Mr. Brian were there ; so he could not but wonder at the king's acting towards him, the whole design of his legation being for the king's honour. Upon which that bishop desired to confer with the king's ambassadors, that he might declare to them the whole truth of the matter which was made known to them. They, it is true, had no communication with him ; but they sent their secretary, after the bishop had declared the effect of his legation, as far as it related to the king, to him.

" It seemed visible to all that the king (in what he had done against him) was abused by false reports, and by the false conjectures of some ; so it was hoped that, the matter being once cleared, the king would have changed his mind. All this he understood from the bishop of Verona at his return, and he readily believed it. That bishop had been the king's true servant, and had showed (when he was in a capacity to serve him) the sincere love that he bore him. He had been also Pole's particular acquaintance ever since he came out of England. He would have been ready, if the king had consented to it, to have gone and given the king full satisfaction in all things ; for the chief reason of his being sent into France was, the pope's intending to gain the king, knowing the friendship that was between him and the French king. So the bishop of Verona was thought the fittest person to be first employed, who had great merits on both kings for the services he did them when he was in office. And being esteemed the best bishop in Italy, it was designed that he should accompany Pole, as well as he was sent before, to prepare matters for his coming ; which he, out of his zeal to do God and the king service, undertook very willingly, and resolved to try how he could get access to the king's person. So now having fully explained himself, he hoped it would not be thought possible that he had those designs of which the king's proceeding against him showed he suspected him (which was, that he came on purpose to animate the people to rebel).

" Upon his first coming to Rome, he acquainted the king with the design for which he was called thither ; and he had acquainted him with the cause of his legation. These were not the methods of those who intended to rebel. He had then procured a suspension in sending forth the censures, which at that time might have caused the king more trouble : and he sent his servant purposely with the offer of his assistance, animating the chief of his kindred to be constant in the king's service. If any had been at Rome, in the king's pay, to do him service, they could not have done more than he did ; so that some began to reflect on him, because he would not consent to divers things that would have been uneasy to him ; and particularly because he had the censures in his hand, which were instantly called for by those who had authority to command : yet they never came into their sight nor hands ; and to that hour he had suppressed them. He would go no further in justifying himself : if what he had already done, and what the bishop of Verona had said, did not do it, he would take no more pains to clear himself. He rather thought he had been faulty in his negligence in these matters ; but there was nothing now left to him but to pray for the king."

This letter is dated from Cambray ; for upon the king's message to the French king, to demand him to be delivered into his hands, Francis could in no sort hearken to that, but he sent to him not to come to his court, but to go with all convenient haste out of his dominions. So he retired to Cambray, as being then a peculiar sovereignty. The king had a spy, one Throckmorton, secretly about Pole, who gave him an account of all his motions ; but by what appears in his letters, he was faithfuller to Pole than to the king. He wrote over that his book was not then printed, though he had been much pressed to print it by those at Rome ; but he thought that would hinder the design he went on : he believed, indeed, that upon his returning thither he would print it. He tells him that he had procured the suspensions of the pope's censures, to try if it was possible to bring about a reconciliation between the pope and the king : and he adds, that many wondered to see the king so set against him, and that

he did not rather endeavour to gain him. He intended to have stayed some time in Flanders, but the regent sent him word that it could not be suffered. He went from thence, and stayed at Liege, where he was on the 20th of August; for the last of Throckmorton's letters is dated from thence. He writes, that the pope had called him back, having named him to be his legate to the council that he had summoned to meet the 1st of November, though it did not meet for some years after this.

The king's indignation upon his advancement, and for his book, carried him to a great many excesses, and to many acts of injustice and cruelty, which are not the least among the great blemishes of that reign. Wyat was then the king's ambassador at the emperor's court; and by his letters to the king, it seems an entire confidence was then settled with the emperor. The king pressed him much not to suffer the pope to call a council, but to call one by his own authority, as the Roman emperors had called the first general councils; and he proposed Cambray as a proper place for one. But he saw he was not like to succeed in that; so he only insisted on a promise that the emperor had made, that nothing should be done in the council, whensoever it should meet, against him or his kingdom.

The king was at this time under much uneasiness, for he sent both Bonner and Hains over to the emperor's court in conjunction: the one seems to have been chosen to talk with those who were still papistical, and the other had great credit with the protestants. Our merchants in the emperor's dominions were threatened by the inquisition for owning the king as supreme head of this church. Upon this, Wyat complained to the emperor; but though that prince vindicated the inquisitors, he promised to give such order that they should not be disquieted on that account; and when Pole applied himself to the emperor for leave to affix the pope's bull against the king in his dominions, he would not consent to it.

I cannot add much to what I wrote formerly, with relation to the suppression of the monasteries. There are many letters setting forth their vices and lewdness, and their robberies, and other ill practices; and now that the design against them was apparent, many ran beyond sea with their plate and jewels: but I must not conceal that the visitors give a great character of the abbess and nuns of Pollesworth, in Warwickshire. Dr. London, that was afterwards not only a persecutor of protestants, but a suborner of false witnesses against them, was now zealous even to officiousness in suppressing the monasteries. In the first commission that the visitors had, there was no order for the removing shrines, yet he, in his zeal, exceeding his commission, had done it; upon which Leighton, Legh, and others, desired that a commission for that end might be sent after them of the same date with their other commissions. He also studied to frighten the abbess of Godstow into a resignation. She was particularly in Cromwell's favour; so she wrote a plain honest letter to him, complaining of "London's violence, of his artifices to bring them to surrender their house, and of the great charge he put them to. She writes, that she did not hear that any of the king's subjects had been so handled: she insists on her care to maintain the honour of God, and all truth and obedience to the king; therefore she was positively resolved not to surrender her house, but would be ready to do it whensoever the king's command or his should come to her, and not till then." The great character I gave of that abbess, and of her house, in my former work, made me resolve to put this letter in the Collection.

The discovery of the cheats in images and counterfeiters in relics contributed not a little to their disgrace. Among these, that of Boxley, in Kent, was one of the most enormous. Among the papers that were sent me from Zurich, there is a letter, written by the minister of Maidstone to Bullinger, that describes such an image, if it is not the same, so particularly, that I have put it in the Collection. He calls it the Dagon of Ashdod, or the Babylonish Bell. It was a crucifix that sometimes moved the head, the eyes, and did bend the whole body to express the receiving of prayers; and other gestures were at other times made to signify the rejecting them: great offerings were made to so wonderful an image. One Partridge suspected the fraud, and removing the image, he saw the whole imposture evidently: there were several springs within it, by which all these motions were made. This was brought to Maidstone, and

The King was reconciled to the Emperor.

Dr. London's violent Proceedings in suppressing the Monasteries.

Col. Num. 54.

Cheats in Images discovered.

Col. Num. 55.

exposed to all the people there. From thence it was carried to London, and was showed to the king and all his court, and in their sight all the motions were performed. The king's council ordered a sermon to be preached at Paul's, by the bishop of Rochester, where this imposture was fully discovered; and after sermon it was burned.

Upon the birth of prince Edward matters had a better face: here was an undoubted heir born to the crown. It is true, the death of his mother did abate much of the joy that such a birth would have given otherwise; for, as she was, of all the king's wives, much the best beloved by him, so she was a person of that humble and sweet temper that she was universally beloved on that account. She had no occasion given her to appear much in business, so she had no share of the hatred raised by the king's proceedings cast on her. I fell into a mistake, from a letter of queen Elizabeth's, directed to a big-bellied queen, which I thought belonged to her; but I am now convinced of my error; for it was no doubt written to queen Katherine when, after king Henry's death, she was with child by the lord Seymour. Upon queen Jane's death, Tonstal, being then at York, wrote a consolatory letter to the king, which will be found in the Collection. It runs upon the common topics of affliction, with many good applications of passages of Scripture, and seems chiefly meant to calm and cheer up the king's spirit. But the truth is, king Henry had so many gross faults about him, that it had been more for Tonstal's honour, and better suited to his character, if he had given hints to awaken the king's conscience, and to call upon him to examine his ways while he had that load upon his mind. Either Tonstal did not think him so faulty as certainly he was, or he was very faulty himself in being so wanting to his duty upon so great an occasion.

But I go on to more public concerns. The king had, by the lord Cromwell, sent injunctions to his clergy in the year 1536, as he did afterwards in the year 1538, which I have printed in my former work. There was also a circular letter written to the bishops: that to the bishop of Hereford is dated on the 20th of July, 1536, requiring them to execute an order abrogating some holidays. The numbers of them were so excessively great, and by the people's devotion, or rather superstition, were like to increase more and more, which occasioned much sloth and idleness, and great loss to the public in time of harvest. It sets forth, that the king, with the advice of the convocation, had settled rules in this matter. The feast of the dedication of churches was to be held every year on the first Sunday in October; but the feast of the patron of the church was to be no more observed. All the feasts, from the 1st of July to the 29th of September, and all feasts in term-time, were not to be observed any more as holidays, except the feasts of the apostles, of the Blessed Virgin Mary, and of St. George, and those days in which the judges did not use to sit; but the four quarter-days were still to be offering-days. These are all the public injunctions set out about this time. But after the first of these, I find the bishops sent likewise injunctions to their clergy round their dioceses, of which a copy, printed at that time, was given me by my worthy friend Mr. Tate, minister of Burnham. The first was by Lee, archbishop of York, in the Collection.

Col.Num.57. "He begins with the abolishing of the bishop of Rome's authority, and the declaring the king to be 'supreme head' of the church of England, as well spiritual as temporal. He requires his clergy to provide a New Testament in English or Latin, within forty days, and to read daily in it two chapters before noon, and two in the afternoon; and to study to understand it. He requires them also to study the book to be set forth by the king, of the Institution of a Christian Man. They were to procure it as soon as it should be published, that they might read two chapters a day in it, and be able to explain it to their people. All curates and heads of religious houses were required to repeat the Lord's Prayer and the Ave-Maria, in English, and, at other parts of the service, the Creed and the Ten Commandments, also in English, and to make the people repeat these after them; and none were to be admitted to the sacrament at Easter that could not repeat them. All parishes were required, within forty days, to provide a great Bible, in English, to be chained to some open place in the church, that so all persons might resort to it, and read it for their instruction. Priests were forbidden to haunt taverns or ale-houses, except on necessary

Tonstal wrote
a consolatory
Letter to the
King when
queen Jane
died.
Col.Num.56.

Reg. Heref.
Fox, fo. 9.
Orders about
Holidays.

Injunctions
given by the
Archbishop of

occasions. The clergy that did belong to any one church were required to eat together, if they might; and not to play at prohibited games, as cards and dice. They must discourage none from reading the Scriptures, exhorting them to do it in the spirit of meekness, to be edified by it. They were required to read to their people the Gospel and Epistle in English. Rules are set for the frequent use of sermons, proportioned to the value of their livings: generally four sermons were to be preached every year, one in a quarter. None were to preach but such as had licence from the king or the archbishop; nor were they to worship any image, or kneel or offer any lights or gifts to it: but they might have lights in the rood-loft, and before the sacrament, and at the sepulchre at Easter. They were to teach the people that images are only as books to stir them up to follow the saints; and though they see God the Father represented as an old man, they were not to think that he has a body, or is like a man. All images, to which any resort is used, are to be taken away. They are to teach the people that God is not pleased with the works done for the traditions of men, when works commanded by God are left undone: that we are only saved by the mercy of God and the merits of Christ; that our good works have their virtue only from thence. They were to teach the midwives the form of baptism: they were to teach the people to make no private contracts of marriage, nor to force their children to marry against their wills; and to open to their people often the two great commandments of Christ, 'To love God and our neighbour,' and to live in love with all people, avoiding dissension."

The rest relate to the matters set out in the king's injunctions.

There were about the same time injunctions given by Sampson, bishop of Coventry and Litchfield, for his diocese, which will be found in the Collection. He begins with a charge to his clergy, "to instruct the people concerning the king's being the Supreme Head of the church of England, by the word of God; and that the authority used by the bishop of Rome was an usurpation: then he charges them to procure by the next Whitsuntide a whole Bible in Latin, and also one in English, and to lay it in the church, that every man may read in it. Then with relation to the reading the Scriptures, and the having sermons every quarter, he gives the same charge that Lee gave. As to their sermons, he charges them that they be preached purely, sincerely, and according to the true Scriptures of God. He next requires them in the king's name, and as his minister, to teach the people to say the Lord's Prayer, and the Ave, and the Creed in English: and that four times in every quarter they declare the seven deadly sins and the ten commandments. And because some out of neglect of their curates, and to hide their lewd livings, used in Lent to go to confession to friars, or other religious houses; he orders that no testimonial from them shall be sufficient to admit one to the sacrament, called by him 'God's Board;' till they confess to their own curates, unless upon some urgent considerations of conscience, that he or his deputies should grant a special licence for it: that on holidays, and in time of divine service, none should go to ale-houses or taverns, nor be received in them: and that the clergy should go in such decent apparel, that it might be known that they were of the clergy."

The last of the injunctions in that book was given by Shaxton, bishop of Salisbury, for his diocese, which will be found in the Collection; they are said to be given out from the authority given him by God and the king.

"He begins with provision about non-residents and their curates in particular, that no French or Irish priest that could not perfectly speak the English tongue should serve as curates. They were at high mass to read the Gospel and Epistle in the English tongue, and to set out the king's supremacy and the usurpations of the bishop of Rome: the same rules are given about sermons as in the former, with this addition, that no friar nor any person in a religious habit be suffered to perform any service in the church: as for reading the New Testament, the clergy are only required to read one chapter every day, and that every person having a cure of souls should be able to repeat, without book, the Gospels of Saint Matthew and Saint John, with the Epistles to the Romans, Corinthians, and Galatians, and the Acts of the Apostles, and the canonical Epistles; so that every fortnight they should learn one chapter without book, and keep it still in their memory: and that the 28th chapter of Deuteronomy should be read every

Injunctions
by the Bishop
of Coventry
and Litch-
field.

Collection,
Number 58.

And by the
Bishop of Sa-
lisbury.

quarter instead of the general sentence. He gave the same orders that the others gave about images, pilgrimages, and other superstitious observances, and for teaching the people the elements of religion in English; only he does not join the Ave Maria with the Lord's Prayer as the others did: he requires the curates to exhort the people to beware of swearing and blaspheming the name of God, or of Christ's precious body and blood, and of many other sins then commonly practised; he dispensed with all lights before images, and requires that every church should be furnished with a Bible: he complains of the practice of putting false relics on the people, naming stinking boots, mucky combs, ragged rockets, rotten girdles, locks of hair, gobbets of wood, as parcels of the holy cross, of which he had perfect knowledge; besides the shameful abuse of such as were perhaps true relics: he prays and commands them, by the authority he had under God and the king, to bring all these to him, with the writings relating to them, that he might examine them, promising to restore such as were found to be true relics, with an instruction how they ought to be used: he also orders that the Ave and pardon bell, that was wont to be tolled three times a day, should be no more tolled."

These are all the injunctions set out by bishops that have fallen into my hands. Here I must acknowledge a very great omission made in the copy that I printed in the Collection added to my History, of a very important paragraph in the second injunction given by Cromwell, which will be found in the Collection, together with an omission of a few lines in bishop Bonner's injunctions that were passed over by a very common fault of transcribers, who seeing the words that they wrote last in the original before them, do not enough examine, whether the same words did not belong to a new portion, and so write on without examining whether there are no words or lines between the one and the other: for churches and chapels being in two different places, my copier wrote on from the second place, and so omitted some lines between the one and the other. I am very ready to correct what I find amiss; I rather wonder that there is no more occasion for such reprehensions. I know I am not to expect either favour or common civility from some hands. I do not enter into faults of a worse nature made by others, but am very ready to confess my own when I see them*.

I find nothing to add with relation to the dissolution both of the smaller and the greater monasteries, nor of the several risings that were in different parts of the kingdom; only I find a letter of Gresham, then lord mayor of London; I suppose he was the father of him who was the famed benefactor to the city; but by the letter which will be found in the Collection, his father was the occasion of procuring them a much greater benefaction. He began his letter with a high commendation of the king, who, as he writes, "seemed to be the chosen vessel of God, by whom the true word of God was to be set forth, and who was to reform all enormities.

Collection, This encouraged him, being then the mayor of the city of London, to inform Number 61. him, for the comfort of the sick, aged, and impotent persons, that there were three hospitals near or within the city—that of Saint George, Saint Bartholomew, and Saint Thomas, and the new abbey on Tower-hill, founded and endowed with great possessions, only for the helping the poor and impotent, who were not able to help themselves; and not for the maintenance of canons, priests, and monks to live in pleasure, not regarding the poor who were lying in every street, offending all that passed by them: he therefore prayed the king, for the relief of Christ's true images, to give order that the mayor of London and the aldermen may from thenceforth have the disposition and rule both of the lands belonging to those hospitals, and of the governours and ministers which shall be in any of them. And then the king would perceive that whereas now there was a small number of canons, priests, and monks in them for their own profit only; that then a great number of poor and indigent persons should be maintained in them, and also freely healed of their infirmities: and there should be physicians, surgeons, and apothecaries with salaries to attend upon them: and those who were not able to labour should be relieved; and sturdy beggars not willing to labour should be punished: in doing this, the king would be more charitable to the poor than his progenitor Edgar, the founder of so many monasteries; or Henry the Third, the

* The errors here noticed are corrected in the present edition.—Ed.

March, in the year 1539, by Butler, Elliot, Partridge, and Traheron, who had studied for some time under him, and were then entertained either by the king or by Cromwell. They write, "That many of the popish ceremonies were still tolerated; but that new significations were put on them; such as, that the 'holy water' did put us in mind of the blood of Christ, that cleansed us from all defilement: the 'pax' was carried about to represent our reconciliation to God through Christ. Things that were visible were thought fit to be preserved, to prevent commotions. This correction quieted some: but though these rites were ordered to be kept up till the king should think fit to alter them, yet some preached freely against them, even before the king.

"They write of the executions of the marquis of Exeter, the lord Montague, and sir Edward Nevil, who (they add) was a very brave, but a very vicious man. Sir Nic. Cary, who had been before a zealous papist, when he came to suffer, exhorted all people to read the Scriptures carefully. He acknowledged that the judgments of God came justly upon him for the hatred that he formerly bore to the gospel. The king was threatened with a war, in which the emperor, the French, and the Scots would attack him on all hands; but he seemed to despise it, and said, he should not sleep the less quietly for all these alarms. The day after these tidings were brought him, he said to his councillors, that he found himself moved in his conscience to promote the word of God more than ever. Other news came at the same time, which might perhaps raise his zeal, that three English merchants were burnt in Spain, and that an indulgence was proclaimed to every man that should kill an English heretic. Cranmer was then very busy instructing the people, and preparing English prayers to be used instead of the Litany." I can go no further on these subjects, but must refer to my History for the prosecution of these matters.

The foundation of the new bishoprics was now settled. Rymer has given us the charters by which they were founded and endowed. The new-modelling of some cathedrals was next taken care of. I have found the project that Cromwell sent to Cranmer for the church of Canterbury. It was to consist of a provost, twelve prebendaries, six preachers, three readers, one of humanity and of Greek, another of divinity and of Hebrew, and another of humanity and divinity in Latin, a reader of civil law, another of physic; twenty students in divinity, ten to be kept at Oxford, and as many at Cambridge: sixty scholars were to be taught grammar and logic, with Hebrew, Greek, and Latin: for these, a schoolmaster and an usher were to have salaries. Besides these, there were eight petty canons, twelve singing men, ten choristers, a master of the children, a gospeller, an epistler, and two sacristans; two butlers, two cooks, a caterer, two porters; twelve poor men, a steward, and an auditor; in all one hundred and sixty-two persons, with the salaries for every one of these; together with an allowance for an annual distribution of 100*l.* for the poor, and as much for reparations, and 40*l.* for mending the highways: in all, amounting to about one thousand nine hundred pounds a year. This I have put in the Collection, together with the letter that Cranmer wrote to Cromwell after he had considered of it: though perhaps this will sharpen some men's spirits that are of late much set to decry him, as much as any of his other opinions may have done: but a true historian, that intends to glean all that he could find relating to those transactions, must neither alter nor suppress things, but set them out as he finds them.

"He proposes the altering the prebendaries to somewhat more useful; for, by all the experience that he had, the prebendaries had spent their time in much idleness, and their substance in superfluous living; so he thought it was not a state to be maintained. Commonly, they were neither learned nor given to teach others, but only good vianders. They look to be the chief, and to bear the whole rule; and by their ill example, the younger sort grew idle and corrupt. The state of prebendaries hath been so excessively abused, that when learned men have been advanced to that post, they desisted from their studies, and from all godly exercises of preaching and teaching; therefore he wished the very name of a prebendary

Tom. xiv.,
from p. 717
to p. 736, and
from p. 748
to p. 758.
The Project
of endowing
the Church of
Canterbury.

Disapproved
by Cranmer.
Collection,
Number 64.
Collection,
Number 65.

might be struck out of the king's foundations. The first beginning of them was good, so was that of religious men; but both were gone off from their first estate; so, since the one is put down, it were no great matter if both should perish together. For, to say the truth, it is an estate which St. Paul did not find in the church of Christ; and he thought it would stand better with the maintenance of the Christian religion, that there were in their stead twenty divines, at ten pounds a-piece, and as many students of the tongues, and of French, at ten marks a-piece. And, indeed, if there was not such a number there resident, he did not see for what use there were so many lectures to be read; for the prebendaries could not attend for the making of good cheer, and the children in grammar were to be otherwise employed. He, in particular, recommends doctor Crome to be dean."

But I leave this invidious subject, to turn now to a very melancholy strain. The king had thrown off all commerce with the Lutherans in Germany, and seemed now to think himself secure in the emperor's friendship; yet he did not break with France, though on many occasions he complained both of the ingratitude and inconstancy of that king. The duchy of Milan seemed to be the object of all his designs; and he was always turned, as the prospect of that seemed to come in view or to go out of sight. All the king's old ministers still kept up his zeal for his admired book "Of the Sacraments," most particularly for that article of transubstantiation; so that the popish party prevailed with him to resolve on setting up the Six Articles, which (they said) would quiet all men's minds, when they saw him maintain that and the other articles with learning and zeal. It is certain he had read a great deal, and heard and talked a great deal more of those subjects; so that he seems to have made himself a master of the whole body of divinity. I have seen many chapters of the "Necessary Erudition of a Christian" much altered by him; and in many places so interlined with his hand, that it is not without some difficulty that they can be read, for he wrote very ill.

Upon the carrying the Six Articles, the popish party were much exalted. This appears by the end of a letter written to the ambassadors abroad, which will be found in the Collection. It sets forth, "how the king had showed himself in that parliament so wise, learned, and catholic, that no prince ever did the like: so it was no more doubted but the act would pass. The bishops of Canterbury, Ely, Salisbury, Worcester, Rochester, and St. David's defended the contrary side; yet, in the end, the king confounded them. The bishops of York, Durham, Winchester, London, Chichester, Norwich, and Carlisle showed themselves honest and learned men." He writes as one of the peers; for he adds, "We of the temporality have been all of one opinion. The lord chancellor and the lord privy-seal had been of their side: Cranmer and all the bishops came over; only, he adds that Shaxton continued a lewd fool. For this victory, he writes that all England had reason to bless God."

Cromwell, though he complied with the king's humour, yet he studied to gain upon him, and to fix him in an alliance that should certainly separate him from the emperor, and engage him again into a closer correspondence with France, on design to support the princes of Germany against the emperor, whose uneasiness under the laws and liberties of the empire began to be suspected, and all the popish party depended wholly on him. I did, in my second volume, publish a commission to Cromwell, thinking it was that which constituted him the king's vicegerent, which I, upon reading the beginning of it, took to be so; but that was one of the effects of the haste in which I wrote that work. It does, indeed, in the preamble, set forth, "that the king was then in some sort to exercise that supreme authority he had over the church of England under Christ; since they who pretended that that authority ought to be lodged with them did pursue their own private gains more than the public good; and had brought matters, by the negligence of their officers and their own ill example, to such a state that it might be feared that Christ would not now own his own spouse. Therefore, since the supreme authority over all persons, without any difference, was given him from Heaven, he was bound (as much as he could) to cleanse the church from all briars, and to sow the seeds of virtue in it. Those who before exercised this authority,

The Design of
the Six Arti-
cles.

Col. Num. 66.

The King
marries Anne
of Cleves.

Part ii. Coll.
Rec. Book 2.
N. 29.
Commission
to Cromwell
to constitute
some under
him.

thinking themselves above all censure, had (by their own bad examples) laid stumbling-blocks before the people. He therefore, designing a general reformation of his kingdom and church, resolved to begin with the fountains; for they being cleansed, the streams would run clear. But since he could not be personally present everywhere, he had deputed Thomas Cromwell, his principal secretary and master of the rolls, to be, in all ecclesiastical causes, his vicegerent and vicar-general; with a power to name others, to be authorised under the great seal: but he being so employed in the public affairs of the kingdom that he could not personally discharge that trust, therefore he deputed A, B, C, D, to execute that trust. The king being pleased with this deputation, did likewise empower them to visit all churches, both metropolitical, cathedral, and collegiate churches, hospitals, and monasteries, and all other places, exempt or not exempt; to correct and punish what was amiss in them, by censures of suspension and deprivation; to give them statutes and injunctions in the king's name; and to hold synods, chapters, or convocations, summoning all persons concerned to appear before them, and presiding in them, giving them such rules as they shall judge convenient: calling such causes as they shall think fit from the ecclesiastical courts to be judged by them, and to force obedience both by ecclesiastical censures and fines, and other temporal punishments:" with several other clauses of a very extended and comprehensive nature. How far this was put in practice does not fully appear to me: it certainly struck so deep into the whole ecclesiastical constitution that it could not be easily borne. But the clergy had lost their reputation and credit, so that every invasion that was made on them, and on their courts, seemed to be at this time acceptable to the nation, one extreme very naturally producing another; for all did acquiesce tamely in submitting to a power that was now in high exaltation, and that treated those that stood in its way not only with the utmost indignation, but with the most rigorous severity.

But to return to Cromwell. He, in concurrence with the court of France, carried matters so, that the marriage with Anne of Cleves was made up: this occasioned one of the most unjustifiable steps in all that reign. Among the papers that were sent me from Zurich, there is a long and particular account of many passages in this matter, with some other important transactions of this year, writ by one Richard Hille, who writes very sensibly and very piously; and he being zealous for a further reformation, went out of England as a man concerned in trade, which he pursued only as a just excuse to get out of the way. But before he went over, he wrote a long account to Bullinger of the affairs in England: he tells him, "that, before Whit-Sunday, three persons were burned in Southwark, because they had not received the sacrament at Easter, and had denied transubstantiation. There was, after that, one Collins, a crazed man, likewise burned, all by Gardiner's procurement." A little before Midsummer, it began to be whispered about that the king intended a divorce with Anne, who had been married to him above five months. It was observed that the king was much taken with a young person, a niece of the duke of Norfolk's (whom he afterwards married). Gardiner took care to bring them together to his palace, where they dined once, and had some meetings and entertainments there. This went on some time before there was any talk of the divorce: it was, indeed, believed that there was an ill commerce between them. Cromwell was newly made earl of Essex: Bouchier, in whom that line was extinct, who had been a severe persecutor, falling from his horse, and breaking his neck, died without being able to speak one word. The king gave Cromwell not only his title, but all that fell to the crown by his dying without heirs; yet he enjoyed not this long, for in the beginning of June he was sent to the Tower. He did not know the secret cause of his fall: it was generally believed it was because he did not flatter the king enough; and that he was against the divorce, as thinking it would neither be for the king's honour nor the good of the kingdom. Some suspected that his late advancement, and great grants the king had given him, was an artifice to make people conclude, when they saw him disgraced after such high favour, that certainly some very black thing was discovered: and it was also thought that the king restored to his son (who was so weak that he was thought almost a fool) much of his father's estate and goods (as he made him a baron, in December, after his father's death,) on design to make the father more silent, for fear of provoking the king to take from him

Cromwell's
Fall.

what he had then given him. Here I stop the prosecuting the rest of the letter, till I have added somewhat more concerning Cromwell.

He had many offices in his person; for besides that he was lord vicegerent in ecclesiastical matters, and lord privy-seal, he was lord chamberlain and chancellor of the exchequer.

Rymer, t. 14. Rymer has published the grants that the king made of those offices, in which it is said that they were void upon his attainder; but, which was more, he was the chief minister, and had the king's confidence for ten years together, almost as entirely as

A new Treaty with the German Princes. cardinal Wolsey had it formerly. Mount had been sent to Germany to press a closer league defensive against the pope, and any council that he might summon. When the princes did object the act of the Six Articles, and the severities upon it, he confessed to one of the elector's ministers that the king was not sincere in the point of religion, he had, therefore, proposed a double marriage,—of the king with Anne of Cleves, and of the duke of Cleves with the lady Mary; for he said the king was much governed by his wives. The elector of Saxony, who had married the other sister of Cleves, had conceived so bad an opinion of the king, that he expressed no heartiness, neither in the marriage, nor in any alliance with England; but he yielded to the importunities of others, who thought the prospect of the advantage from such an alliance was great.

There are great remains that show how exact a minister Cromwell was; there are laid together many remembrances of things that he was to lay before the king. They

Cott. Libr.
Titus, B. 1.
Some of
Cromwell's
Memoranda.

are too short to give any great light into affairs, yet I will mention some of them. In one, he mentions the abbots of Glastonbury and Reading, who were then prisoners, and were examined. The witnesses, with the council, were ordered to be sent to Berkshire and Somersetshire. Mention is made of their complices, who were to be tried, and to suffer with them. To this I must add, that in one of the

Zurich letters it is written to Bullinger, that three of the richest abbots in England had suffered for a conspiracy, into which they had entered for restoring the pope's authority in England.

The learned Dr. Tanner has sent me the copy of a letter, that three visitors wrote to Cromwell from Glastonbury, concerning that abbot, on the 22d of September; but they do not add the year. It will be found in the Collection, signed by Richard Pollard, Thomas Moyle, and Richard Layton. "They give him an account of their examining the abbot upon certain articles. He did not seem to answer them clearly; so they desired him to call to his memory the things which he then seemed to have forgot. They searched his study, and found in it a written book against the king's divorce. They found also pardons, copies of bulls, and a printed life of Thomas Becket; but found no letter that was material. They examined him a second time upon the articles that Cromwell had given them; and sent up his answer, signed by him, to court: in which they write, that his cankered and traitorous heart, against the king and his succession, did appear; so, with very fair words, they sent him to the Tower. They found he was but a weak man, and sickly. Having sent him away, they examined the state of that monastery: they found in it above 300*l.* in cash; but had not the certainty of the rest of their plate; only they found a fair gold chalice, with other plate, hid by the abbot, that had not been seen by the former visitors; of which, they think, the abbot intended to have made his own advantage. They write, that the house was the noblest they had ever seen of that sort: they thought it fit for the king, and for none else." This I set down the more particularly, to demonstrate the falsity of the extravagant account that Sanders gives of that matter, as if it had been, without notice given, that the abbot was seized on, tried and executed, all of a sudden. But to return to Cromwell.

In another note, he mentions the determinations made by Day, Heath, and Thirleby, of the Ten Commandments, of Justification, and of Purgatory. Another is about Fisher and More. The judges' opinion was asked concerning More and the nun. Another is, whether the bishop of Rochester, and the monk, who wrote the letter as from heaven, should be sent for? In another, that Bocking printed the nun's book, and took away 500 copies, but left 200 with the printer. In another, he proposed to send Barnes for Melancthon. In another, he asks, who shall be prolocutor in the convocation. In another, he proposes the making

lady Mary a considerable match for some foreign prince, the duke of Orleans or some other. This is all that I could gather, out of a vast number of those notes, which he took of matters, to move the king in.

Upon Cromwell's imprisonment, the comptroller was sent to him, and he ordered him to write to the king, what he thought meet to be written concerning his present condition ; and, it seems, with some intimations of hope. Upon that, Cromwell wrote a long letter to the king, which will be found in the Collection. "He begins it with great thanks to the king, for what the comptroller had said to him. He was accused of treason ; but he protests, he never once thought to do that which should displease him, much less to commit so high an offence. The king knew his accusers : he prayed God to forgive them. He had ever loved the king, and all his proceedings : he prays God to confound him, if he had ever a thought to the contrary. He had laboured much, to make the king a great and a happy prince ; and acknowledges his great obligations to the king. So he writes, that if he had been capable to be a traitor, the greatest punishment was too little for him. He never spoke with the chancellor of the augmentations (Baker) and Throckmorton together, but once : but he is sure, he never spoke of any such matter" (as, it seems, was informed against him). "The king knew what a man Throckmorton was, with relation to all his proceedings : and what an enemy Baker was to him, God and he knew : the king knew what he had been towards him. It seems, the king had advertised him of them ; but God, who had delivered Susan when falsely accused, could deliver him. He trusted only in God, and in the king. In all his service, he had only considered the king ; but did not know that he had done injustice to any person : yet he had not done his duty in all things ; therefore he asked mercy. If he had heard of conventicles, or other offences, he had for the most part revealed them, and made them to be punished, but not out of malice. He had meddled in so many things, that he could not answer them all ; but of this he was sure, that he had never willingly offended : and wherein he had offended, he humbly begged pardon. The comptroller told him, that fourteen days ago the king had committed a great secret to him, which he had revealed : he remembered well the matter, but he had never revealed it. For, after the king had told him what it was that he misliked in the queen, he told the king, that she often desired to speak with him, but he durst not : yet the king bade him go to her, and be plain with her, in declaring his mind : upon which, he spake privately with her lord chamberlain, desiring him, not naming the king, to deal with the queen to behave herself more pleasantly towards the king ; hoping thereby to have had some faults amended. And when some of her council came to him, for licence to the stranger maids to depart, he did then require them to advise the queen to use all pleasantness with the king. Both these words were spoken before the king had trusted the secret to him, on design that she might render herself more agreeable to the king : but after the king had trusted that secret to him (which it seems was his design to have the marriage dissolved) he never spoke of it, but to the lord admiral ; and that was by the king's order on Sunday last ; who was very willing to seek remedy for the king's comfort : he protests he was ready to die to procure the king comfort : he wishes he were in hell if it was not true. This was all he had done," (it seems the king thought the change in the queen's deportment towards him was the effect of his discovering the secret of the king's purpose, and in order to prevent it) ; "but for this he humbly begs pardon : he understood that it was charged upon him, that he had more retainers about him than the laws allowed : he never retained any, except his household servants, but against his will : he had been pressed by many, who said they were his friends, he had retained their children and friends, not as retainers, for their fathers and friends promised to maintain them : in this, God knows, he had no ill intent, but begs pardon if he had offended," (for that was represented as the gathering a force about him to defend himself). "He concludes he had not behaved himself towards God and the king as he ought to have done : and as he was continually calling on God for mercy, for offences committed against him, so he begs the king's pardon for his offences against him, which were never wilful ; and he assures him he had never a thought of treason against him, either in word or deed : and he continued to pray for him and the prince, ending, indeed, with too abject a meanness."

The Matters
at first char-
ged on him,
from which
he clears
himself.

Col. Num. 68.

These were all the particulars that were charged on him upon his first imprisonment : other matters were afterwards added to throw the more load on him ; but it seems they were not so much as thought on or mentioned at first : but now I return to the letter writ to Zurich. Hill adds, that they heard they once designed to burn Cromwell as a heretic, and that these considerations made him confess that he had offended the king. What he said that way at his execution was pronounced coldly by him ; upon that the writer runs out very copiously, and acknowledges that their sins had provoked God to bring upon them that great change that they saw in affairs : they had wholly trusted to the learning of some, and to the conduct of others ; but God, by the taking these away, was calling on them to turn sincerely to him, to trust entirely in him, and to repent with their whole heart. There was at that time a great want of sincere labourers, so that from east to west, and from south to north, there was scarce one faithful and sincere preacher of the gospel to be found.

The act of dissolving the king's marriage did set forth that some doubts were raised concerning the king's marriage, which, as he writes, was manifestly false, for nobody thought of any doubtfulness in it : nor did they pray, as is in the act, that it might be inquired into: for nobody spake of it till the king was resolved to part with the queen, that he might be married to Mrs. Howard, whom in his bad Latin he calls "*Parvissima Puella*," a very little girl. The archbishop of Canterbury, and the rest of the bishops, judged she was yet a virgin, which none that knew the man could believe. Here again I must leave my letter.

There had been no convocation for two years, for "the institution of a Christian man" was prepared by a commission, given to some bishops of both provinces, and to some archdeacons, but no deans were summoned with them : a convocation sate in both provinces in May, in the year 1539, to which abbots and priors were summoned ; but though there were eight abbots and nine priors in Exeter diocese, yet the return from thence says, there were none in the diocese. I do not know how to reconcile that with the abbot of Tavistock's sitting in the house of lords, as appears by the journals of that parliament.

Upon this occasion there was a particular summons for both provinces, to meet in a national synod, to judge of the king's marriage. When I wrote of this in my History, I did not at all reflect on the doctrine of the church of Rome, that makes marriage a sacrament, in which the two parties are the ministers, who transfer their persons to one another : and according to the doctrine of the necessity of the intention in him that ministers the sacrament, how vile soever this decision in the matter of the king's marriage may seem to be, yet it was a just consequence from that doctrine : for without a true, free, and inward intention, which the king affirmed he had not, the marriage could be no sacrament : so that the heaviest part of the shame of that decision falls indeed on that doctrine. When the news came to France of the king's dissolving his marriage with Anne of Cleves, king Francis himself asked the ambassadors upon what grounds it went : the cardinal of Ferrara did also send one to ask what was alleged for it by divines and lawyers. Wallop and others were then the ambassadors from England at the court : they sent to the council an account of this ; and Wallop wrote over to know what he should say upon the subject. The answer which the council wrote to him was, that the queen herself affirmed, her person had not been touched by king Henry : that a learned convocation had judged the matter ; that the bishops of Durham, Winchester, and Bath, were known to be great and learned clerks, who would do nothing but upon just and good grounds : so that all persons ought to be satisfied with these proceedings, as she herself was. And here this matter ended, to the great reproach of that body, that went so hastily and so unanimously into that scandalous decision.

But to return to my Zurich letter : after he had related the manner of that judgment of those called spiritual, who indeed were very carnal, he mentions the exceptions in the act of pardon ; for besides particular exceptions, all anabaptists and sacramentaries were excepted, and all those that affirmed there was a fate upon men, by which the day of their death was unalterably determined.

There was at this time a great design against Dr. Crome, whom Cranmer had recommended to be dean of Canterbury, in these words: "I know no man more meet for the dean's room in England than Dr. Crome, who by his sincere learning, **A Design against Crome.** godly conversation, and good example of living, with his great soberness, hath done unto the king's majesty as good service, I dare say, as any priest in England: and yet his grace daily remembereth all others that doth him service, this man only excepted, who never had yet, besides his gracious favour, any promotion at his hands. Wherefore if it please his majesty to put him in the dean's room, I do not doubt but that he should be a light to all the deans and ministers of colleges in this realm; for I know, that when he was but a president of a college in Cambridge, his house was better ordered than all the houses in Cambridge besides." Certainly this good opinion that Cranmer had of him made him, in the state in which things were at this time, to be the worse thought of, and the more watched. So, when he heard that he was to be searched for, he went to the king, and, on his knees, begged he would put a stop to the severities then on foot, and that he would set many, then in prison on the account of religion, at liberty. The king had such a regard for him that, upon this, he ordered a stop to be put to further prosecutions; and he set those at liberty who were then in prison, they giving bail to appear when they should be called for. The king seemed to think that by this small favour, after some severities, people would be more quiet and more obedient; but after the parliament was dissolved, six persons suffered. Three of these were popish priests, who suffered as traitors, for denying the king's supremacy; and Barnes, Gerrard, and Jerome were the other three. They were tied to one stake, and suffered without crying out, but were quiet and patient, as if they had felt no pain. He could never hear any reason given for this their suffering, unless it was to please the clergy: they were not condemned by any form of law. They had been so cautious, ever since the act of the Six Articles passed, that they had not opened their mouths in opposition to them in public; and, by the act, all offences done before it had passed were pardoned. Barnes himself said, at the place of execution, that he did not know for what cause he was brought thither to be burnt; for they were attainted by act of parliament, without being brought to make their answers.

The bishop of Chichester, Sampson, though a man compliant in all things, and Dr. Wilson, were exempted out of the general pardon, for no other crime, as he heard, but that Abel who suffered for denying the king's supremacy, being in the greatest extremity of want and misery in prison, where it was said he was almost eat up by vermin, they had sent him some alms. From this Hill goes on to give an account of Crome, whose constant way had been, when he saw a storm rising, to preach with more zeal than ordinary against the prevailing corruption: so on Christmas-day his enemies that were watching to find matter to accuse him, framed some articles which they carried to the king against him: he had condemned in his sermon all masses for the dead, and said, "if they were profitable to the dead, the king and parliament had done wrong in destroying the monasteries endowed for that end: he also said, that to pray to the saints, only to pray for us, was a practice neither necessary nor useful: he added, you call us the seditious preachers of a new doctrine, but it is you are the seditious persons, who maintain the superstitious traditions of men, and will not hear the word of God himself. The church of Christ will ever suffer persecution as it has done of late among us."

These and some other complaints being carried to the king, Crome was commanded to answer them. He in his answer explained and justified all he had said. The king had no mind to carry matters further against so eminent a man; so he passed a sentence, in which he set forth, that Crome had confessed the articles objected to him; but the king out of his clemency, intending to quiet his people, appointed Crome to preach at Saint Paul's, and there to repeat all the articles objected to him, and then to read the judgment that the king gave in the matter: and it concluded, that if ever he fell into the like offence again, he was to suffer according to law. The king's judgment was, "that private masses were sacrifices profitable both to the living and to the dead, but yet that the king's majesty with his parliament had justly abolished monasteries." Upon this Crome preached, and at the end of his sermon, he told the people he had received an order from the king to be read to them;

which he read, but said not one word upon it, and with a short prayer dismissed the congregation: whereas the king expected that he should have applauded his judgment, and extolled his favour to himself, as Dr. Barnes and his two companions were unhappily prevailed on to do, and yet were burned afterwards. Hill was therefore afraid that Crome might be brought into further trouble. There was an order sent to him from the king to preach no more, as he had before forbidden both Latimer and Shaxton to preach any more. They were not excluded from the general pardon, but were still prohibited to preach: and when they were set at liberty, they were required not to come within ten miles of either of the universities, or the city of London, or the dioceses in which they had been bishops. Thus, says he, faithful shepherds were driven from their flocks, and ravenous wolves were sent in their stead: he concludes, hoping that God would not suffer them to be long oppressed by such tyranny. Thus I have given a very particular account of that long letter writ with much good sense and piety, but in very bad Latin, therefore I do not put it into the Collection.

Sampson, though he fell into this disgrace for an act of Christian piety, yet hitherto had showed a very entire compliance with all that had been done: he had published an explanation on the first fifty Psalms, which he dedicated to the king: in which, as he extolled his proceedings, so he run out into a severe invective against the bishop of Rome, and the usurpations and corruptions favoured by that see, and he reflected severely on Pole. Pole's old friend Tonsal did also in a sermon at Saint Paul's on Palm Sunday in his grave way set forth his unnatural ingratitude. But now the popish party upon Cromwell's fall, and the exaltation of the duke of Norfolk by the king's marrying his niece, broke out into their usual violence; and they were, as we may reasonably believe, set on to it by Bonner, who upon Stokesly's death, a year before, had been brought to London, and immediately upon Cromwell's disgrace changed sides, and from having acted a forced part with heat enough, now came to act that which was natural to him.

There were so many informations brought in the city of London, that a jury sitting in Mercers' Chapel presented five hundred persons to be tried upon the statute of Prosecutions upon the Six Articles, the Six Articles, which, as may be easily imagined, put the city under great apprehensions: but Audley, the lord chancellor, represented to the king that this was done out of malice: so they were all dismissed, some say pardoned. Informations came against papists on the other side: a letter was sent from the council to Cranmer, to send Dr. Bengier to the Tower. Two of Bonner's chaplains were, by order of council, sent to the archbishop, to be examined by him. A vicar was brought out of Wiltshire, out of whose offices Thomas Becket's name was not yet rased: but he was dismissed, for it was believed to be the effect only of negligence, and not of any ill principles. There was a letter of Melancthon's against the king's proceedings, printed in English; (perhaps it was that which I published in the Addenda to my first volume). Goodrick bishop of Ely's chaplain and servant were examined, and his house was searched for it. Many were brought into trouble for words concerning the king and his proceedings. Poor Marbeck, of Windsor, was imprisoned in the Marshalsea. Many printers were prosecuted for bringing English books into the kingdom against the king's proceedings. In one council-day (for all these particulars are taken out of the council-books), five-and-twenty booksellers were examined as to all books, more particularly English books, that they had sold these last three years. Hains, the dean of Exeter, was oft before the council; but particulars are not mentioned. Articles were brought against him, and they were referred to the king's learned council. The bishops of Ely, Sarum, Rochester, and Westminster were appointed to examine him, and to proceed with all diligence. He was also sent to the Fleet for "lewd and seditious preaching" (the words in the council-book), and sowing many erroneous opinions; but, after a good lesson and exhortation, with a declaration of the king's mercy and goodness towards him, he was dismissed under a recognisance of five hundred marks, to appear (if called for) any time within five months, to answer to such things as should be laid against him.

On the 4th of May, 1542, an entry is made, Cranmer being present; that it was thought good, if the king's highness shall be so content, that a general commission shall be sent to

Kent, with certain special articles; and generally, that all abuses and enormities of religion were to be examined. This was laid on design to ruin Cranmer; but there is no other entry made in the council-book relating to this matter; unless this was a consequence of it, that on the 27th of June, Hards, of Canterbury, a prisoner for a seditious libel, was, after a good exhortation, dismissed. And this is all the light that the only council-book of that reign, for two years, affords as to those matters. Mr. Strype has helped us to more light.

While Cranmer was visiting his diocese, there were many presentments made of a very different nature. Some were presented for adhering still to the old superstitions condemned by the king, and for insinuations in favour of the pope's authority. Others again were, on the other hand, presented for doctrines, either contrary to the Six Articles, or to the rites still practised. This created a great confusion through that whole country, and the blame of all was cast on Cranmer by his enemies; as if he favoured and encouraged that which was called the "New Learning" too much.

A plot was contrived, chiefly by Gardiner's means, with the assistance of Dr. London and of Thornden (suffragan of Dover and prebendary of Canterbury), who had lived in Cranmer's house, and had all his preferment by his favour. Several others engaged in it, who had all been raised by him, and had pretended zeal for the gospel; but, upon Cromwell's fall, they reckoned, that if they could send Cranmer after him, they would effectually crush all designs of a further reformation.

They resolved to begin with some of the prebendaries and preachers. Many articles were gathered out of their sermons and private discourses, all terminating in the archbishop, who, as was said, showed so partial a favour to the men of the "New Learning," and dealt so harshly and severely with the others, that he was represented to be the principal cause of all the heat and divisions that were in Canterbury, and in the other parts of Kent. These articles went through many hands; but it was not easy to prevail with a proper person to present them. The steps made in the matter are copiously set forth by Mr. Strype. At last they came into the king's hands; and he, upon that, passing by Lambeth, where the archbishop stood, in respect to him, as he passed by, called him into his barge, and told him, he had now discovered who was the greatest heretic in Kent. With that he showed him the articles against himself and his chaplains. The archbishop knew the falsehood of many particulars, so he prayed the king to send a commission to examine the matter. The king said he would give him a commission, but to none else. He answered, it would not seem decent to appoint him to examine articles exhibited against himself. The king said he knew his integrity, and would trust it to no other person: nor would he name above one (though pressed to it) that should be joined in commission with him: and he even then seemed persuaded it was a contrivance of Gardiner's to ruin him.

The archbishop went down himself into Kent; and then the conspirators seeing the king's favour to him, were struck with fear. Some of them wept and begged pardon, and were put in prison: but the rest of the commission, in whose hands the archbishop left the matter, being secretly favourers of that party, proceeded faintly: so it was writ to court, that unless Dr. Legh were sent down, who was well practised in examinations, the conspiracy would never be found out: he was upon that sent down; and he ordered a search to be made at one and the same time of all suspected places, and so he discovered the whole train. Some of the archbishop's domestics, Thornden in particular, were among the chief of the informers. He charged them with it. They, on their knees, confessed their faults with many tears. He, who was gentle even to excess, said he did forgive them, and prayed God to forgive them, and to make them better men. After that, he was never observed to change his countenance, or alter his behaviour towards them. He expressed the like readiness to pardon all the rest: many were imprisoned upon these examinations, but the parliament granting a subsidy, a general pardon set them all at liberty; which otherwise the archbishop was resolved to have procured to them. This relation differs in several particulars from the account that I gave of it in my History: but this seems to be the exacter and the better vouched, and therefore I acquiesce in it. Another instance is given by the same writer of the king's zeal for Cranmer. Sir John

Ch. 25. Mem.
Cranmer.

A Conspiracy
against Cran-
mer.

His great
Mildness.

Gostwick, knight for Bedfordshire, did in the house of commons charge him for preaching heresy against the sacrament of the altar, both at Feversham and Canterbury: the king hearing of this, did, in his rough way, threaten Gostwick, calling him varlet, and charged him to go and ask Cranmer pardon, otherwise he should feel the effects of his displeasure. The king said if he had been a Kentish man, he might have had some more shadow for accusing him; but being of Bedfordshire, he could have none. Gostwick, terrified with this message, made his submission to Cranmer, who mildly forgave him, and went to the king and moved him for his favour, which he did not obtain without some difficulty.

It appears plainly that the king acted as if he had a mind to be thought infallible; and that his subjects were bound to believe as much as he thought fit to open to them, and neither more nor less. He went on this year, before he took his progress, in finishing "The necessary Doctrine and Erudition of any Christian Man." A great part of it was corrected by his own hand, particularly in that article of the creed, "the catholic church," where there are severe reflections added on the bishops of Rome. Here I found likewise some more of the answers made to the Refor. Vol. i. seventeen queries upon the matter of the sacraments that I published in my first Col.Num.69. volume. I set them out again in my Collection, that by these the reader may better understand the two following papers, that I print separately, and not intermixed with one another, as I did before, which I thought to be an ease to the reader: but since that was made a great offence, I will do it no more. One of these is only an answer to the queries: the writer of the first is not named; it is probably Tonsal's: he is plainly of the same side Col.Num.70. with the archbishop of York. It will be found in the Collection; as also another Col.Num.71. paper, with several marginal notes in the king's hand, by which it appears that the king was much shaken from his former notions. He asked for Scripture in several particulars that could not easily be brought. On the margin, Cranmer and Barlow are often named; but I do not understand with what view it was that they, and no other (except Cox, once), are named. Over against the 15th article, their names are set down in this order: York, Durham, Carlisle, Corren, Simon, Oglethorp, Edgworth, Day, Redman, Robinson, Winchester; and a little below, Canterbury, Hereford, Rochester, Davys (I suppose St. David's), Westminster, Layton, Tresham, Cox, Crayford: these are writ in a hand that I do not know, but not in the same hand. It seems those lists were made with relation to the different parties in which they stood. The book, thus carefully examined, was finished and published.

The king went in progress with his queen, who began to have a great influence on him; and on what reason I do not know, she withdrew from her uncle, and became Katherine Howard's Dis- his enemy: but before the king's return, her ill life came to be discovered, which grace. ended fatally to her. It is scarce worth the reader's while to say any more of a matter that is so universally acknowledged; but having found an original account, subscribed by herself, of one of her examinations, I have put it in the Collection. It appears Col.Num.72. there was a particular view in the archbishop of Canterbury's examining her, to draw from her all the discoveries they could make to fasten a pre-contract with Dereham on her. Many trifling stories relating to that being suggested, she was examined to them all: but though she confesses a lewd commerce with Dereham, she positively denied everything that could infer a pre-contract; nor did she confess anything of that sort done after the king married her, which she still denied very positively, even to the last. On the 15th of December, letters were written to the king's ambassadors abroad, that contain a severe account of the lewd and naughty behaviour and lightness of her lately reputed for queen (I give Paper-Office. the words of the letter), at which the king was much troubled.

Upon her disgrace there was a new negotiation proposed with the protestant princes of Germany. Mount was again sent over to excuse, as well as he could, the divorce with Anne of Cleves. He said she was treated nobly and kindly in all respects by the king: he renewed the proposition for a league, with relation to their common interests; but they still stood upon this, that they could enter into no alliance with him unless they agreed in religion; insisting particularly on private masses, the denying the chalice, and the celibate of the clergy. Upon which a con-

Cott. Libr.
Cleop. E. 5.
Some Steps
made in set-
ting out true
Religion.
Col.Num.32.

Refor. Vol. i.
Col.Num.69.

Col.Num.70.

Col.Num.71.

Katherine
Howard's Dis-
grace.

Col.Num.72.

Paper-Office.

Secken.lib.3.
p. 78.

A Negotiation
with the Ger-
man Princes.

ference was proposed in Gelderland, or at Hamburgh or Bremen. The king, in answer to this, wrote, that he would carefully examine all that they laid before him: he expressed great regard to the elector, but complained that some of his learned men had written virulently against him, and misrepresented his proceedings. Crammer likewise wrote to the elector, and set forth the great things the king had already done in abolishing the pope's authority, the monastic state, and the idolatrous worship of images. He desired they would not be uneasy, though the king in some things differed still from them: he was very learned himself, and had learned men about him; he was quick of apprehension, had a sound judgment, and was firm in what he once resolved on; and he hoped the propositions they had sent over would be well considered.

Lord William Howard, the late queen's uncle, was then ambassador in France. He tells, in one of his letters, that the admiral was restored to favour, chiefly by the means of madame D'Estampes, whose credit with that king is well known. There were reports that the emperor and the French king were in a treaty, and that, in conclusion, they would join to make war on the king. This was charged on the French, but solemnly disowned by that king. It appears the proposition for marrying the lady Mary to the duke of Orleans was then begun. Great exceptions were taken to her being declared a bastard; but it was promised that, when all other things were agreed to, she should be declared legitimate. Upon queen Katherine Howard's disgrace, lord William was recalled, and Paget was sent over in his room.

There is in the Paper-office an original letter of Paget's to the king, that gives an account of his conversation with the admiral, who was then in high favour, Montmorency being in disgrace. It is very long, but it contains so many important passages that I have put it in the Collection, and shall here give an abstract of it. It is dated from Chablais, Col. Num. 73. the 22d of April, in the year 1542.

“ He gave the admiral an account of his instructions, and of what both the king and his council had ordered him to say. He perceived the admiral sighed and crossed himself often; and said, in his answer to him, that he saw the king of France resolved to enter into some confederacy. He desired it might be with the king, and would think of no other prince till the king refused him. He thought both the kings were, by their interests, obliged to stick to one another, though the marriage had never been spoke of: it is true, that would fix and strengthen it. But he thought two hundred thousand crowns was a very mean offer for such a king's daughter to such a prince: four or five hundred thousand crowns was nothing to the king. The duke of Orleans was a prince of great courage, and did aspire to great things. So mean an offer would quite discourage them. The daughter of Portugal was offered with four hundred thousand ducats, together with the interest of it since her father's death, which was almost as much more. At the first motion of the matter, it was answered, the man must desire the woman. Now he does desire her, and you offer nothing: with this he sighed. Paget answered, and fully set out the personal love that he knew his master had for the French king; that none of the occasions of suspicion that had been given could alienate him from it; and he reckoned up many of these. He acknowledged there were great hopes of the duke of Orleans; but he studied to show that the offer was not unreasonable, all things considered. Louis XII. had but three hundred thousand crowns with the king's sister; and the king of Scots had with the other but one hundred thousand crowns: but he said, besides the two hundred thousand crowns which he offered to give, they will also forgive eight hundred thousand crowns that France owed the king, and discharge the one hundred thousand crowns yearly pension. To this the admiral replied, he counted the forgiving the eight hundred thousand crowns for nothing; and, for the annual pension, they would be at as much charge to maintain her and her court. Paget said the eight hundred thousand crowns was a just debt, lent in an extreme necessity; and because it had been long owing, and often respited, must that pass for nothing? So he bad him ask reasonably, or offer what was proper reciprocally for it. The admiral said the king was rich; and what was eight hundred thousand crowns to him, which they were not able to pay? So the admiral, said he, wished the thing had never been spoke of. He fell next to turn the motion to the lady Elizabeth; and he proposed a league offensive and defen-

Paget's Negotiation with the Court of France.

sive against the emperor; and that whatever should be got from the emperor should be the king's, in lieu of the pension during life. He knew the emperor was practising with the king, as he was, at the same time, with them. Bonner was then sent ambassador to Spain, and had carried over from the king to the emperor three horses of value. The emperor might say what he will in the way of practice; but he knew he would never unite with the king, except he would return to the pope: for so the nuncio told the chancellor, and the chancellor told it to the queen of Navarre, who fell out with him upon that occasion. She told him he was ill enough before; but now, since he had 'the mark of the beast' (for he was lately made a priest), he grew worse and worse. The emperor's design was only to divide them. He offered to them that the duke of Orleans should be king of Naples, and to give Flanders to the crown of France; but in lieu of that he asked the renunciation of Milan and Navarre, and the restoring of Piedmont and Savoy. But by this, the father and son being so far separate, the emperor would soon drive the duke of Orleans out of Naples. He was also studying to gain the duke of Cleves, and to restore him Gueldres quietly, provided that he and his wife would renounce Navarre. But he concluded that they knew the emperor did nothing but practise. They knew he offered to the king to reconcile him to the pope without any breach of his honour, for it should be at the pope's suit. Paget said he knew nothing of all that; but believed it would be hard to reconcile him to the bishop of Rome, for virtue and vice cannot stand together in one predicament. 'Call ye him Vice,' said the admiral; 'he is the very devil, and I trust to see his confusion: everything must have a time and a beginning.' 'But when begin you?' said Paget. The admiral answered, 'Before it be long, the king will give all the abbeyes to his lay gentlemen; and so by little and little overthrow him altogether. Why may not we have a patriarch in France?' This the pope's legate began to perceive; and though they talked of a general council, he believed the pope would as soon be hanged as call one. Paget said, he would be glad to see them once begin to do somewhat. 'Ah!' said the admiral, 'I'm ill-matched.' He wished the entire union of the two kings; and if an interview might be between them, it would be the happiest thing could befall Christendom: but he believed some of the king's council leaned too much to the emperor, and proposed several advantages from it. He said, the emperor cared not if father, friend, and all the world should sink, so his insatiable desires might be satisfied. He suffered two of his brothers-in-law to perish for want of fifty thousand crowns; first, the king of Hungary, and then the king of Denmark, whom he might have restored, if he would have given him ten thousand crowns. He was then low enough; and they would do well to fall on him, now that he was so low, before he took breath. So he pressed Paget to put matters on heartily with the king. He thought it an unreasonable thing for the emperor and his brother to ask aid against the Turk, to defend their own dominions, when they kept the king's dominions from him. Paget gave the king an account of all this conversation very particularly, with an humble submission to him if in anything he had gone too far. The court of France believed the emperor was treating with the king for the marriage of the lady Mary; and that, for that end, Bonner was sent to Spain, who was looked on as a man thoroughly imperial." After Paget had ended his letter, written on the 19th of April, he adds a long postscript on the 22d, for the admiral had entered into farther discourse with him the next day. "He told him how sorry he was to see all his hopes blasted; he could not sleep all night for it. They had letters from their ambassadors in England, and were amazed to find that a king who was so rich stood for so small a matter. The pope had offered the duke of Guise's son two hundred thousand crowns with his niece: he said he was much troubled at all this. All that were about the king his master were not of one mind; and he had been reproached for beginning this matter. They knew the falsehood and the lies of the pope and the emperor well enough: he wished they would consider well what the effects of an entire friendship with the king of France might be: the French could do no more than they could do. Within two years, they would owe the king one hundred thousand crowns, besides the one hundred thousand crowns during the king's life, and fifty thousand crowns for ever after that. But he said, in those treaties, many things ought to be done for their own defence. At this he was called away by the king, but came afterwards to Paget. He said, it was not one hundred thousand nor two hundred thousand

lady Mary a considerable match for some foreign prince, the duke of Orleans or some other. This is all that I could gather, out of a vast number of those notes, which he took of matters, to move the king in.

Upon Cromwell's imprisonment, the comptroller was sent to him, and he ordered him to write to the king, what he thought meet to be written concerning his present condition ; and, it seems, with some intimations of hope. Upon that, Cromwell wrote a long letter to the king, which will be found in the Collection. "He begins it with great thanks to the king, for what the comptroller had said to him. He was accused of treason ; but he protests, he never once thought to do that which should displease him, much less to commit so high an offence. The king knew his accusers : he prayed God to forgive them. He had ever loved the king, and all his proceedings : he prays God to confound him, if he had ever a thought to the contrary. He had laboured much, to make the king a great and a happy prince ; and acknowledges his great obligations to the king. So he writes, that if he had been capable to be a traitor, the greatest punishment was too little for him. He never spoke with the chancellor of the augmentations (Baker) and Throckmorton together, but once : but he is sure, he never spoke of any such matter" (as, it seems, was informed against him). "The king knew what a man Throckmorton was, with relation to all his proceedings : and what an enemy Baker was to him, God and he know : the king knew what he had been towards him. It seems, the king had advertised him of them ; but God, who had delivered Susan when falsely accused, could deliver him. He trusted only in God, and in the king. In all his service, he had only considered the king ; but did not know that he had done injustice to any person : yet he had not done his duty in all things ; therefore he asked mercy. If he had heard of conventicles, or other offences, he had for the most part revealed them, and made them to be punished, but not out of malice. He had meddled in so many things, that he could not answer them all ; but of this he was sure, that he had never willingly offended : and wherein he had offended, he humbly begged pardon. The comptroller told him, that fourteen days ago the king had committed a great secret to him, which he had revealed : he remembered well the matter, but he had never revealed it. For, after the king had told him what it was that he disliked in the queen, he told the king, that she often desired to speak with him, but he durst not : yet the king bade him go to her, and be plain with her, in declaring his mind : upon which, he spake privately with her lord chamberlain, desiring him, not naming the king, to deal with the queen to behave herself more pleasantly towards the king ; hoping thereby to have had some faults amended. And when some of her council came to him, for licence to the stranger maids to depart, he did then require them to advise the queen to use all pleasantness with the king. Both these words were spoken before the king had trusted the secret to him, on design that she might render herself more agreeable to the king : but after the king had trusted that secret to him (which it seems was his design to have the marriage dissolved) he never spoke of it, but to the lord admiral ; and that was by the king's order on Sunday last ; who was very willing to seek remedy for the king's comfort : he protests he was ready to die to procure the king comfort : he wishes he were in hell if it was not true. This was all he had done," (it seems the king thought the change in the queen's deportment towards him was the effect of his discovering the secret of the king's purpose, and in order to prevent it) ; "but for this he humbly begs pardon : he understood that it was charged upon him, that he had more retainers about him than the laws allowed : he never retained any, except his household servants, but against his will : he had been pressed by many, who said they were his friends, he had retained their children and friends, not as retainers, for their fathers and friends promised to maintain them : in this, God knows, he had no ill intent, but begs pardon if he had offended," (for that was represented as the gathering a force about him to defend himself). "He concludes he had not behaved himself towards God and the king as he ought to have done : and as he was continually calling on God for mercy, for offences committed against him, so he begs the king's pardon for his offences against him, which were never wilful ; and he assures him he had never a thought of treason against him, either in word or deed : and he continued to pray for him and the prince, ending, indeed, with too abject a meanness."

The Matters
at first char-
ged on him,
from which
he clears
himself.

Col. Num. 68.

These were all the particulars that were charged on him upon his first imprisonment : other matters were afterwards added to throw the more load on him ; but it seems they were not so much as thought on or mentioned at first : but now I return to the letter writ to Zurich. Hill adds, that they heard they once designed to burn Cromwell as a heretic, and that these considerations made him confess that he had offended the king. What he said that way at his execution was pronounced coldly by him ; upon that the writer runs out very copiously, and acknowledges that their sins had provoked God to bring upon them that great change that they saw in affairs : they had wholly trusted to the learning of some, and to the conduct of others ; but God, by the taking these away, was calling on them to turn sincerely to him, to trust entirely in him, and to repent with their whole heart. There was at that time a great want of sincere labourers, so that from east to west, and from south to north, there was scarce one faithful and sincere preacher of the gospel to be found.

The act of dissolving the king's marriage did set forth that some doubts were raised concerning the king's marriage, which, as he writes, was manifestly false, for nobody thought of any doubtfulness in it : nor did they pray, as is in the act, that it might be inquired into: for nobody spake of it till the king was resolved to part with the queen, that he might be married to Mrs. Howard, whom in his bad Latin he calls "*Parvissima Puella*," a very little girl. The archbishop of Canterbury, and the rest of the bishops, judged she was yet a virgin, which none that knew the man could believe. Here again I must leave my letter.

There had been no convocation for two years, for "the institution of a Christian man" was prepared by a commission, given to some bishops of both provinces, and to some archdeacons, but no deans were summoned with them: a convocation sate in both provinces in May, in the year 1539, to which abbots and priors were summoned ; but though there were eight abbots and nine priors in Exeter diocese, yet the return from thence says, there were none in the diocese. I do not know how to reconcile that with the abbot of Tavistock's sitting in the house of lords, as appears by the journals of that parliament.

Upon this occasion there was a particular summons for both provinces, to meet in a national synod, to judge of the king's marriage. When I wrote of this in my History, I did not at all reflect on the doctrine of the church of Rome, that makes marriage a sacrament, in which the two parties are the ministers, who transfer their persons to one another : and according to the doctrine of the necessity of the intention in him that ministers the sacrament, how vile soever this decision in the matter of the king's marriage may seem to be, yet it was a just consequence from that doctrine : for without a true, free, and inward intention, which the king affirmed he had not, the marriage could be no sacrament : so that the heaviest part of the shame of that decision falls indeed on that doctrine. When the news came to France of the king's dissolving his marriage with Anne of Cleves, king Francis himself asked the ambassadors upon what grounds it went : the cardinal of Ferrara did also send one to ask what was alleged for it by divines and lawyers. Wallop and others were then the ambassadors from England at the court : they sent to the council an account of this ; and Wallop wrote over to know what he should say upon the subject. The answer which the council wrote to him was, that the queen herself affirmed, her person had not been touched by king Henry : that a learned convocation had judged the matter ; that the bishops of Durham, Winchester, and Bath, were known to be great and learned clerks, who would do nothing but upon just and good grounds : so that all persons ought to be satisfied with these proceedings, as she herself was. And here this matter ended, to the great reproach of that body, that went so hastily and so unanimously into that scandalous decision.

But to return to my Zurich letter : after he had related the manner of that judgment of those called spiritual, who indeed were very carnal, he mentions the exceptions in the act of pardon ; for besides particular exceptions, all anabaptists and sacramentaries were excepted, and all those that affirmed there was a fate upon men, by which the day of their death was unalterably determined.

There was at this time a great design against Dr. Crome, whom Cranmer had recommended to be dean of Canterbury, in these words: "I know no man more meet **A Design** for the dean's room in England than Dr. Crome, who by his sincere learning, **against** godly conversation, and good example of living, with his great soberness, hath **Crome.** done unto the king's majesty as good service, I dare say, as any priest in England: and yet his grace daily remembereth all others that doth him service, this man only excepted, who never had yet, besides his gracious favour, any promotion at his hands. Wherefore if it please his majesty to put him in the dean's room, I do not doubt but that he should be a light to all the deans and ministers of colleges in this realm; for I know, that when he was but a president of a college in Cambridge, his house was better ordered than all the houses in Cambridge besides." Certainly this good opinion that Cranmer had of him made him, in the state in which things were at this time, to be the worse thought of, and the more watched. So, when he heard that he was to be searched for, he went to the king, and, on his knees, begged he would put a stop to the severities then on foot, and that he would set many, then in prison on the account of religion, at liberty. The king had such a regard for him that, upon this, he ordered a stop to be put to further prosecutions; and he set those at liberty who were then in prison, they giving bail to appear when they should be called for. The king seemed to think that by this small favour, after some severities, people would be more quiet and more obedient; but after the parliament was dissolved, six persons suffered. Three of these were popish priests, who suffered as traitors, for denying the king's supremacy; and Barnes, Gerrard, and Jerome were the other three. They were tied to one stake, and suffered without crying out, but were quiet and patient, as if they had felt no pain. He could never hear any reason given for this their suffering, unless it was to please the clergy: they were not condemned by any form of law. They had been so cautious, ever since the act of the Six Articles passed, that they had not opened their mouths in opposition to them in public; and, by the act, all offences done before it had passed were pardoned. Barnes himself said, at the place of execution, that he did not know for what cause he was brought thither to be burnt; for they were attainted by act of parliament, without being brought to make their answers.

The bishop of Chichester, Sampson, though a man compliant in all things, and Dr. Wilson, were exempted out of the general pardon, for no other crime, as he heard, but that Abel who suffered for denying the king's supremacy, being in the greatest extremity of want and misery in prison, where it was said he was almost eat up by vermin, they had sent him some alms. From this Hill goes on to give an account of Crome, whose constant way had been, when he saw a storm rising, to preach with more zeal than ordinary against the prevailing corruption: so on Christmas-day his enemies that were watching to find matter to accuse him, framed some articles which they carried to the king against him: he had condemned in his sermon all masses for the dead, and said, "if they were profitable to the dead, the king and parliament had done wrong in destroying the monasteries endowed for that end: he also said, that to pray to the saints, only to pray for us, was a practice neither necessary nor useful: he added, you call us the seditious preachers of a new doctrine, but it is you are the seditious persons, who maintain the superstitious traditions of men, and will not hear the word of God himself. The church of Christ will ever suffer persecution as it has done of late among us."

These and some other complaints being carried to the king, Crome was commanded to answer them. He in his answer explained and justified all he had said. The king had no mind to carry matters further against so eminent a man; so he passed a sentence, in which he set forth, that Crome had confessed the articles objected to him; but the king out of his clemency, intending to quiet his people, appointed Crome to preach at Saint Paul's, and there to repeat all the articles objected to him, and then to read the judgment that the king gave in the matter: and it concluded, that if ever he fell into the like offence again, he was to suffer according to law. The king's judgment was, "that private masses were sacrifices profitable both to the living and to the dead, but yet that the king's majesty with his parliament had justly abolished monasteries." Upon this Crome preached, and at the end of his sermon, he told the people he had received an order from the king to be read to them;

which he read, but said not one word upon it, and with a short prayer dismissed the congregation: whereas the king expected that he should have applauded his judgment, and extolled his favour to himself, as Dr. Barnes and his two companions were unhappily prevailed on to do, and yet were burned afterwards. Hill was therefore afraid that Crome might be brought into further trouble. There was an order sent to him from the king to preach no more, as he had before forbidden both Latimer and Shaxton to preach any more. They were not excluded from the general pardon, but were still prohibited to preach: and when they were set at liberty, they were required not to come within ten miles of either of the universities, or the city of London, or the dioceses in which they had been bishops. Thus, says he, faithful shepherds were driven from their flocks, and ravenous wolves were sent in their stead: he concludes, hoping that God would not suffer them to be long oppressed by such tyranny. Thus I have given a very particular account of that long letter writ with much good sense and piety, but in very bad Latin, therefore I do not put it into the Collection.

Sampson, though he fell into this disgrace for an act of Christian piety, yet hitherto had showed a very entire compliance with all that had been done: he had published an explanation on the first fifty Psalms, which he dedicated to the king: in which, as he extolled his proceedings, so he run out into a severe invective against the bishop of Rome, and the usurpations and corruptions favoured by that see, and he reflected severely on Pole. Pole's old friend Tonsal did also in a sermon at Saint Paul's on Palm Sunday in his grave way set forth his unnatural ingratitude. But now the popish party upon Cromwell's fall, and the exaltation of the duke of Norfolk by the king's marrying his niece, broke out into their usual violence; and they were, as we may reasonably believe, set on to it by Bonner, who upon Stokesly's death, a year before, had been brought to London, and immediately upon Cromwell's disgrace changed sides, and from having acted a forced part with heat enough, now came to act that which was natural to him.

There were so many informations brought in the city of London, that a jury sitting in
Prosecutions upon the Six Articles. Mercers' Chapel presented five hundred persons to be tried upon the statute of the Six Articles, which, as may be easily imagined, put the city under great apprehensions: but Audley, the lord chancellor, represented to the king that this was done out of malice: so they were all dismissed, some say pardoned. Informations came against papists on the other side: a letter was sent from the council to Cranmer, to send Dr. Bengier to the Tower. Two of Bonner's chaplains were, by order of council, sent to the archbishop, to be examined by him. A vicar was brought out of Wiltshire, out of whose offices Thomas Becket's name was not yet rased: but he was dismissed, for it was believed to be the effect only of negligence, and not of any ill principles. There was a letter of Melancthon's against the king's proceedings, printed in English; (perhaps it was that which I published in the Addenda to my first volume). Goodrick bishop of Ely's chaplain and servant were examined, and his house was searched for it. Many were brought into trouble for words concerning the king and his proceedings. Poor Marbeck, of Windsor, was imprisoned in the Marshalsea. Many printers were prosecuted for bringing English books into the kingdom against the king's proceedings. In one council-day (for all these particulars are taken out of the council-books), five-and-twenty booksellers were examined as to all books, more particularly English books, that they had sold these last three years. Hains, the dean of Exeter, was oft before the council; but particulars are not mentioned. Articles were brought against him, and they were referred to the king's learned council. The bishops of Ely, Sarum, Rochester, and Westminster were appointed to examine him, and to proceed with all diligence. He was also sent to the Fleet for "lewd and seditious preaching" (the words in the council-book), and sowing many erroneous opinions; but, after a good lesson and exhortation, with a declaration of the king's mercy and goodness towards him, he was dismissed under a recognisance of five hundred marks, to appear (if called for) any time within five months, to answer to such things as should be laid against him.

On the 4th of May, 1542, an entry is made, Cranmer being present; that it was thought good, if the king's highness shall be so content, that a general commission shall be sent to

Kent, with certain special articles; and generally, that all abuses and enormities of religion were to be examined. This was laid on design to ruin Cranmer; but there is no other entry made in the council-book relating to this matter; unless this was a consequence of it, that on the 27th of June, Hards, of Canterbury, a prisoner for a seditious libel, was, after a good exhortation, dismissed. And this is all the light that the only council-book of that reign, for two years, affords as to those matters. Mr. Strype has helped us to more light.

While Cranmer was visiting his diocese, there were many presentments made of a very different nature. Some were presented for adhering still to the old superstitions condemned by the king, and for insinuations in favour of the pope's authority. Others again were, on the other hand, presented for doctrines, either contrary to the Six Articles, or to the rites still practised. This created a great confusion through that whole country, and the blame of all was cast on Cranmer by his enemies; as if he favoured and encouraged that which was called the "New Learning" too much.

A plot was contrived, chiefly by Gardiner's means, with the assistance of Dr. London and of Thornden (suffragan of Dover and prebendary of Canterbury), who had lived in Cranmer's house, and had all his preferment by his favour. Several others engaged in it, who had all been raised by him, and had pretended zeal for the gospel; but, upon Cromwell's fall, they reckoned, that if they could send Cranmer after him, they would effectually crush all designs of a further reformation.

They resolved to begin with some of the prebendaries and preachers. Many articles were gathered out of their sermons and private discourses, all terminating in the archbishop, who, as was said, showed so partial a favour to the men of the "New Learning," and dealt so harshly and severely with the others, that he was represented to be the principal cause of all the heat and divisions that were in Canterbury, and in the other parts of Kent. These articles went through many hands; but it was not easy to prevail with a proper person to present them. The steps made in the matter are copiously set forth by Mr. Strype. At last they came into the king's hands; and he, upon that, passing by Lambeth, where the archbishop stood, in respect to him, as he passed by, called him into his barge, and told him, he had now discovered who was the greatest heretic in Kent. With that he showed him the articles against himself and his chaplains. The archbishop knew the falsehood of many particulars, so he prayed the king to send a commission to examine the matter. The king said he would give him a commission, but to none else. He answered, it would not seem decent to appoint him to examine articles exhibited against himself. The king said he knew his integrity, and would trust it to no other person: nor would he name above one (though pressed to it) that should be joined in commission with him: and he even then seemed persuaded it was a contrivance of Gardiner's to ruin him.

The archbishop went down himself into Kent; and then the conspirators seeing the king's favour to him, were struck with fear. Some of them wept and begged pardon, and were put in prison: but the rest of the commission, in whose hands the archbishop left the matter, being secretly favourers of that party, proceeded faintly: so it was writ to court, that unless Dr. Legh were sent down, who was well practised in examinations, the conspiracy would never be found out: he was upon that sent down; and he ordered a search to be made at one and the same time of all suspected places, and so he discovered the whole train. Some of the archbishop's domestics, Thornden in particular, were among the chief of the informers. He charged them with it. They, on their knees, confessed their faults with many tears. He, who was gentle even to excess, said he did forgive them, and prayed God to forgive them, and to make them better men. After that, he was never observed to change his countenance, or alter his behaviour towards them. He expressed the like readiness to pardon all the rest: many were imprisoned upon these examinations, but the parliament granting a subsidy, a general pardon set them all at liberty; which otherwise the archbishop was resolved to have procured to them. This relation differs in several particulars from the account that I gave of it in my History: but this seems to be the exacter and the better vouched, and therefore I acquiesce in it. Another instance is given by the same writer of the king's zeal for Cranmer. Sir John

Ch. 25. Mem.
Cranmer.

A Conspiracy
against Cran-
mer.

His great
Mildness.

Gostwick, knight for Bedfordshire, did in the house of commons charge him for preaching heresy against the sacrament of the altar, both at Feversham and Canterbury: the king hearing of this, did, in his rough way, threaten Gostwick, calling him varlet, and charged him to go and ask Cranmer pardon, otherwise he should feel the effects of his displeasure. The king said if he had been a Kentish man, he might have had some more shadow for accusing him; but being of Bedfordshire, he could have none. Gostwick, terrified with this message, made his submission to Cranmer, who mildly forgave him, and went to the king and moved him for his favour, which he did not obtain without some difficulty.

It appears plainly that the king acted as if he had a mind to be thought infallible; and that his subjects were bound to believe as much as he thought fit to open to them, and neither more nor less. He went on this year, before he took his progress, in finishing "The necessary Doctrine and Erudition of any Christian Man." A great part of it was corrected by his own hand, particularly in that article of the creed, "the catholic church," where there are severe reflections added on the bishops of Rome. Here I found likewise some more of the answers made to the Refor. Vol. i. seventeenth queries upon the matter of the sacraments that I published in my first Col. Num. 69. volume. I set them out again in my Collection, that by these the reader may better understand the two following papers, that I print separately, and not intermixed with one another, as I did before, which I thought to be an ease to the reader: but since that was made a great offence, I will do it no more. One of these is only an answer to the queries: the writer of the first is not named; it is probably Tonsal's: he is plainly of the same side with the archbishop of York. It will be found in the Collection; as also another paper, with several marginal notes in the king's hand, by which it appears that the king was much shaken from his former notions. He asked for Scripture in several particulars that could not easily be brought. On the margin, Cranmer and Barlow are often named; but I do not understand with what view it was that they, and no other (except Cox, once), are named. Over against the 15th article, their names are set down in this order: York, Durham, Carlisle, Corren, Simon, Oglethorp, Edgworth, Day, Redman, Robinson, Winchester; and a little below, Canterbury, Hereford, Rochester, Davys (I suppose St. David's), Westminster, Layton, Tresham, Cox, Crayford: these are writ in a hand that I do not know, but not in the same hand. It seems those lists were made with relation to the different parties in which they stood. The book, thus carefully examined, was finished and published.

The king went in progress with his queen, who began to have a great influence on him; and on what reason I do not know, she withdrew from her uncle, and became Katherine Howard's Dis- his enemy: but before the king's return, her ill life came to be discovered, which grace. ended fatally to her. It is scarce worth the reader's while to say any more of a matter that is so universally acknowledged; but having found an original account, subscribed by herself, of one of her examinations, I have put it in the Collection. It appears Col. Num. 72. there was a particular view in the archbishop of Canterbury's examining her, to draw from her all the discoveries they could make to fasten a pre-contract with Dereham on her. Many trifling stories relating to that being suggested, she was examined to them all: but though she confesses a lewd commerce with Dereham, she positively denied everything that could infer a pre-contract; nor did she confess anything of that sort done after the king married her, which she still denied very positively, even to the last. On the 15th of December, letters were written to the king's ambassadors abroad, that contain a severe account of the lewd and naughty behaviour and lightness of her lately reputed for queen (I give Paper-Office. the words of the letter), at which the king was much troubled.

Upon her disgrace there was a new negotiation proposed with the protestant princes of Germany. Mount was again sent over to excuse, as well as he could, the divorce with Anne of Cleves. He said she was treated nobly and kindly in all respects by the king: he renewed the proposition for a league, with relation to their common interests; but they still stood upon this, that they could enter into no alliance with him unless they agreed in religion; insisting particularly on private masses, the denying the chalice, and the celibate of the clergy. Upon which a con-

Cott. Libr.
Cleop. E. 5.
Some Steps
made in set-
ting out true
Religion.
Col. Num. 32.

Refor. Vol. i.
Col. Num. 69.

Col. Num. 70.

Col. Num. 71.

Katherine
Howard's Dis-
grace.

Col. Num. 72.

Paper-Office.

Secken. lib. 3.
p. 78.

A Negotiation
with the Ger-
man Princes.

ference was proposed in Gelderland, or at Hamburg or Bremen. The king, in answer to this, wrote, that he would carefully examine all that they laid before him: he expressed great regard to the elector, but complained that some of his learned men had written virulently against him, and misrepresented his proceedings. Cranmer likewise wrote to the elector, and set forth the great things the king had already done in abolishing the pope's authority, the monastic state, and the idolatrous worship of images. He desired they would not be uneasy, though the king in some things differed still from them: he was very learned himself, and had learned men about him; he was quick of apprehension, had a sound judgment, and was firm in what he once resolved on; and he hoped the propositions they had sent over would be well considered.

Lord William Howard, the late queen's uncle, was then ambassador in France. He tells, in one of his letters, that the admiral was restored to favour, chiefly by the means of madame D'Estampes, whose credit with that king is well known. There were reports that the emperor and the French king were in a treaty, and that, in conclusion, they would join to make war on the king. This was charged on the French, but solemnly disowned by that king. It appears the proposition for marrying the lady Mary to the duke of Orleans was then begun. Great exceptions were taken to her being declared a bastard; but it was promised that, when all other things were agreed to, she should be declared legitimate. Upon queen Katherine Howard's disgrace, lord William was recalled, and Paget was sent over in his room.

There is in the Paper-office an original letter of Paget's to the king, that gives an account of his conversation with the admiral, who was then in high favour, Montmorency being in disgrace. It is very long, but it contains so many important passages that I have put it in the Collection, and shall here give an abstract of it. It is dated from Chablais, Col. Num. 73. the 22d of April, in the year 1542.

“ He gave the admiral an account of his instructions, and of what both the king and his council had ordered him to say. He perceived the admiral sighed and crossed himself often; and said, in his answer to him, that he saw the king of France resolved to enter into some confederacy. He desired it might be with the king, and would think of no other prince till the king refused him. He thought both the kings were, by their interests, obliged to stick to one another, though the marriage had never been spoke of: it is true, that would fix and strengthen it. But he thought two hundred thousand crowns was a very mean offer for such a king's daughter to such a prince: four or five hundred thousand crowns was nothing to the king. The duke of Orleans was a prince of great courage, and did aspire to great things. So mean an offer would quite discourage them. The daughter of Portugal was offered with four hundred thousand ducats, together with the interest of it since her father's death, which was almost as much more. At the first motion of the matter, it was answered, the man must desire the woman. Now he does desire her, and you offer nothing: with this he sighed. Paget answered, and fully set out the personal love that he knew his master had for the French king; that none of the occasions of suspicion that had been given could alienate him from it; and he reckoned up many of these. He acknowledged there were great hopes of the duke of Orleans; but he studied to show that the offer was not unreasonable, all things considered. Louis XII. had but three hundred thousand crowns with the king's sister; and the king of Scots had with the other but one hundred thousand crowns: but he said, besides the two hundred thousand crowns which he offered to give, they will also forgive eight hundred thousand crowns that France owed the king, and discharge the one hundred thousand crowns yearly pension. To this the admiral replied, he counted the forgiving the eight hundred thousand crowns for nothing; and, for the annual pension, they would be at as much charge to maintain her and her court. Paget said the eight hundred thousand crowns was a just debt, lent in an extreme necessity; and because it had been long owing, and often respited, must that pass for nothing? So he bad him ask reasonably, or offer what was proper reciprocally for it. The admiral said the king was rich; and what was eight hundred thousand crowns to him, which they were not able to pay? So the admiral, said he, wished the thing had never been spoke of. He fell next to turn the motion to the lady Elizabeth; and he proposed a league offensive and defen-

Paget's Negotiation with the Court of France.

sive against the emperor; and that whatever should be got from the emperor should be the king's, in lieu of the pension during life. He knew the emperor was practising with the king, as he was, at the same time, with them. Bonner was then sent ambassador to Spain, and had carried over from the king to the emperor three horses of value. The emperor might say what he will in the way of practice; but he knew he would never unite with the king, except he would return to the pope: for so the nuncio told the chancellor, and the chancellor told it to the queen of Navarre, who fell out with him upon that occasion. She told him he was ill enough before; but now, since he had 'the mark of the beast' (for he was lately made a priest), he grew worse and worse. The emperor's design was only to divide them. He offered to them that the duke of Orleans should be king of Naples, and to give Flanders to the crown of France; but in lieu of that he asked the renunciation of Milan and Navarre, and the restoring of Piedmont and Savoy. But by this, the father and son being so far separate, the emperor would soon drive the duke of Orleans out of Naples. He was also studying to gain the duke of Cleves, and to restore him Gueldres quietly, provided that he and his wife would renounce Navarre. But he concluded that they knew the emperor did nothing but practise. They knew he offered to the king to reconcile him to the pope without any breach of his honour, for it should be at the pope's suit. Paget said he knew nothing of all that; but believed it would be hard to reconcile him to the bishop of Rome, for virtue and vice cannot stand together in one predicament. 'Call ye him Vice,' said the admiral; 'he is the very devil, and I trust to see his confusion: everything must have a time and a beginning.' 'But when begin you?' said Paget. The admiral answered, 'Before it be long, the king will give all the abbeyes to his lay gentlemen; and so by little and little overthrow him altogether. Why may not we have a patriarch in France?' This the pope's legate began to perceive; and though they talked of a general council, he believed the pope would as soon be hanged as call one. Paget said, he would be glad to see them once begin to do somewhat. 'Ah!' said the admiral, 'I'm ill-matched.' He wished the entire union of the two kings; and if an interview might be between them, it would be the happiest thing could befall Christendom: but he believed some of the king's council leaned too much to the emperor, and proposed several advantages from it. He said, the emperor cared not if father, friend, and all the world should sink, so his insatiable desires might be satisfied. He suffered two of his brothers-in-law to perish for want of fifty thousand crowns; first, the king of Hungury, and then the king of Denmark, whom he might have restored, if he would have given him ten thousand crowns. He was then low enough; and they would do well to fall on him, now that he was so low, before he took breath. So he pressed Paget to put matters on heartily with the king. He thought it an unreasonable thing for the emperor and his brother to ask aid against the Turk, to defend their own dominions, when they kept the king's dominions from him. Paget gave the king an account of all this conversation very particularly, with an humble submission to him if in anything he had gone too far. The court of France believed the emperor was treating with the king for the marriage of the lady Mary; and that, for that end, Bonner was sent to Spain, who was looked on as a man thoroughly imperial." After Paget had ended his letter, written on the 19th of April, he adds a long postscript on the 22d, for the admiral had entered into farther discourse with him the next day. "He told him how sorry he was to see all his hopes blasted; he could not sleep all night for it. They had letters from their ambassadors in England, and were amazed to find that a king who was so rich stood for so small a matter. The pope had offered the duke of Guise's son two hundred thousand crowns with his niece: he said he was much troubled at all this. All that were about the king his master were not of one mind; and he had been reproached for beginning this matter. They knew the falsehood and the lies of the pope and the emperor well enough: he wished they would consider well what the effects of an entire friendship with the king of France might be: the French could do no more than they could do. Within two years, they would owe the king one hundred thousand crowns, besides the one hundred thousand crowns during the king's life, and fifty thousand crowns for ever after that. But he said, in those treaties, many things ought to be done for their own defence. At this he was called away by the king, but came afterwards to Paget. He said, it was not one hundred thousand nor two hundred thousand

crowns could not enrich the one, nor impoverish the other king. So he added, we ask your daughter, and you shall have our son; but desired that they might carry the matter further into a league, to make war on the emperor, defensive, for all their territories.

“He proposed that the king should send ten thousand foot and two thousand horse into Flanders, and to pay five thousand Germans; and the French king should furnish the same number of foot and of Germans, and three thousand horse, and an equal number of ships on both sides; and the king of France should, in some other places, fall into the emperor’s dominions, at an expense of two hundred thousand crowns a month. What a thing, said he, would it be, to the king, to have Gravelines, Dunkirk, and all those quarters joining to Calais! Paget answered, they might spend all their money, and catch nothing; and he did not see what ground of quarrel his master had with the emperor. Upon which the admiral replied, ‘Does not he owe you money? Hath not he broken his leagues with you in many particulars? Did not he provoke us to join with the pope and him, to drive your master out of his kingdom? And hath he not now put the pope on offering a council to sit at Mantua, Verona, Cambray, or Metz (this last place was lately named), all on design to ruin you? A pestilence take him!’ said he, ‘false dissembler that he is! If he had you at such an advantage as you now have him, you should feel it!’ And he run out largely, both against the bishop of Rome and the emperor. He desired the war might begin that year, the emperor being so low that, for all his millions, he had not a penny.”

On all this the admiral seemed wonderfully set. Paget excused himself from entering further into these matters, and desired that they might be proposed to the king by the French ambassador, then at London; yet, being pressed by the admiral, he promised to lay all before the king; and he did it very fully, but with many excuses and much submission.

The king’s council writ a short answer to this long letter: “They expressed their confidence in the admiral, with great acknowledgments for his affection to the king; but they seemed to suspect the king of France, that all his professions were only to get money from the king. Two hundred thousand crowns seemed nothing, when they were willing to forgive him a million; but, by this letter, it seems the French ambassadors did still insist on six hundred thousand crowns to be paid down.” So this matter was let fall. But to say all that relates to the duke of Orleans at once:

M. Le Vassor has published instructions, of which a collated copy was found among cardinal Granville’s papers. It is a question that cannot be answered, how he came by it: whether the original was taken with the landgrave of Hesse, or by what other way, is not certain. It bears date at Rheims, the 8th of September, 1543. “It expresses the great desire that he had, that the holy gospel might be preached in the whole kingdom of France; but the respect that he owed to the king his father, and to the dauphin his brother, made that he did not order it to be preached freely in his duchy of Orleans, that being under their obedience. But he sent to the duke of Saxony, to the landgrave of Hesse, and the other protestant princes, to assure them that he was resolved, and promised it expressly to them that he would order that the gospel should be preached in the duchy of Luxemburgh, and in all other places that should belong to him by the right of war. He desired to be received into their alliance, and to a league offensive and defensive with them. He desired earnestly that they would grant this request; not to be aided by them against any prince, but only on the account of the Christian religion, of which he desired the increase above all things; that by these means light may be spread into other dominions, and into the kingdom of France, when the king his father should see him so allied to those princes, which will be the cause of making him declare the good zeal he has to that matter; and will be able always to excuse it to him, and to defend it against all his enemies. He desires, therefore, that as soon as he shall give order that the gospel shall be preached in the duchy of Luxemburgh, this league and alliance may begin. He hopes this will not be delayed, from the opinion that they may have that he cannot quickly show what power he has to support the love he bears to this cause. He hopes in a little time to show, if it pleases God, some good effect of it; and he offers at present, not only all his own force, but the whole force of the king his father, who has given him authority to employ it in everything that he shall judge to be good for them, and in everything that may concern their welfare, their profit, and freedom.”

The Duke of Orleans promised to declare himself a Protestant.

It is impossible to read this, and to doubt either of his being sincerely a protestant, or at least that he was willing to profess it openly : and it can as little be doubted, that in this he had his father's leave to do what he did. The retaking of Luxemburgh put an end to this proposition : but, it seems, the emperor apprehended that the heat of this young prince might grow uneasy to him, therefore he took all methods to satisfy his ambition ; for, on the 18th of December, 1544, the ambassadors at the emperor's court write over, that he was treating a match between his own eldest daughter and the duke of Orleans ; and that he offered to give with her the ancient inheritance of the house of Burgundy, the two Practices on Burgundies, and the Netherlands : or if he would marry his brother Ferdinand's him end with second daughter, to give the duchy of Milan with her. They also mention in his life. April thereafter, that he came to the emperor, and stayed some days with him at Antwerp, and then went back. On this they all concluded that the treaty was like to go on, but do not mention which of the two ladies he liked best ; for there could be no comparison made between what was offered with them. But all the negotiation and all the hopes of that prince vanished on the 11th of September, 1545 ; for Karn, the king's ambassador in Flanders, writ over, that on that day he died of the plague.

I come next to put together all that I find in the minutes of convocation during this Proceedings reign. The necessary erudition was never brought in convocation : but it was in Convoca- treated by some bishops and divines of both provinces, and published by the king's tion. authority. It seems, when the doctrine was thus settled, there was a design to carry on the Reformation further. There was a convocation held in January 1541 ; in the second session of which, the archbishop delivered them a message from the king, that it was his pleasure, that they should consult concerning the reforming our errors. And he delivered some books to them to be examined by them : it does not appear what sort of books or errors those were ; whether of papists, sacramentaries, or of anabaptists ; for of this last sort some had crept into England. The business of Munster had made that name so odious, that three years before this, in October 1538, there was a commission sent to Cranmer, Stokesly, Sampson, and some others, to inquire after anabaptists, to proceed against them, to restore the penitent, to burn their books, and to deliver the obstinate to the secular arm : but I have not seen what proceedings there were upon this.

In October 1545 there was an order of council published, to take away shrines and images : several commissions were granted for executing this ; in some, they add A new Trans- lation of the Bible de- signed. bones to images. The archbishop did likewise move the convocation, in the king's name, to make laws against simony, and to prepare a book of homilies, and also a new translation of the Bible : for, it seems, complaints were made of the translation then printed and set up in churches. The several books of the Bible were parcelled out, and assigned to several bishops to translate them. This came to nothing during this reign ; but this same method was followed in queen Elizabeth's time. In the fifth session, the persons were named for this translation. Cranmer had, some few years before this, parcelled out an old translation of the New Testament to several bishops and divines, to be revised and corrected by them : but it was then much opposed. The Acts of Memor. of the Apostles was assigned to Stokesly ; but he sent in no return upon it, so the Cranmer. archbishop sent to him for it. His answer was sullen : " He wondered what Strype, ch. 8. the archbishop meant thus to abuse the people, by giving them liberty to read the Scripture, which did nothing but infect them with heresy. He had not looked on his portion, and never would : so he sent back the book, saying, he would never be guilty of bringing the simple people into error." Notwithstanding this, Cranmer had published a more correct New Testament in English, which is referred to in the injunctions that were formerly mentioned ; but now he designed a new translation of the whole Bible. In the sixth session, which was on the 17th of February, a statute against simony was treated of : there was also some discourse about the translating the Lord's Prayer, the Creed, and the Ten Commandments, in the vulgar tongue ; and it was considered how some words in them ought to be translated ; but what these were is not mentioned : only, it seems, there was a design to find faults in everything that Cranmer had done.

On the 24th of February several matters were treated of ; that in particular is named,

that none should let leases beyond the term of twenty-one years. They treated about many of the rituals, and of Thomas Becket, and of the adorning of images, and about reforming some scandalous comedies. On the 3rd of March, the archbishop told them from the king, that it was his pleasure that the translation of the Bible should be revised by the two universities. But all bishops, except Ely and St. David's, protested against this; and, it seems, they insisted much upon trifles; for they treated of this, whether in the translation of the Bible, "the Lord," or "our Lord," should be the constant form. On the same day, the lord chancellor exhibited to them an act, allowing that the bishops' chancellors might marry. To this the bishops dissented. Some other matters were proposed; but all was referred to the king. Upon the convocation's being assembled on the 16th of February, 1542, some homilies were offered on different subjects, but nothing is marked concerning them. The archbishop also told them, that the king would have the books of the several offices used in churches to be examined and corrected: in particular, that both at matins and vespers, one chapter of the New Testament should be read in every parish. Some petitions were offered by the clergy; the first was, for making a body of the ecclesiastical laws. Of this we hear no more in this reign: but we are assured, that there was a digested body of them prepared; probably it was very near the same that was also prepared in king

Second Part,
Coll. of Rec.
N. 61.

Edward's time. (Cranmer, in a letter that he wrote to the king out of Kent, on the 24th of January 1545, which I did put in my second part, tells him, N. 61. "That, according to his commands, he had sent for the bishop of Worcester (Heath), to let him know that the king's pleasure was to have the names of such persons sent him as he had formerly appointed to make ecclesiastical laws for the realm." The bishop promised, with all speed, to inquire out their names, and the book which they made, and to bring both the names and the book to the king; which, he writes, he had done before that time. By this it appears, that persons had been named for that; and that

A Reforma-
tion of the
Eccles. Laws
was far ad-
vanced.

a commission was granted, pursuant to which the work had been prepared: for things of this kind were never neglected by Cranmer. It seems it had been done some years before, so that it was almost forgotten; but now, in one of

king Henry's lucid intervals, it was prepared, as Mr. Strype has published: but how it came to pass, that no further progress was made during this reign, in so important and so necessary a work, is not easily to be accounted for; since it must have contributed much to the exaltation of the king's supremacy, to have all the ecclesiastical courts governed by a code authorised by him. In the convocation, in the year 1543, we have only this short word, that on the 29th of April, the archbishop treated of the sacraments, and on the next day, on the article of free will. This is all that I could gather from the copy of the minutes of the convocations, which was communicated to me by my most learned and worthy brother, the lord bishop of Lincoln, who assured me, it was collated exactly with the only ancient copy that remains, to give us light into the proceedings in the convocations of those times.

It does not appear to me, what moved Bell, bishop of Worcester, to resign his bishopric. Rymer has printed his resignation, in which it is said that he did it simply of his own accord. He lived till the year 1556, as his tombstone in Clerkenwell church informs us. Whether he inclined to a further reformation, and so withdrew at this time; or whether the old leaven yet remaining with him, made it uneasy for him to comply, does not appear: if his motives had been of the former sort, it may be supposed he would have been thought of in king Edward's time; and if of the latter, then in queen Mary's reign he might again have appeared: so I must leave it in the dark, what his true motive was.

Bell, Bishop
of Worcester,
resigned his
Bishopric.
Rymer, tom.
15.

Audley, Lord
Chancellor,
died.

Rymer, ibid.

Audley, who had been lord chancellor from the time that sir Thomas More left that post, fell sick in the year 1544, and sent the great seal to the king by sir Edward North and sir Thomas Bland. The king delivered it to the lord Wriothesley, and made him lord keeper during the lord Audley's infirmity, with authority to do everything that the lord chancellor might do; and the duke of Norfolk tendered him the oaths. It seems, there was such a regard had to the lord Audley, that, as long as he lived, the title of lord chancellor was not given with the seals;

but, upon his death, Wriothlesley was made lord chancellor. This seems to be the first instance of a lord keeper, with the full authority of a lord chancellor.

I have not now before me such a thread of matters as to carry me regularly through the remaining years of this reign; and therefore, hereafter I only give such passages as I have gathered, without knitting them together in an exact series. The breach between England and France was driven on by the emperor's means, and

promoted by all the popish party: so the king, to prevent all mischief from Scotland during this war with France, entered into an agreement with the earls of Lennox and

Rymer. Glencairn, and the elect bishop of Caithness, brother to the earl of Lennox, in May 1544. The articles are published. They promised, "that they should cause the word of God to be truly taught in their countries. 2dly, They should continue the king's faithful friends. 3dly, They should take care that the queen be not secretly carried away. 4thly, They should assist the king to seize on some castles on the borders." And they delivered the elect bishop of Caithness to the king as an hostage, for their observing these things. On the other hand, "the king engaged to send armies to Scotland, both by sea and land, and to make the earl of Lennox (written in this Levinax), as soon as he could, governor of Scotland; and that he should bestow his niece, lady Margaret Douglas, on him." There was a fuller agreement made with them, with more particulars in it, on the 26th of June; and a pension of 250*l.* was assigned to the earl of Glencairn, and 125*l.* to his son, both during life. Those in the castle of St. Andrew's were also taken into the king's protection: and they promised to promote the marriage and the king's interests, and to deliver up the castle when demanded. There were also private agreements made with Norman Lesley, Kirkaldy of the Grange, and some others, all to be found in

Tom. 15.

Seck. l. 3, p.

121.

Rymer.

The often-cited Seckendorf tells us, that at this time they in Germany began to have greater hopes of the king than ever. Mount was again sent to offer an alliance with them: he excused all the late proceedings. He said, Cromwell had rashly said, "That he hoped to see the time that he should strike a dagger into the heart of him that should oppose the Reformation;" which his judges thought was meant of the king. He said, Barnes had indiscreetly provoked the bishop of Winchester: he also blamed their ambassadors for entering into disputes in writing with the king. He believed Melancthon and Bucer would have managed that matter with more success. Bucer seconded Mount's motions, and magnified what the king had already done; though there was no complete reformation yet effected.

This did not move the elector: he looked on the king as an enemy to their doctrine. His whole design in what he had done, was, to make himself the "Head of the Church," to which he was not called of God. His government was tyrannical, and his life flagitious; so he looked for no good from him. The king of France moved him to undertake a mediation between him and the king; but the elector referred that to a general meeting of those who were engaged in the common Smalcaldic league. The princes in Germany having their chief dependence on the kings of France and England, saw how much they were weakened and exposed to the emperor by the war which was going on between those two kings; so they sent some empowered by them, to try if it was possible to prevent that war, and to mediate a reconciliation between them. To these, when they delivered their message to the king, he complained of the injustice and wilfulness of the French king: he thought their interposition could have no effect, and he used these words in an answer to their memorial, "We give them well to understand, that we do both repose an ampler and a fuller confidence in them than the French king either doth or will do."

De Bellay, who, being oft employed, understood those matters well, tells us that the emperor and king Henry had agreed to join their armies, and to march directly into France:

P. 1094. he tells in another place, that if king Henry had followed the opinion of his council,

P. 1115. which was for his landing in Normandy with 30,000 men, he would have carried that whole duchy: and he ascribes his error in that matter to the providence of

God, that protected France from so great a danger: the emperor had proposed to the king that upon the junction of their two armies, they should march straight to Paris; for they

reckoned that both their armies would have amounted to ninety thousand foot, and twenty thousand horse ; but after the emperor had drawn the king into his measures, **A War with France.** he went on taking some towns, pursuing his own ends, and then made his own peace with France, and left the king engaged in the war : so the king finding the emperor's main army was not like to join him, some bodies out of the Netherlands only coming to act in conjunction with him, upon that he sent the duke of Norfolk to besiege Montrevel, and he himself sat down before Boulogne. Marshal Bies, governor of Boulogne, apprehending the importance of Montrevel, carried a considerable part of the garrison of Boulogne with him, and threw himself into Montrevel : by this means he left Boulogne weak, and in ill hands. **Boulogne taken.** In the mean time the emperor took Luxemburgh, and some other places ; so all the project with which he had amused the king vanished, and a peace was struck up between him and the king of France.

The French sent an army to raise the siege of Montrevel ; and they were moving so as to get between the duke of Norfolk and the king's army : upon which the duke of Norfolk raised the siege, but Boulogne was taken ; and that small conquest was out of measure magnified by those who saw their own advantage in flattering their master, though at a vast charge he had gained a place scarce worth keeping.

The emperor had that address, and he had so strong a party about the king, that even all this was excused, and the intercourse between the two courts was not discontinued. **The King is forsaken by the Emperor.** In one point the emperor was necessary to the king, and he kept his word to him. It is certain the king had great apprehensions of the council that was now sitting at Trent, and the more because Pole was one of the legates sent to preside in it ; who, as he had reason to apprehend, would study to engage the council to confirm the pope's censure thundered out against the king ; and it was believed he was named legate for that end. The king of France had offered to Gardiner, that if the king would join with him, he would suffer no council to meet, but as the king should consent to it. But his fluctuating temper was so well known, that the king trusted in this particular more to the emperor, whose interest in that council he knew must be great : and the emperor had promised that the council should not at all intermeddle in the matter between the pope and the king : the effect showed he was true in this particular.

The king finding himself so disappointed, and indeed abandoned by the emperor, sent the earl of Hertford with Gardiner to him, to expostulate with him. A letter of the king's was sent by them to the emperor, written in a very severe strain, charging him with perfidy. The emperor either had the gout, or pretended to have it, so that he could not be spoke with : his chief ministers at that time, who were Grandville, and his son the bishop of Arras, delayed them from day to day, and discovered much chicane, as they **Paper-Office.** wrote ; upon which they grew so uneasy, that at last they demanded a positive answer ; and then these ministers told them that the emperor could not carry on the war longer against France : but he offered to mediate a peace between England and France. After that they complain that they saw the pretence of mediation was managed deceitfully ; for the emperor's design upon Germany being now ready, he apprehended those two kings, if not engaged in war one with another, would support the princes of the empire, and not suffer the emperor, under the pretence of a religious war, to make himself master of Germany. Therefore he studied to keep up the war between France and England. I find Maurice of Saxony was this year, during the emperor's war with France, in his court : whether he was then mediating, or treating, about his perfidious abandoning the elector, and the other princes of the Smalcaldic League, I know not.

Before the king went out of England a great step was made towards the reforming the public offices. A form of procession in the English tongue was set out by the king's authority, and a mandate was sent to Bonner to publish it. The title of it was, " An Exhortation to Prayer, thought meet by his majesty and his clergy to be read to the people : also a Litany, with suffrages to be said or sung in the time of the processions." **A Litany set out in English, with other Devotions.** In the litany they did still invoke the Blessed Virgin, the angels and archangels, and all holy orders of blessed spirits, all holy patriarchs and prophets, apostles, martyrs, confessors, and virgins, and all the blessed company of heaven

to pray for them : after the word "conspiracy" this is added, "from the tyranny of the bishop of Rome, and all his detestable enormities : " the rest of the litany is the same that we still use, only some more collects are put at the end, and the whole is called a prayer of procession. To this are added some exercises of devotion, called Psalms, which are collected out of several parts of Scripture, but chiefly the Psalms : they are well collected, and the whole composition, as there is nothing that approaches to popery in it, so it is a serious and well-digested course of devotion. There follows a paraphrase on the Lord's Prayer : on the 4th petition there are expressions that seem to come near a true sense of the presence of Christ in the sacrament ; for by daily bread, as some of the ancients thought, the sacrament of the Eucharist is understood, which is thus expressed : "The lively bread of the blessed body of our Saviour Jesu Christ, and the sacred cup of the precious and blessed blood which was shed for us on the cross." This agrees with our present sense that Christ is present, not as he is now in heaven, but as he was on the cross : and that being a thing passed, he can only be present in a type and a memorial. The preface is an exhortation to prayer, in which these remarkable words will be found : "It is very convenient, and much acceptable to God, that you should use your private prayer in your mother tongue ; that you, understanding what you ask of God, may more earnestly and fervently desire the same ; your hearts and minds agreeing to your mouth and words." This is indeed all over of a pious and noble strain, and except the invocation of the saints and angels, it is an unexceptionable composition. At the same time Katherine Parre, whom the king had lately married, collected some prayers and meditations, "wherein the mind is stirred patiently to suffer all affliction here, to set at nought the vain prosperity of this world, and always to long for the everlasting felicity," which were printed in the year 1545.

But so apt was the king, whether from some old and inherent opinions that still stuck with him, or from the practices of those who knew how to flatter him suitably to his notions, to go backward and forward in matters of religion ; that though on the 15th of October, 1545, he ordered a mandate to be sent to Bonner, to publish the English procession ordained by him, which was executed the day following ; yet on the 24th of that month, there was a letter written to Cranmer, declaring the king's pleasure for the setting up an image that had been taken down by his injunctions ; ordering him at the same time to abolish the use of holy water about St. John's tide, and to take down an image called "Our Lady of Pity in the Pew," for the idolatry that was committed about it. At this time it was discovered that great indulgences, with all such like favours, were sent from Rome to Ireland ; so that generally in that kingdom the king's supremacy was rejected ; and yet at the same time it appears that many were put in prison for denying the presence in the sacrament : and a proclamation was set out, both against Tindall's New Testament and Coverdale's.

Thirleby, bishop of Westminster, was sent ambassador to the emperor, and afterwards secretary Petre was sent to the same court. Mount continued likewise to be employed, but without a character : he seems to have been both honest and zealous ; and in many letters writ both in the year 1545 and 1546, he warned the king of the emperor's designs to extirpate Lutheranism, and to force the whole empire to submit to the pope and the council, then sitting at Trent. The German princes sent over a vehement application to the king, to consider the case of Herman, bishop of Cologne, praying him to protect him and to intercede for him. They gave a great character of the man, of which Mount makes mention in his letters ; but I do not find that the king interposed in that matter : the emperor seemed to enter into great confidences with Thirleby, and either imposed on him, or found him easily wrought on. He told him that the king of France was making great levies in Switzerland, and he was well assured that they were not designed against himself : so he warned the king to be on his guard. This being inquired into, was not only denied by the court of France, but was found to be false, and was looked on as an artifice of the emperor's, to keep up a jealousy between those two courts. By such practices he prevailed on Thirleby to assure the king that the emperor did not design to enslave Germany, but only to repress the insolence of some princes, and to give justice a free course : all the news he wrote from thence did run in this strain : so that Germany was fatally abandoned by both kings. Yet still the king sent

The King
neglects the
German
Princes.

Paper-Office.

over to the emperor repeated complaints of the ill treatment his subjects met with in Spain, from inquisitors; and that in many courts justice was refused to be done them, upon this pretence, that the king and all who adhered to him were declared heretics, and, as such, they were excommunicated by the pope, and so were not to be admitted to sue in judicatories. These were sent over to Thirleby; but I do not see what was done upon all those representations.

The last message the king sent to the Germans was in the year 1546, by Mount, with whom one Butler was joined: the German princes, in general terms, prayed the king to insist on rejecting the Council of Trent, assuring him that the pope would suffer no reformation to be made. This letter was agreed to by the greater number of the princes of the union, only the elector of Saxony had conceived great prejudices against the king: "He said he was an impious man, with whom he desired to have no commerce. He was no better than the pope, whose yoke he had thrown off only for his own ends; and that he intended, out of the two religions, to make a third, only for enriching himself, having condemned the principal points of their doctrine in his parliament."

I find, at this time, a secret disgust the emperor was in towards his brother Ferdinand; upon which Ferdinand sent a message to the king, setting forth the just claim he had to his father's succession in Spain; since, by the agreement of the marriage between Ferdinand of Arragon and Isabel of Castile, a special provision was made, that whensoever there was a second son issuing from that marriage, the kingdom of Arragon, and all that belonged to it, should be again separated from Castile. He also pretended that he ought to have had a larger share in the succession of the house of Burgundy; and that, instead of those rich provinces, he was forced to accept of Austria, and the provinces about it, which lay exposed to the Turks, and were loaded with great debts, contracted by his grandfather Maximilian. To this the king sent an answer secretly, and ordered the person (who he was does not appear, but I think it was Mount,) that carried it to insist on the discourse of his pretensions to the Netherlands, which were then vastly rich. He was particularly required to observe Ferdinand's behaviour, and all that he said on that subject: and it seems that our court, being then in a good understanding with the court of France, communicated the matter to Francis; for he wrote, soon after that, a letter to Ferdinand, encouraging him to stand on his claim, and promising him his assistance to support his pretensions on the emperor. But Ferdinand, not being inclined to trust the court of France with this secret, sent the letter to the emperor. So I see no more of that matter.

The last transaction of importance in this reign was the fall of the duke of Norfolk, and of the earl of Surrey, his son. I find in the council-book, in the year 1543, that the earl was accused for eating flesh in Lent without licence, and for walking about the streets in the night, throwing stones against windows, for which he was sent to the Fleet. In another letter, he is complained of for riotous living. Towards the end of the year 1546, both he and his father were put in prison: and, it seems, the council wrote to all the king's ambassadors beyond sea an account of this, much aggravated, as the discovery of some very dangerous conspiracy, which they were to represent to those princes in very black characters. I put in the Collection an account, given by Col. Num. 74. Thirleby, of what he did upon it. The letter is long; but I only copy out that which relates to this pretended discovery, dated from Hailbron, on Christmas-day, 1546.

"He understood, by the council's letters to him, what ungracious and ingrateful persons they were found to be. He professes he ever loved the father, for he thought him a true servant to the king. He says, he was amazed at the matter, and did not know what to say. God had not only on this occasion, but on many others, put a stop to treasonable designs against the king, who (next to God) was the chief comfort of all good men. He enlarges much on the subject, in the style of a true courtier. The messenger brought him the council's letters, written on the 15th of December, on Christmas-Eve; in which he saw the malicious purpose of these two ungracious men. So, according to his orders, he went immediately to demand audience of the emperor; but the emperor intended to repose himself for three or

four days, and so had refused audience to the nuncio, and to all other ambassadors ; but he said he would send a secretary, to whom he might communicate his business. Joyce, his secretary, coming to him, he set forth the matter as pompously as the council had represented it to him. In particular, he spoke of the haughtiness of the earl of Surrey, of all which the secretary promised to make report to the emperor, and likewise to write an account of it to Grandville. Thirlby excuses himself, that he durst not write of this matter to the king : he thought it would renew in him the memory of the ingratitude of these persons, which must wound a noble heart."

After so black a representation, great matters might be expected ; but I have met with an original letter of the duke of Norfolk's, to the lords of the council, writ indeed in Col.Num.75. so bad a hand that the reading it was almost as hard as deciphering ; it gives a His Letter to the King. very different account of that matter, at least with relation to the father. He writes, " that the lord great chamberlain and the secretary of state had examined him upon divers particulars. The first was, whether he had a cipher with any man. He said, he had never a cipher with any man but such as he had for the king's affairs when he was in his service ; and he does not remember that ever he wrote in cipher, except, when he was in France, with the lord great master that now is, and the lord Rochford ; nor does he remember whether he wrote any letters then or not, but these two lords signed whatsoever he wrote. He heard that a letter of his was found among bishop Fox's papers, which, being shown to the bishop of Durham, he advised to throw it into the fire. He was examined upon this : he did remember the matter of it was the setting forth the talk of the northern people, after the time of the commotions ; but that it was against Cromwell, and not at all against the king (so far did they go back to find matter to be laid to his charge) ; but whether that was in cipher or not, he did not remember. He was next asked, if any person had said to him, that if the king, the emperor, and the French king came to a good peace, whether the bishop of Rome would break that by his dispensation ; and whether he inclined that way. He did not remember he had ever heard any man speak to that purpose ; but, for his own part, if he had twenty lives, he would rather spend them all than that the bishop of Rome should have any power in this kingdom again. He had read much history, and knew well how his usurpation began and increased ; and both to English, French, and Scots he had upon all occasions spoken vehemently against it. He was also asked, if he knew anything of a letter from Gardiner and Knevet, the king's ambassadors at the emperor's court, of a motion made to them for a reconciliation with that bishop, which was brought to the king at Dover, he being then there.

" In answer to this, he writes, he had never been with the king at Dover since the duke of Richmond died : but for any such overture he had never heard anything of it, nor did any person ever mention it to him. It had been said in council, when sir Francis Bryan was like to have died, as a thing reported by him, that the bishop of Winchester had said he could devise a way to set all things right between the king and the bishop of Rome. Upon which, as he remembers, sir Ralph Sadler was sent to sir Francis to ask the truth of that ; but sir Francis denied it ; and this was all that ever he heard of any such overture." It seems these were all the questions that were put to him ; to which those were his answers. He therefore prayed the lords to intercede with the king that his accusers might be brought face to face, to say what they had against him ; and he did not doubt but it should appear he was falsely accused. He desired to have no more favour than Cromwell had, he himself being present when Cromwell was examined. He adds, Cromwell was a false man ; but he was a true, poor gentleman. He did believe some false man had laid some great thing to his charge. He desired, if he might not see his accusers, that he might at least know what the matters were ; and if he did not answer truly to every point, he desired not to live an hour longer.

" He had always been pursued by great enemies about the king ; so that his fidelity was tried like gold. If he knew wherein he had offended, he would freely confess it. On Tuesday, in the last Whitsun-week, he moved the king that a marriage might be made between his daughter (the duchess of Richmond) and sir Thomas Seymour ; and that his son Surrey's children might, by cross-marriages, be allied to my lord great chamberlain's children (the earl of Hertford). He appealed to the king, whether his intention in these motions did

not appear to be honest. He next reckons up his enemies : cardinal Wolsey confessed to him, at Asher, that he had studied for fourteen years how to destroy him, set on to it by the duke of Suffolk, the marquis of Exeter, and the lord Sandys, who often told him, that if he did not put him out of the way he would undo him. When the marquis of Exeter suffered, Cromwell examined his wife more strictly concerning him than all other men, of which she sent him word by her brother, the lord Mountjoy. And Cromwell had often said to himself, that he was a happy man that his wife knew nothing against him, otherwise she would undo him. The late duke of Buckingham, at the bar, where his father sate lord high steward, said, that he himself was the person in the world whom he had hated most, thinking he had done him ill offices with the king ; but he said he then saw the contrary. Rice, that married his sister, often said, he wished he could find the means to thrust his dagger in him. It was well known to many ladies in the court how much both his two nieces, whom it pleased the king to marry, had hated him. He had discovered to the king that for which his mother-in-law was attainted of misprision of treason. He had always served the king faithfully, but had of late received greater favours of him than in times past ; what could therefore move him to be now false to him ? ‘ A poor man as I am, yet I am his own near kinsman. Alas, alas ! my lords (writes he), that ever it should be thought any untruth to be in me !’ He prays them to lay this before the king, and jointly to beseech him to grant the desires contained in it. So he ends it with such submissions as he hoped might mollify the king.”

Here I must add a small correction, because I promised it to the late sir Robert Southwell, for whose great worth and virtues I had that esteem which he well deserved. Sir Richard Southwell was concerned in the evidence against the duke of Norfolk. He gave me a memorandum, which I promised to remember when I reviewed my History. There were two brothers, sir Richard and sir Robert, who were often confounded, an R serving for both their christened names. Sir Richard was a privy-councillor to Henry VIII., king Edward, and queen Mary : the second brother, sir Robert, was master of the rolls in the time of Henry VIII. and in the beginning of Edward VI. I had confounded these, and in two several places called sir Richard master of the rolls.

I have now set forth all that I find concerning the duke of Norfolk ; by which it appears that he was designed to be destroyed only upon suspicion, and his enemies were put on running far back to old stories to find some colours to justify so black a prosecution. This was the last act of the king’s reign, which, happily for the old duke, was not finished when the king’s death prevented the execution.

Thus I have gone over all those passages in this reign that have fallen in my way since I wrote my History. I have so carefully avoided repeating anything that was in my former work, that I have, perhaps, not made it clear enough into what parts of it everything here related ought to be taken in. Nor have I put in my Collection any of those papers that either the lord Herbert or Mr. Strype had published, one or two only excepted in each of them ; but these I put in it, both because I copied them from the originals when I did not reflect on their being published by those writers, and because they seemed of great importance to the parts of my History to which they belonged. Some of these being very short, and the others not long, I thought the inserting them made my Collection more complete. I would not lessen the value of books, to which I have been too much beholden, to make so ill a return ; to the last especially, from whose works I have taken that which seemed necessary to make the History as full as might be, but refer my reader to such vouchers as he will find in them.

And now, having ended what I have to say of king Henry, I will add a few reflections on him, and on his reign. He had certainly a great measure of knowledge in learning, more particularly in divinity, than most princes of that or of any age, that gave occasion to those excessive flatteries which, in a great measure, corrupted his temper and disfigured his whole government. It is deeply rooted in the nature of man to love to be flattered, because self-love makes men their own flatterers ; and so they do too easily take down the flatteries that are offered them by others, who, when they expect advantages by it, are too ready to give this incense to their vanity, according to the returns that they expect from it.

A Recapitulation of King Henry’s Reign.

His Mind corrupted by a course of Flattery.

Few are so honest and disinterested in their friendship as to consider the real good of others, but choose rather to comply with their humour and vanity. And since princes have most to give, flattery (too common to all places) is the natural growth of courts; in which, if there are some few so unfashioned to those places as to seek the real good and honour of the prince by the plain methods of blunt honesty, which may carry them to contradict a mistaken prince, to show him his errors, and, with a true firmness of courage, to try to work even against the grain; while they pursue that, which, though it is the real advantage and honour of the prince, yet it is not agreeable to some weak or perverse humour in him; these are soon overtopped by a multitude of flatterers, who will find it an easy work to undermine such faithful ministers, because their own candour and fidelity makes them use none of the arts of a countermine. Thus the flattered prince easily goes into the hands of those who humour and please him most, without regarding either the true honour of the master or the good of the community.

If weak princes, of a small measure of knowledge and a low capacity, fall into such hands, the government will dwindle into an unactive languishing, which will make them
The Course of all Courts. a prey to all about them, and expose them to universal contempt both at home and abroad; while the flatterers make their own advantages the chief measure of the government, and do so besiege the abused and deluded prince, that he fancies he is the wonder and delight of all the world, when he is under the last degrees of the scorn of the worst, and of the pity of the best, of his people.

But if these flatterers gain the ascendant over princes of genius and capacity, they put them on great designs under the false representations of conquests and glory. They engage them either to make or break leagues at pleasure; to enter upon hostilities without any previous steps or declarations of war; to ruin their own people for supporting those wars that are carried on with all the methods both of barbarity and perfidy; while a studied luxury and vanity at home is kept up to amuse and blind the ignorant beholders with a false show of lustre and magnificence.

This had too deep a root in king Henry, and was too long flattered by cardinal Wolsey, to be ever afterwards brought into due bounds and just measures; yet Wolsey
Wolsey began it, but was a wise Minister. pursued the true maxims of England, of maintaining the balance during his ministry. Our trade lay then so entirely in the Netherlands, without our seeming to think of carrying it further, that it was necessary to maintain a good correspondence with those provinces; and Charles's dominions were so widely scattered, that, till Francis was taken prisoner, it was visibly the interest of England to continue still jealous of France, and to favour Charles: but the taking of Francis I. changed the scene; France was then to be supported. It was also so exhausted, and Charles's revenue was so increased, that, without great sums both lent him and expended by England, all must have sunk under Charles's power if England had not held the balance.

It was also a masterpiece in Wolsey to engage the king to own that the book against Luther was written by him, in which the secret of those who, no doubt, had the
A great Occasion of Flattery given by his Book. greatest share in composing it was so closely laid, that it never broke out. Seckendorf tells us, that Luther believed it was writ by Lee, who was a zealous Thomist, and had been engaged in disputes with Erasmus, and was afterwards made archbishop of York. If any of those who still adhered to the old doctrines had been concerned in writing it, probably, when they saw king Henry depart from so many points treated of in it, they would have gone beyond sea, and have robbed him of that false honour, and those excessive praises which that book had procured him. It is plain More wrote it not; for the king having showed it him before it was published, he (as he mentions in one of his letters to Cromwell) told the king, that he had raised the papacy so high that it might be objected to him if he should happen to have any dispute with the pope, as was often between princes and popes. And it will be found in the remarks on the former volumes, that he, in another letter, says he was a sorter of that book: this seems to relate only to the digesting it into method and order.

How far king Henry was sincere in pretending scruples of conscience with relation to his first marriage can only be known to God. His suit of divorce was managed at a vast

expense, in a course of many years ; in all which time, how strong soever his passion was for Anne Boleyn, yet her being with child so soon after their marriage is a clear evidence that, till then, they had no unlawful commerce. It does not appear that Wolsey deserved his disgrace, unless it was that, by the commission given to the two legates, they were empowered to act conjunctly or severally ; so that though Campegio refused to concur, he might have given sentence legally ; yet he being trusted by the pope, his acting according to instructions did not deserve so severe a correction. And had any material discovery been made to render Wolsey criminal, it may be reasonably supposed it would have been published.

The new flatterers, falling in with the king's passion, outdid and ruined Wolsey. More was the glory of the age ; and his advancement was the king's honour more than his own, who was a true Christian philosopher. He thought the cause of the king's divorce was just, and as long as it was prosecuted at the court of Rome, so long he favoured it ; but when he saw that a breach with that court was like to follow, he left the great post he was in with a superior greatness of mind. It was a fall great enough to retire from that into a private state of life ; but the carrying matters so far against him as the king did, was one of the justest reproaches of that reign. More's superstition seems indeed contemptible, but the constancy of his mind was truly wonderful.

Cromwell's ministry was in a constant course of flattery and submission ; but by that he did great things, that amaze one who has considered them well. The setting up the king's supremacy instead of the usurpations of the papacy, and the rooting out the monastic state in England, considering the wealth, the numbers, and the zeal of the monks and friars in all the parts of the kingdom, as it was a very bold undertaking, so it was executed with great method, and performed in so short a time, and with so few of the convulsions that might have been expected, that all this shows what a master he was that could bring such a design to be finished in so few years with so little trouble or danger.

But in conclusion, an unfortunate marriage, to which he advised the king, not proving acceptable, and he being unwilling to destroy what he himself had brought about, was, no doubt, backward in the design of breaking it when the king had told him of it. And then, upon no other visible ground but because Anne of Cleves grew more obliging to the king than she was formerly, the king suspected that Cromwell had betrayed his secret, and had engaged her to a softer deportment on design to prevent the divorce, and did upon that disgrace and destroy him.

The duke of Norfolk was never, till Cromwell's fall, the first in favour ; but he had still kept his post by perpetual submission and flattery. He was sacrificed at last to the king's jealousy, fearing that he might be too great in his son's infancy ; and being considered as the head of the popish party, might engage in an uneasy competition with the Seymours during the minority of his son : for the points he was at first examined on were of an old date, of no consequence, and supported by no proof.

When the king first threw off the pope's yoke, the reformers offered him, in their turn, all the flatteries they could decently give. And if they could have had the patience to go no further than as he was willing to parcel out a reformation to them, he had perhaps gone further in it : but he seemed to think, that as it was pretended in popery that infallibility was to go along with the supremacy, therefore those who had yielded the one ought likewise to submit to the other. He turned against them when he saw that their complaisance did not go so far ; and upon that, the adherers to the old opinions returned to their old flatteries, and for some time seemed to have brought him quite back to them, which probably might have wrought more powerfully, but that he found the old leaven of the papacy was still working in them. So that he was all the while fluctuating, sometimes making steps to a reformation, but then returning back to his old notions. One thing probably wrought much on him : it has appeared that he had great apprehensions of the council that was to meet at Trent, and that the emperor's engagements to restrain the council from proceeding in his matter, was the main article of the new friendship made up between them ; and it may be very reasonably supposed that the emperor represented to him that nothing could secure that matter so certainly as his not proceeding to any further inno-

The Character of More.

Cromwell's Ministry.

The King's Inconstancy in matters of Religion.

vations in religion ; more particularly his adhering firmly to the received doctrine of Christ's presence in the sacrament, and the other articles set forth by him. This agreeing with his own opinion had, as may be well imagined, no small share in the change of his conduct at that time.

The dexterous application of flattery had generally a powerful effect on him : but whatsoever he was, and how great soever his pride and vanity and his other faults were, he was a great instrument in the hand of Providence for many good ends. He first opened the door to let light in upon the nation : he delivered it from the yoke of blind and implicit obedience : he put the Scriptures in the hands of the people, and took away the terror they were formerly under by the cruelty of the ecclesiastical courts : he declared this church to be an entire and perfect body within itself, with full authority to decree and to regulate all things without any dependence on any foreign power : and he did so unite the supreme headship over this church to the imperial crown of this realm, that it seemed a just consequence that was made by some in a popish reign, that he who would not own that this supremacy was in him did by that renounce the crown, of which that title was made so essential a part that they could no more be separated.

He attacked popery in its strongholds, the monasteries, and destroyed them all ; and thus he opened the way to all that came after, even down to our days. So that while we see the folly and weakness of man in all his personal failings, which were very many and very enormous, we at the same time see both the justice, the wisdom, and the goodness of God, in making him, who was once the pride and glory of popery, become its scourge and destruction ; and in directing his pride and passion so as to bring about, under the dread of his unrelenting temper, a change that a milder reign could not have compassed without great convulsions and much confusion. Above all the rest, we ought to adore the goodness of God in rescuing us by his means from idolatry and superstition ; from the vain and pompous shows in which the worship of God was dressed up, so as to vie with heathenism itself, into a simplicity of believing, and a purity of worship, conform to the nature and attributes of God and the doctrine and example of the Son of God.

May we ever value this as we ought ; and may we, in our tempers and lives, so express the beauty of this holy religion that it may ever shine among us, and may shine out from us to all round about us ; and then we may hope that God will preserve it to us, and to posterity after us for ever.

PART IV.—BOOK IV.

OF WHAT HAPPENED DURING THE REIGN OF KING EDWARD THE SIXTH, FROM THE YEAR 1547 TO THE YEAR 1553.

I HAD such copious materials when I wrote of this king, partly from the original council-book, for the two first years of that reign, but chiefly from the journal writ in that king's own hand, that I shall not be able to offer the reader so many new things in this as I did in the former, and as I may be able to do in the succeeding reign. Some gleanings I have, which I hope will not be unacceptable.

I begin with acknowledging a great error committed in copying out a letter of Luther's, that I found among Bucer's collections. The noble Seckendorf was the first that admonished me of this, but with a modesty suitable to so great a man; without that rancour in which some among ourselves have vented their ill nature against me. I took the sure method to confess my error, and to procure an exact collated copy of that paper from that learned body, to whose library it

belongs, which will be found in the Collection. It is an original in Luther's own hand; but it could not have been easily read, if Bucer had not writ out a copy of it, which is bound up in the same volume with the original. It was an instruction that Luther gave to Melancthon, when he went into Hesse, in the year 1534, to meet and treat with Bucer, upon that fatal difference concerning the manner of the Presence in the sacrament. "In which it appears, that Luther was so far from departing from his opinion, that he plainly says, he could not communicate with those of the Zuinglian persuasion; but he would willingly tolerate them, in hope that in time they might come to communicate together. And as for a political agreement, he does not think the diversity of religion ought to hinder that; no more than it was a bar to marriage or commerce, which may be among those of different religions." And now I have, I hope, delivered myself from all the censures to which the wrong publishing of that paper had exposed me.

I should next enter into the historical passages of king Edward's reign; but a great discovery, made with relation to the most important foreign transaction, that happened both in king Henry and king Edward's reign (I mean the council of Trent, the first session of which was in the former reign, and the second in this), has given me an opportunity of acquainting the world with many extraordinary passages relating to it.

There was a large parcel of original letters writ to Grandville, then bishop of Arras, afterwards cardinal, and the chief minister of Charles the emperor, that, when he left the Netherlands, were in the hands of some of his secretaries, and were not carried away by him. About fifty years after that, Mr. William Trumball, then king James the First's envoy at Brussels, grandfather to sir William Trumball (a person eminently distinguished by his learning and zeal for religion, as well as by the embassies and other great employments he has so worthily borne), got these into his hands; no doubt, under the promise of absolute secrecy, during the lives of those who had them: since, if they had been then published, it might have been easily traced from whence they must have come, which would have been fatal to those who had parted with them in a court so bigotted as was that of Albert and Isabella. I have read over the whole series of that worthy gentleman's own letters to king James the First, and saw so much honesty and zeal running through them all, that, it seems, nothing under some sacred tie could have obliged both father and son to keep such a treasure so secret from all the world, especially Padro Paulo's history coming out at that time in London; to which these letters, as far as they went, which is from the 7th of October 1551 to the last of February 1554, would have given an authentic confirmation. I have been trusted by the noble owner with the perusal

Vargas's Letters concerning the Council of Trent.

of them. It is impossible to doubt of their being originals : the subscriptions and seals of most of them are still entire.

These were by sir William deposited in bishop Stillingfleet's hands when he was sent to his foreign employments ; that such use might be made of them, when he found a person that was master of the Spanish tongue, as the importance of the discovery might deserve. Soon after that, my very worthy friend, Dr. Geddes, returned from Lisbon, after he had been above ten years preacher to the English factory there : and since he is lately dead, I hope I shall be forgiven, to take the liberty of saying somewhat concerning him. He was a learned and a wise man. He had a true notion of popery, as a political combination, managed by falsehood and cruelty, to establish a temporal empire in the person of the popes. All his thoughts and studies were chiefly employed in detecting this, of which he has given many useful and curious essays in the treatises he wrote, which are all highly valuable. When bishop Stillingfleet understood that he was master of the Spanish tongue, he put all these papers in his hands. He translated them into English, intending to print the originals in Spanish with them : but none of our printers would undertake that ; they reckoning, that where the vent of the book might be looked for, which must be in Spain and Italy, they were sure it would not be suffered to be sold : he was therefore forced to print the translation in English, without printing the originals.

Since that time, that learned and judicious Frenchman, monsieur Le Vassor, has published a translation of them in French, with many curious reflections : but though he found, that a complete edition of the letters in Spanish was a thing that the booksellers in Holland would not undertake, yet he has helped that all he could, by giving the parts of the letters that were the most critical, and the most important, in Spanish. Both these books are highly valuable. The chief writer of those letters, Vargas, was a man not only very learned, but of a superior genius to most of that age, as appears both by the letters themselves, and by the great posts he went through. He was specially employed by the emperor, both in the session that was held in the former reign, and in that which sat in this reign, to which only these letters do relate. He was the chief of the council that the emperor's ambassadors had, in matters, in which either divinity or canon law (the last being his particular profession) were necessary : and such a value was set on him, that the emperor sent him ambassador to the republic of Venice. And when the last session was held by pope Pius the Fourth, Philip sent him ambassador to Rome, as the person that understood best how to manage that court, with relation to the session of the council.

I think it may give the reader a just idea of that council, both of the fraud and insolence of the legate, and of the method in which matters were carried there, to see some of the more signal passages in those letters, that it may both give him true impressions of what was transacted there, and may move him to have recourse to the letters themselves. “ He sets forth, how much the pope and his ministers dreaded the coming of the protestants to the council : we can plainly perceive that they are not themselves, nor in a condition to treat about any business, when they are brought to touch on that point.—These may, to their mortification, deliver their minds freely against abuses, and some other things.—Whosoever offers anything that is not grateful to the legate, or that doth not suit exactly with some people's prepossessions, he is reported to have spoke ill, and to think worse ; and to have taken what he said out of I do not know whom.—There are several matters which the legate ought to treat with more deliberation than he hath hitherto handled things : I pray God give him grace to understand this.”

In the next letter without date, mention is made of a letter that the emperor wrote to the pope, in which he did “ assure him, that nothing should be done in the council, but that which he had a mind should be done in it ; and that he would oblige the prelates to hold their tongues, and to let things pass without any opposition. The copy of this being showed the ambassador, he was astonished at it : but Vargas said, it was not to be understood literally (in the original it is Judaically) ; it was only writ to bring the pope to grant the bull : but that it was not intended by it

Translated
into English
by Dr. Ged-
des ;

And into
French by M.
Le Vassor.

The Fraud
and Insolence
of the Legate.

The Promise
that the Em-
peror made
the Pope.

Judaics.

that the pope should be suffered to do such things as would bring all to ruin; but only to do such things as are reasonable. He adds in Latin, that the liberty the pope took, was not only a disease and sickness of mind, but was really grown to a fury and a madness." Here the spirit of the promise is set up against the letter; and a strict adhering to words is counted a part of the yoke of Judaism, from which some most Christian princes have thought fit, on many occasions, to emancipate themselves.

In another letter he sets forth the behaviour of the prelates: "the legate never so much as acquaints them with the matter; all things appearing well to them at first sight, and, who knowing nothing of matters until they are just ready to be pronounced, pass them without any more ado.—I am willing to let you know how things are carried here, and what the pope's aims are, who seeks to authorise all his own pretensions by the council.—There are several other things I am not at all satisfied with, which were carried here with the same slight that pope Paul made use of.—And is not this a blessed beginning of a council!—As to the canons of reformation, they are of so trivial a nature, that several were ashamed to hear them; and had they not been wrapped up in good language together, they would have appeared to the world to be what they are."

In another letter he writes, "I cannot see how either catholics or heretics can be satisfied with what is done here.—All that is done here is done by the way of Rome: for the legate, though it were necessary to save the world from sinking, will not depart one tittle from the orders he receives from thence, nor indeed from anything that he has once himself resolved on."

In another he writes; "As for the legate he goes on still in his old way, consuming of time to the last hour, in disputations and congregations, concerning doctrines, and will at last produce something in a hurry in false colours, that may look plausible: by which means they have no time to read, and much less to understand what they are about.—Words, or persuasions, do signify but very little in this place, and, I suppose, they are not of much greater force at Rome.—By what I can perceive, both God and his majesty are like to be very much dishonoured by what will be done here. And if things should go on thus, and be brought to such an issue as the pope and his ministers aim at and give out, the church will be left in a much worse condition than she was in before.—I pray God the pope may be prevailed on to alter his measures; though I shall reckon it a miracle if he is, and shall thank God for it as such."

In another he writes; "There are not words to express the pride, the disrespect and shamelessness, wherewith the legate proceeds.—The success and end of this synod, if God by a miracle does not prevent it, will be such as I have foretold. I say by a miracle, because it is not to be done by any human means: so that his majesty does but tire himself in vain in negotiating with the pope and his ministers.—The legate has hammered out such an infamous reformation (for it deserves no better epithet), as must make us a jest to the world. The prelates that are here resent it highly; many of them reckoning that they wound their consciences by holding their tongues, and by suffering things to be carried thus."

Upon the point of collating to benefices, he writes, "we ought to put them to show what right the pope has to collate to any benefice whatsoever: I will undertake to demonstrate from the principles and foundations of the law of God and of nature, and of men, and from the ancient usage of the church, and from good policy, that he has no manner of right to it; and all this without doing injury to his dignity, and the plenitude of his power. He advises the leaving those matters to a better time, in which God will purge the sons of Levi: which purgation must come, and that with a severe scourge; it being impossible that a thing so violent and so fraught with abuses, should hold long: the whole nerve of ecclesiastical discipline being broke, and the goods of the church made a perfect trade and merchandise."

Speaking of general councils, he writes: "This which is now sitting here will totally deceive the world, so as to convince it, that by reason of the opposition and industry of the popes to engross all to themselves, nothing of reformation is ever to be expected from a general council. I would not have things wherein the pope and his court have such great interest and pretensions, to be decided,

October 12.
The Bishops
knew not
what they
did.

Nov. 12.

Nov. 26.
The Pride
and Impu-
dence of the
Legate.

No good to
be expected
from a Coun-
cil.

or handled here ; since it cannot be done, but to our great prejudice, and to the great detriment of the whole church ; which at present has neither strength nor courage to resist ; and if God do not remedy it, I do not see when it will."

Speaking of exemptions, he writes, "The canonists have made strange work, having made many jests as well as falsehoods, to pass for current truths. When I speak of the canonists, I speak as a thief of the family, being sensible of the abuses which have been authorised by them in the church. The exemption of chapters ought to have been quite taken away, that so there might be something of order and discipline, and that they who are the head should not be made the feet. It troubles me to see how those matters are managed and determined here ; the legate doing whatever he had a mind to, without either numbering or weighing the opinions of the divines and prelates ; hurrying and reserving the substance of things which ought to have been well weighed and digested, to the last minute : the major part not knowing what they are doing. I mean before the fact ; for believing that Christ will not suffer them to err in their determinations, I shall bow down my head to them, and believe all the matters of faith that shall be decided by them : I pray God everybody else may do the same. The taking no care to reform innumerable abuses, has destroyed so many provinces and kingdoms ; and it is justly to be feared that what is done in this council may endanger the destroying of the rest. I must tell you further, that this council drawing so near an end, is what all people rejoice at here exceedingly ; there being a great many who wish it never had met ; and for my own part, I would to God it had never been called ; for I am mistaken if it do not leave things worse than it found them."

In another of the same date, if there is no error in writing, "He complains that the decree of the doctrine was not finished, till the night before the session : so that many bishops gave their "placet" to what they neither did nor could understand. The divines of Louvaine and Cologne, and some Spanish divines, being much dissatisfied with several of those matters, have publicly declared they were so. This is a very bad business ; and should things of this nature come once to be so public, it must totally ruin the credit of all that has been done, or shall be done hereafter ; and must hinder the council from being ever received, either in Flanders or in Germany. The bishop of Verdun, speaking to the canons of reformation, said, they would be unprofitable and unworthy of the synod, calling it a pretended reformation. The legate fell upon him with very rude language, calling him a boy, an impudent raw man, with many other hard names : nor would he suffer him to speak a word in his own defence, telling him with great heat, he knew how to have him chastised. It is really a matter of amazement to see how things appertaining to God are handled here ; and that there should not be one to contend for him, or any that have the courage to speak in his behalf ; but that we should be all dumb dogs that cannot bark."

In another he writes, "That the legate himself wished that the decrees were corrected as to some particulars : " and in another without date, he tells how "the divines were employed in correcting them." This secret was never heard of before : Father Paul knew nothing of it. A decree after it has passed in council was thus secretly corrected by divines ; so the infallibility was removed from the council, and lodged with the divines.

In another he writes, "It would have been a happy thing that this council had never met, which is no more than what I have often wished and declared, by reason of the many mischiefs it has already done, and is still doing. It is to little purpose, either in this or any following age, to hope for anything of a reformation from a general council, or to see any better order therein than is in this. He supposes the emperor will still continue to solicit the pope that things may not be carried there at such a scandalous rate as they have been hitherto ; and that he will take care that no occasion be given to the council for to disperse itself upon the prelates speaking their mind freely, or denying their consent to such matters as are not convenient ; which is a thing that may very justly be feared."

Jan. 10. In another he writes : "This synod must end tumultuously and ingloriously."

Jan. 19. In another he writes, "that it was an astonishing thing that the legate had foisted

He complains
of the exemp-
tion of Chap-
ters.

A decree so-
cretly amended
after it was
passed.

Decemb. 19.
It had been
happy that
the Council
had never
met.

in several passages into the doctrine of orders, which must of necessity ruin all. By the brutal violences, pretensions, and obstinacy of the legate, things are running into such a state, as must in the end, if I am not mistaken, make both himself and the whole earth to tremble : or if it does not make him tremble, it must be because he is given over to a reprobate sense : as in truth, he seems to be abundantly, in everything that he does."

In another he writes, "All they drive at is to get the pope's pretensions established under the doctrine of order ; and so instead of healing, to destroy and ruin all : those being matters which were never so much as proposed or disputed in the council : neither is it fitting, as things stand here, that they, or anything else of the same nature should be meddled with in this synod."

He enlarges on the authority of bishops being derived from Christ, though subjected to the pope, and he writes, that "upon this bottom only the hierarchy of the church can be established : to settle it on any other is in effect to confound and destroy it. Nevertheless, the pope, if he could carry this point, though all things else were ruined, and whatever was done in the ancient church condemned, would find his own account in it : for after that there would be no possibility of ever having anything redressed." The decree of order on which the legate had set his heart is set down at the end of this letter : the translation of it into English runs thus :—

"This may be called the New Jerusalem, that comes down from heaven : which was by the most exactly regulated policy of the Old Jerusalem, shadowed only as a pattern to represent the heavenly Jerusalem ; for as she had many different orders under one chief governor, so the visible church of Christ has his chief vicar ; for he is the only and supreme head on earth, by whose dispensation offices are distributed so to all the other members that in the several orders and stations in which they are placed, they may execute their functions to the good of the whole church, with the greatest peace and union. A deputation of twenty was named to consider of this. The legate and the two presidents making three of that number, it was severely attacked by the bishop of Guadix.

In his last letter he writes that "the legates would one way or other bring about the dissolution of the synod : which will be certainly done, if they can but get the said clauses determined ; because in them they will have gained all that they desire : and after that they will never stand in need of any more councils for to serve their pretensions. And in case they should not be able to carry those points, they will then, to rid themselves of this yoke that is upon their neck, and of the fears they will be under, when they shall find that they are not able to bring the synod to do all the mischief to the church, and to the authority of the present, and all future general councils, that the pope and his ministers would have them do, they will then perplex and confound all."

These are very clear discoveries of the zeal and indignation which possessed this great statesman during this whole session : he shows also the opinion he had of the former session under pope Paul (in which he had likewise assisted), in the directions he gives concerning the government of a council, and of the office of an ambassador, which he drew up before the council was re-assembled, in this its second session, in which these words are :

"In the whole conduct of this council of Trent there does not appear the least footsteps of any of the forementioned essentials of a general council. On the contrary, the most pernicious and effectual methods that can be contrived, have been taken to destroy liberty totally ; and to rob councils of that authority, which in case of great storms used to be the sheet anchor of the church ; by which means they have cut off all hope of ever having any abuses that infest the church redressed, to the great disparagement of all past, as well as future councils ; from which no good is ever to be expected.

"The conduct of this council has been of pernicious consequence, in which, under the title of directing it, the pope's legates have so managed matters, that nothing but what they have a mind to can be proposed, discussed, or defined therein ; and that, too, after such a manner as they would have it. All the liberty that is here being only imaginary, so that their naming it is nothing but cheat and banter—which

The Decree concerning the Pope's authority, proposed, but not passed.

The last of February.

He expresses the same opinion of the former Session under Pope Paul.

No shadow of Liberty in the Council.

is so notorious, that several of the prelates, even among the pope's pensioners, have not the face to deny it. The clause that they have inserted into the canons of reformation, which is, 'saving in all things the authority of the apostolical see,' is telling the world in plain terms, that what the pope does not like shall signify nothing. He writes of certain methods that the legates have used in negotiating with people to change their minds: this they have done so often, that it is now taken notice of by everybody: neither can there be any course more pernicious or destructive of the liberty of the council. The legates many times when they proposed a thing, declared their opinion of it first. Nay, in the middle of voting, when they observed any prelate not to vote as they would have him, they have taken upon themselves to speak to it, before another was suffered to vote, doing it sometimes with soft words, and at other times with harsher; letting others to understand thereby how they would have them vote. Many times railing at the prelates, and exposing them to scorn, and using such methods as would make one's heart bleed to hear of, much more to see.

"The common method was; the legates assembled the prelates in a general congregation, the night before the session was to be held. Then they read the decrees to them, as they and their friends had been pleased to form them. By which means, and by their not being understood by a great many prelates, some not having the courage to speak their minds, and others being quite tired out with the length of the congregation, the decrees were passed. We, who saw and observed all these doings, cannot but lament both our own condition and the lost authority of councils.

"He shows, the legate's drift was to canonize all the abuses of the court of Rome: so they never suffered them to be treated of freely, but managed them like the compounding of a law-suit: in all which courses, it is certain, the Holy Ghost did not assist. They striving still to authorize abuses; and giving the world to understand that the pope is gracious in granting them anything, as if all were his own. Taking abuses, though never so pernicious, and splitting them as they thought good: by which artifice, that part of the abuse which was approved of by the synod, becomes perpetual; and for the part that was reprobated, they will, according to their custom, find ways to defeat its condemnation.

"There is nothing that can be so much as put to the vote, without the consent of the legates: who notwithstanding that they are (by reason of the great number of pensioners, which the pope has here) always sure of a majority, do nevertheless make use of strange tricks, in their conduct of the council. Besides, by having made their own creatures the secretaries, notaries, and all the other officers of the council, they have made it thereby a body, without anything of soul or strength in it: whereas, all those officers ought to have been appointed by the council, and especially the notaries.

"This is the course that has been hitherto taken in the council of Trent, which is employed rather in struggling with the pope and his legates, who seek to engross all to themselves, than in reforming and remedying the evils under which the church groans. I pray God it do not increase them, by the course it takes, by artifice and dissimulation, to reduce the whole synod to the will of the pope.—It may be truly said, we are in a convention of bishops, but not in a council.—It would have been much better not to have celebrated a council at this time, but to have waited till God had put the christian commonwealth in a better disposition;—rather than to have celebrated one after this manner, with so little fruit, to the great sorrow of catholics, the scorn of heretics, and the prejudice of the present, and of all future councils." So much may serve to show the sense that Vargas had of the first, as well as of the second session of the council of Trent.

Malvenda, one of the emperor's divines, that was there, complains in one letter, "that the decrees, but especially the matters of doctrine, were communicated to them very late. So that notwithstanding the substance of these decrees may be found, which it is well if it is, nevertheless considering that they are to correct them upon a bare hearing them read, on the eve of a session, that must in my opinion hinder them from having that authority and majesty, which such matters do use to have. I pray God give them grace to mend this."—He confesses, it was not fit anything should be done without the pope's consent: yet that ought to be managed with all

The Legate's
way in Cor-
recting mani-
fest Abuses.

Malvenda
and others
made the
same Com-
plaints.
Oct. 12.

possible secrecy, in order to prevent the Lutherans, if they should come to know it, from reflecting on the liberty of the council, and the freedom that the prelates ought to have; who might safely enjoy more, without having anything pass to the prejudice of his holiness.

In another he writes, "As there will not want those that write of this council, so, for my own part, I pray God it may not do more harm than good, and especially to the
Nov. 22. Germans that are here; who seeing how little liberty it enjoys, and how much it is under the dominion of the legate, cannot possibly have that respect and esteem for it, as is convenient."

There are some letters from the bishop of Oren, written in the same strain. In one he
Octob. 12. writes, "That for what concerns a reformation, the emperor must set himself about it in earnest, both with the pope, and the fathers: for if he does it not, we shall have our wounds only skinned over, but shall have the rotten core left, to the corrupting of all quickly again.—The prelates here are all very much troubled, to see with how ill a
Nov. 28. grace people that say anything of a reformation, are heard." In another he writes, "They discover here little or no inclination, for to do anything that deserves the name of a true reformation. Several things might be done, that would be of great advantage to the people, and would be no prejudice to his holiness, or to his court. May God remedy things! under whom, unless his majesty and your lordship labour very hard, there will be no remedy left for the church." In a postscript, he tells the same story that Vargas had told, of the legate's treating the bishop of Verdun so ill, for his calling the reformation offered 'a pretended reformation': and he commanded him to be silent, when he was about to say somewhat in his justification. The bishop answered, that at this rate there was no liberty; and having obtained leave of the emperor, by whom he was sent thither, he would be gone. The legate told him, he should not go, but should do what he commanded him.—He writes, that it was "a great reproach to the bishops, from whom the world expected canons of reformation; that in truth they could give them nothing, but what the legate pleases.—It were just with the people, if we do not treat about their interest more in earnest than we have done hitherto, for to stone us, when we return home."

I have set all this out so copiously, that it may appear, from what those, who were far
Reflections from being in any sort favourers of the reformation, who were at Trent, and were
upon those let into the secret of affairs, wrote of the council to the emperor's chief minister,
Proceedings. how little, not only of liberty, but even of common decency, there appeared in the whole conduct of that council.

This digression is, I hope, an acceptable entertainment to the reader; and it must entirely free every considering person from a vulgar but weak prejudice, infused into many by practising missionaries, which was objected to myself by a great prince, that no nation ought to have reformed itself, in a separation from the rest of the church: but that there ought to have been a general acquiescing in such things as were commonly received, till by a joint concurrence of other churches the reformation might have been agreed and settled in a general council. These letters do so effectually discover the vanity of this conceit, that at first sight it evidently appears that even those abuses and corruptions that could not be justified; yet could not be effectually reformed at Trent; and that everything was carried there, partly by the artifices of the legates, and partly by the many poor Italian prelates, who were all pensioners of the court of Rome: so that no abuse, how gross or crying soever, could be amended, but as the popes for their own ends thought fit to give it up. This appears so evidently in the letters, out of which I have drawn this abstract, that I hope any prejudice formed upon the prospect of an universal reformation, is by it entirely removed. I turn next to the affairs of England.

The earl of Hertford, advanced to be duke of Somerset, depended much on Paget's advices. He told him on the day that king Henry died, that he desired his friendship; and promised to him, that he would have a great regard to his advice. But though Paget put him off in mind of this, he forgot it too soon. His great success in his first expedition to Scotland was a particular happiness to him, and might have established him; but his quarrelling so soon with his brother was fatal to them both.

Thirlby was still ambassador at the emperor's court: he studied to make his court to the protector, and wrote him a very hearty congratulation upon his exaltation; and added, that the bishop of Arras seemed likewise to rejoice at it. At the same time, he warned him of the designs of the French against England. He gave him a long account of the Interim, in which he writes, that Malvenda had secretly a great hand: he himself seems to approve of it; and says, that it was as high an act of supremacy, as any in all king Henry's reign; for by it, not only many of the doctrines of popery had mollifying senses put on them, different from what was commonly received; but the sacrament was allowed to be given in both kinds, and the married priests were suffered to officiate. It is true, all was softened by this, that it was only a prudent connivance in the Interim, till the council should be reassembled, to bring all matters to a final settlement.

The protector either mistrusted Thirlby, or he called him home, to assist Cranmer in carrying on the reformation. He sent sir Philip Hobby in his stead. He was a man marked in king Henry's time, as a favourer of the preachers of the new learning, as they were then called. There was one parson, a clerk, known to have evil opinions (so it is entered in a part of the council-book, for the year 1543,) touching the Sacrament of the Altar, who was maintained by Weldon, one of the masters of the household, and by Hobby, then a gentleman-usher; for which they were both sent to the Fleet; but they were soon after discharged.

Hobby was therefore sent over ambassador, as a person on whose advices the government here might depend, with relation to the affairs of Germany. I have seen a volume of the letters, writ to him by the protector and council, with copies of the answers that he wrote.

His first dispatch mentioned a particular dispute between the emperor and his confessor. The confessor refused to give him absolution, unless he would recal the decree of the Interim, and, instead of favouring heresy, would with the sword extirpate heretics. The emperor said, he was satisfied with what he had done in the matter of the Interim, and that he would do no more against the Lutherans: if the fryar would not give him absolution, others would be found who would do it. So the fryar left him.

At that time, a proposition of a marriage for the lady Mary was made by the emperor, who seemed to apprehend that she was not safe in England. It was with the brother of the king of Portugal. He was called at first the prince of Portugal; and it was then hearkned to: but when the council understood he was the king's brother, they did not think fit to entertain it. And in the same letter, mention is made of Geoffrey Poole, who was then beyond sea, and desired a pardon: the council wrote, that he was included in the last act of pardon; yet since he desired it, they offer him a special pardon. This letter is signed T. Cant., Wiltshire, Northampton, Wentworth, T. Ely, T. Cheyne, A. Wyngfield, Herbert, N. Walton, J. Gage.

The next dispatch to him has a particular account of two persons, whom the king of France had corrupted to betray one of their forts to him. The king of France had said to their ambassador, "par la foy de gentilhomme," by the faith of a gentleman, he would make no war, without giving warning first. This he promised on the 20th of July; yet hearing of the commotions that were in England, he began hostilities against Boulogne within three or four days after. This is signed E. Somerset, T. Cant., R. Ryeche, Can., W. St. Johns, W. Paget, W. Petre, J. Smith, E. Watton. So long ago did it appear that the *bonâ fides* of that court was not a thing to be much relied on. I would have printed these letters, if they were in my power: but having had the originals in my hands about 30 years ago, I did not then copy them out, but contented myself with taking extracts out of them, to which I shall upon other occasions have recourse.

As for the progress in the reformation at home, Cranmer was delivered from too deep a subjection, in which he had lived to king Henry. The load of great obligations is a weight on a generous mind: the hope he had of gaining on the king, to carry him to a further reformation, did, no doubt, carry him too far in his compliances to him. He did, perhaps, satisfy himself, as I have reason to believe many in the Roman communion do, to this day, that he did not in his mind, or with his thoughts, go along in

those devotions, that they cannot but think unlawful; but what, through a fearfulness of temper, or an ill-managed modesty, they do not depart from established practices, even though they think them unlawful. The compliances that we find in the apostles, particularly in St. Paul himself, the apostle of the Gentiles, in order to the gaining the Jews, might all meet together, to carry him too far in his submissions to king Henry. This can neither be denied, nor justified; but the censures passed on it may be much softened, when all these things are laid together. Now he was delivered from that servitude, so he resolved to set about a further reformation, with much zeal, though perhaps still with too great caution. He studied if it was possible to gain upon Gardiner. He had reason to believe from his forwardness in complying with king Henry, that he had no great scrupulosity in his own thoughts: so he tried to draw him to assist, at least not to oppose the steps that were to be made; and judging that it was necessary to give the people due instruction, to carry them to a further measure of knowledge, he set about the preparing a book of Homilies to be read in churches: and to give some more light into the meaning of the New Testament, he chose Erasmus's paraphrase as the most unexceptionable book that could be thought on; since he had been so much favoured in England; and as he had written against Luther, so he lived and died in the Roman communion.

Cranmer communicated his designs, with the draught of the Homilies to Gardiner: but he was resolved to set himself at the head of the popish party. He had no doubt great resentments, because he was left out of the council, which he imputed to the Seymours: Cranmer tried if the offer of bringing him to sit at that board could overcome these; yet all was in vain. He insisted at first on this, that during the king's minority, it was fit to keep all things quiet, and not to endanger the public peace by venturing on new changes: he pressed the archbishop with the only thing that he could not well answer; which was, that he had concurred in setting forth the late king's book of a necessary doctrine. Gardiner wrote that he was confident Cranmer was a better man than to do any such thing against his conscience upon any king's account; and if his conscience agreed to that book, which he himself had so recommended, he wished things might be left to rest there. Cranmer pressed him again and again in this matter, but he was intractable. In particular, he excepted to the homily of Justification, which was thought to be of Cranmer's own composing: because justification was ascribed to faith only, in which he thought charity had likewise its influence; and that without it faith was dead, and a dead thing could not be the cause of justification. But the archbishop showed him his design in that was only to set forth the freedom of God's mercy, which we relying on, had by that, the application of it to ourselves; not meaning that justifying faith was ever without charity; for even faith did not justify as a meritorious condition, but only as it was an instrument applying God's mercy to sinners. Upon this there was perhaps too much of subtlety on both sides. As for Erasmus's Paraphrase, Gardiner excepted to it as being in many things contrary to the Homilies: so he thought since they agreed so little together, they ought not to be joined and recommended by the same injunctions: to this it was said that the Paraphrase was a good and useful book, though, in some particulars, the Homilies differed from it.

But as they had the perverseness of the popish party to deal with, so it was not easy to restrain their own side. Those whose heat could not be well managed were apt to break out into great disorders; some insulting the priests as they were officiating, others talking irreverently of the sacrament; some defining the manner of the presence, and others asserting the impossibility of it, as it was explained. These disorders gave occasion to two proclamations this year; the first was on the 12th of November, against insolence towards priests, such as the reviling them, tossing them, and taking their caps and tippets violently from them: the other was on the 27th of December against irreverent talkers of the sacrament, and against those who in their sermons went to define the manner, the nature and fashion, and the possibility or impossibility of the presence. The visitors went about with their injunctions. They are registered in the books of the dean and chapter of York, where the visitation was held in September. It came not to Winchester till October, for the monition concerning it was made on the 7th of October. Whether the slowness of the visitors

coming thither was occasioned by any secret practice with Gardiner, and upon the hopes of gaining him or not, I cannot tell. He it seems had before that refused to receive or obey the injunctions, for which he was put in the Fleet: and when he wrote his letter to the protector, complaining of the proceedings against him, he had been then seven weeks there.

I can say nothing new of the parliament that sate this year. When the convocation was opened on the 5th of November, the archbishop told them that it was with the king and the lords' consent that the prelates and clergy should consult together about settling the Christian religion right, and delivering it to the people. He sent them to choose their prolocutor, and to present him the Friday following. It is set down in the minutes, that the lower house consulted how they might be joined to the lower house of parliament, and about the reformation of the ecclesiastical laws. On the 9th of December some were appointed to know if the archbishop had obtained licence (in the minutes called indemnity or immunity) for them to treat of matters of religion. In the fifth session, on the last of November, the prolocutor exhibited an order given him by the archbishop for receiving the communion in both kinds, to which in the next session they agreed, no man speaking against it. Sixty-four agreed to this; Polydore Virgil and Weston being two of them. And in the eighth session, on the 17th of December, a proposition was

offered to them in these words:—"That all such canons, laws, statutes, decrees, usages, and customs, heretofore made or used, that forbid any person to contract matrimony, or condemn matrimony already contracted by any person, for any vow or promise of priesthood, chastity or widowhood, shall from henceforth cease, be utterly void, and of none effect." Here it was that Redman's opinion was read, which I had in my History put as read the following year. This proposition went to all monastic vows, as well as to the marriage of priests. The proposition was subscribed by fifty-three who were for the affirmative, only twenty-two were for the negative: after which a committee was named to draw the form of an act for the marriage of priests. But all that is in the often-cited minutes as to this matter is,—“Item, propounded for the marriage of priests;” and to it is added, “and that the ecclesiastical laws should be promulgated;” there is no more in the minutes of the convocations during this reign.

Strype adds to this a particular remark out of the defence of the priests' marriage, that divers of those who were for the affirmative did never marry: and that some of those who were for the negative, yet did afterwards marry. Cranmer went on gathering authorities out of Scripture and the fathers against unwritten traditions: he wrote a book on this subject in Latin; but in queen Mary's time it was translated into English, and published

by an English exile beyond sea. He took a special care to furnish Canterbury with good preachers: but though their labours were not quite without success, yet superstition had too deep a root there to be easily subdued; and in the universities, the old doctrines were so obstinately persisted in, that when some in Cambridge offered to examine the mass by the Scriptures and the fathers, and to have a disputation upon it, the vice-chancellor did forbid it. The archbishop had procured a confirmation of their privileges of Cambridge at least, for Strype only mentions that: the mildness he expressed towards all who opposed him, even with insolence, was remarkable: when one who thought he carried this too far, told him that if ever it came to the turn of his enemies, they would show him no such favour; he answered, “Well, if God so provide, we must abide it.”

I did in the account of the arguments against transubstantiation, mention a letter of St. Chrysostom's to Cesarius, of which Peter Martyr brought over a copy in Latin to England. Since that time the popish clergy were sensible, that by that letter it appeared plainly that St. Chrysostom did believe that the substance of bread and wine remained still in the sacrament, as the human nature remained in the person of Christ: so that by this, all the other high figures used by that father must be understood so as to reconcile them to this letter; therefore they have used all possible endeavours to suppress it. When the learned bigot had brought a copy of it from Florence to France, and printed it with other things relating to that father, they ordered it to be cut out in such a manner, that in the printed book it appeared that some

Proceedings
in Convoca-
tion.

They affirm
that it was
free for the
Clergy to
marry.

Cranmer's
Labours and
Zeal.

St. Chrysos-
tom's Letter
to Cesarius
brought to
England.

leaves were cut out ; yet one copy of it was brought to the present learned and pious bishop of Lincoln, then chaplain to our ambassador at Paris, who first printed it here in England ; as the learned Le Moyne, having another copy sent to him, printed it about the same time in Holland.

I have nothing to add concerning the tumults of the year 1549, but that the popish clergy were generally at the head of the rebels. Many of these were priests that had complied and subscribed the new book ; some of them were killed in every skirmish, and very few of the clergy showed much zeal against them : so that the earl of Bedford could have none but Miles Coverdale to go along with the force that he carried into Devonshire to subdue them.

Upon some information, that lady Mary's servants were active in assisting those commotions, the protector and council wrote to her on the 17th ; that letter being delivered to her on the 20th of July, she presently wrote an answer, which I had from sir William Cook, and it will be found in the Collection. In it "she expresses her dislike of those revolts. A chaplain of her's in Devonshire had been named, but she writes she had not one chaplain in those parts. Another that was named, lived constantly in her house : she justifies all her servants that had been named ; and assured them, that all of her household were true subjects to the king. The council had likewise charged her, that her proceedings in matters of religion had given the rebels great courage : which she wrote, appeared to be untrue, since the rebels in her neighbourhood touched upon no point of religion. She prayed God, that their new alterations and unlawful liberties might not rather be the occasion of such assemblies : as for Devonshire, she had neither lands nor acquaintance in those parts."

In the suppressing these tumults, the protector did visibly espouse the people's interest, and blamed the lords for their inclosures, and the other oppressions that had, as he said, occasioned all those disorders. By this he came to be universally beloved by the people ; but trusting to that, he began to take too much upon him ; and was so wedded to his own thoughts, that he often opposed the whole council. Upon which Paget wrote him a long letter, in which, as a faithful friend, he set before him his errors ; chiefly his wilfulness, and his affecting popularity too much. He desired to be dismissed the council ; for while he was there, he was resolved to deliver his opinion according to his reason, and not seek to please another : he had offered him faithful advices, and warned him of the cloud that he saw gathering against him. This he wrote on the 6th of July, some months before it broke out : it seems the protector took this freedom well from him, for he continued firm to him to the last. His brother, the lord Seymour's fall lay heavy on him : though that lord had almost compassed another design of marrying the lady Elizabeth : so I find it in the council's letters to Hobby of the 18th of January 1548^g.

As for the other matter with which he was loaded, the entertaining some German troops, I find among sir Philip Hobby's letters a great many orders and letters signed by the whole council, as well as by the protector, which show that they all concurred in that matter. The true secret of it on both sides was this : the bulk of the people of England was still possessed with the old superstition to such a degree, that it was visible they could not be depended on in any matter that related to the alterations that were made, or were designed to be made : whereas the Germans were full of zeal on the other side ; so that they might well be trusted to : and the princes of Germany, who were then kept under by the emperor, so that they neither durst nor could keep their troops at home, but hoped they might at some better time have an occasion to use them, were willing to put them in the hands of the present government of England. Howsoever, this had an odious name put on it, and was called a ruling by strangers : so that it very much shook the duke of Somerset's popularity ; for though it could not be denied that all the council had concurred with him in it, yet the load and blame of all was laid on him.

The popish party was very active in procuring the change of measures that followed. The council wrote over to the emperor to let him know that the necessity of their affairs was

like to force them to treat for the delivering up of Boulogne to the French ; though this was a secret not yet communicated to the whole privy council.

Bonner's being removed was not much resented, neither at home nor abroad. He was a brutal man ; few either loved or esteemed him ; and Ridley, who came to succeed him, was the most generally esteemed man of all the reformers. One thing that made it more acceptable to those who favoured the Reformation was, the suppressing the bishopric of Westminster, and the removing Thirleby to Norwich, where it was thought he could do less mischief than where he was ; for though he complied as soon as any change was made, yet he secretly opposed everything while it was safe to do it. He had a soft and an insinuating way with him, which, as was thought, prevailed too much even on Cranmer himself : but Gardiner was a dexterous man, and much more esteemed, though as little beloved as Bonner was ; so the falling on him gave a greater alarm to the whole party. He, who was so well known both in the emperor's court and in the French court, sent over tragical accounts of the usage he met with. This was writ over hither by our ambassador at the court of France. Upon which a very severe character of him is given in a letter, signed E. Somerset, T. Cant., R. Rich, C. W. Wiltshire, J. Warwick, J. Bedford, W. Northampton, G. Clinton, W. Petre, W. Cecil. In it they gave an account of the proceedings against him ; and add, " he had showed not only a wilful pride, but a cankered heart, guilty of open and shameful lies ; by which impudent falsehood he showed himself most unworthy to be a bishop, whatsoever strangers may think of him. For religion, he is as far from any piety, or fashion of a good bishop, as a player of a bishop in a comedy is from a good bishop indeed."

Whether the protector designed anything against the constitution of the church, or at least to swallow up the great endowments that were not yet devoured, I cannot tell. But there is an advice in one of Hobby's letters, dexterously enough proposed, that gives reason to suspect this might be on design to broach a business that was to be so cunningly proposed : and Hobby being a confidant of the protector's, he may be supposed to have written as he was directed by him. He wrote it in September 1548. He tells the council, " that the protestants of Germany hoped that the king, seeing that the late wars in Germany happened chiefly by the bishops continuing in their princely and lordly estate, would, for preventing the like, appoint the godly bishops an honest and competent living, sufficient for their maintenance, taking from them the rest of those worldly possessions and dignities, and thereby avoid the vain-glory that letteth them truly and sincerely to do their office, and preach the gospel and word of Christ. On the other side, he wrote, the papists say they doubt not but my lords the bishops, being a great number of stout and well-learned men, will well enough weigh against their adversaries, and maintain still their whole estate ; which coming to pass, they have good hope that, in time, these princely pillars will well enough resist this fury, and bring all things again into the old order."

I have no particulars to add concerning the protector's fall, and the new scene ; but that soon after, when it appeared that the papists were not like to be more favourably dealt with than they were under the duke of Somerset, the bishop of Arras did expostulate upon it with Hobby. He said, they had been assisting to the pulling down of the duke of Somerset, and that hopes of better usage had been given them, yet things went worse with them than before : upon that he fell to rail at Bucer, and said he believed he inflamed matters in England as much as he had done in the empire. For at this time many were forced to come to England for shelter, the chief of whom were Bucer, Fagius, Peter Martyr, and Bernardin Ochlinus. All these were entertained by Cranmer till he got good provisions to be made for them in the universities, which were now most violently set against every step that was made towards a reformation. Hobby came over to England, and tried what service he could do to his friend the duke of Somerset ; but the faction was grown too strong to be withstood. Upon his submission, the matter went for some time very high against him and his friends. On the 13th of October, sir Thomas Smith, sir Michael Stanhope, sir John Thynne, and Edward Wolfe, called adherents to the duke of Somerset, and the principal instruments of his ill government, were sent to the Tower ; and on the 14th, he himself was sent thither. No more mention is made of them till the 6th of February, that the duke of Somerset was

The Popish
Party deceiv-
ed in their
Hopes on the
Protector's
Fall.

Council-Book.

set at liberty, but bound in a recognizance of ten thousand pounds not to go above four mile from Shene or Sion, nor to come into the king's presence unless he was called for by the king and his council; and when he knew that the king was to come within four miles of these houses, he was to withdraw from them. Yet it seems his enemies were still in some apprehension of him; and probably some messages went between him and his friends in the Tower; for on the 18th of February they were all made close prisoners, and their servants were not suffered to attend upon them. But it seems, upon examination, this was found not to be of a criminal nature; so, on the 22d, they were dismissed upon their recognizances. And upon the 10th of April, the duke of Somerset was again brought to the council-board, being that day sworn of the privy-council.

On the 20th of April, Hobby, being sent back to the emperor's court, had orders to try if the proposition for a marriage of the lady Mary to the prince of Portugal might be again set on foot; and in excuse for its being rejected before, he had orders to say that few of the council had been made acquainted with it. He was desired, therefore, to inquire what that prince's estate was. Whether this flowed from the earl of Warwick's ambitious designs, which might make him wish to have her sent away far out of England, or if it flowed from the uneasiness the council was in by reason of her persisting in the old way of religion, I cannot determine. Hobby had also orders to represent to the emperor that they had hitherto connived at her mass, in hopes that she would by that connivance be moved to conform herself to the laws. Diversity of rites in matters of religion ought not to be suffered: the laws were so strict that no licence could be granted in opposition to them; yet they were resolved to connive a little longer, though she abused the king's favour; for she kept, as it were, an open church, not only for her servants, but for all her neighbours. They therefore wished that the emperor would give her good advice in this matter. The letter was signed by Cranmer, by the earls of Wiltshire and Warwick, the marquis of Northampton, the lord Wentworth, and Paget, Petre, Herbert, Darcy, and Mason. To all this, it seems, the emperor had little regard; for not long after that, the ambassador wrote over, that, by the emperor's command, an order was served on him not to have the English service in his house. The council looked on this as contrary to the privileges of ambassadors by the law of nations; so they ordered that the emperor's ambassador should not have mass in his house, and gave him notice of it. When the emperor knew this, he complained of it as a high violation of the dignity of that character; but the council-books show that they stood firm, and would not recal their order till the emperor recalled his order against the new service in the English ambassador's house. What further proceedings were of either side in this matter, does not appear to me. I find, by the council-books, that the carrying on the Reformation was cordially espoused and pursued at that board.

Gardiner had been long a prisoner; and his being detained in the Tower, no proceedings being had against him, occasioned a great outcry. So, on the 8th of June, 1550, Proceedings against Gardiner. it was resolved to send some to him, to see if he repented of his former obstinacy, and would apply himself to advance the king's proceedings; upon which the king would receive him into favour, and all past errors should be forgiven. So the duke of Somerset and others were sent to him. They made report, on the 10th of June, that he desired to see the book of the king's proceedings, and then he would make a full answer. He seemed to them, in all things, willing to conform himself to it; promising, that if he found anything in it against his conscience, he would open it to none but to the council. So the book was sent him; and he was allowed the liberty of the gallery and gardens in the Tower when the duke of Norfolk was not in them. On the 13th of June, the lieutenant of the Tower reported that he had given him back the king's book, and that he said he would make no answer to it till he was set at liberty, and that then he would speak his conscience. So the lords who had been with him were appointed to go to him again. The matter rested till the 8th of July.

In an imperfect book of the minutes of the council that I have by me, it is set down that Gardiner did at last subscribe six articles. The two first appear not; the third is, "That the book of Common-Prayer was a godly and christian book, to be allowed and observed by all the king's true subjects. 4th, That the king, in his young and tender age, was a full and

entire king ; and that the subjects were bound to obey the statutes, proclamations, and commands set forth in this age, as well as if he were thirty or forty years old. 5th, That the statute of the Six Articles was, for just causes, repealed by the authority of parliament. 6th, That the king and his successors had full authority, in the churches of England and Ireland, to reform and correct errors and abuses, and to alter rites and ceremonies ecclesiastical, as shall seem most convenient for the edification of his people, so that the alteration is not contrary to the Scriptures and the laws of God." To all this he subscribed his name ; but no date is added in those minutes. But it is entered, that he did it in the presence of the council, who also subscribed as witnesses to it. Their names are, E. Somerset, W. Wiltshire, J. Warwick, J. Bedford, W. Northampton, E. Clinton, G. Cobham, W. Paget, W. Herbert, W. Petre, E. North. It was resolved to carry his submissions further ; so twenty new articles were drawn up, in which "the obligation to celibacy, and all the vows made by the monks, all images, relics, and pilgrimages, are condemned. It is affirmed, that the Scriptures ought to be read by all ; that the mass was full of abuse and superstition, and was justly taken away ; that the eucharist ought to be received in both kinds ; that private masses were not agreeable to Scripture ; that the sacrament ought not to be adored ; that the book of Homilies was godly and wholesome ; that the book of Ordaining Bishops, Priests, and Deacons, ought to be received and approved by all ; and that the lesser orders were not necessary. That the Scriptures contained all things necessary to salvation ; and that Erasmus' Paraphrase was, upon good and godly considerations, ordered by the king to be put in all churches."

But to this a preface was added, setting forth, "That whereas he had been suspected as favouring the bishop of Rome's authority, and that he did not approve of the king's proceedings in altering some rites in religion ; upon which he had been brought before the council, and admonished ; and was ordered to preach, declaring himself in those things. But though he promised to do it, he had not done this as he ought to have done. By which he had not only incurred the king's displeasure, but divers of the king's subjects were encouraged by his example (as the king's council was certainly informed) to repine at his majesty's proceedings : for which he was very sorry, and confessed that he had been condignly punished. And he thanked the king for his clemency, treating him not with rigour, but mercy. And that it might appear how little he did repine at his highness' doings, which in religion were most godly, and to the commonwealth most prudent, he did, therefore, of his own will, and without any compulsion, subscribe the following articles." But, on the margin of the minutes, the bishop's answer to this is thus set down : "I cannot in my conscience confess the preface, knowing myself to be of that sort ; I am, indeed, and ever have been——." The rest is torn out. On the 15th of July it is entered, that report was made by those who were sent to him, that he said he had never offended the king ; so he prayed that he might be brought to his trial, in which he asked no mercy, but only justice. When he had passed his trial, and was released, it should then appear what he would do with relation to the Articles ; but it was not reasonable that he should subscribe them while he was yet in prison.

Some of the privy-councillors were sent again to him, and they were ordered to carry with them a divine and a temporal lawyer ; so they took with them Ridley, bishop of London, and Mr. Goodrick : his answer was to the same purpose, and was next council-day reported. Upon which he was brought before the council, and required to subscribe the paper ; but he still refusing to do it, the sentence of sequestration was read, with a denunciation of deprivation, if he did not conform within three months : nevertheless (it is added in the council-book) upon divers good considerations, and especially upon hope that within that time he might be yet reconciled, it was agreed, that the said bishop's house and servants should be maintained in their present estate, until the time that this intimation should expire : and the matter in the mean time was to be kept private. These are all the additional passages taken from the council-book relating to Gardiner.

Those steps, in which the Reformation was advancing but slowly, occasioned great distractions over most parts of the kingdom : while those who adhered to the old practices and doctrines preached severely against all innovations, and others as severely against all

and abuses. The ill effects of these contradictory sermons had given occasion

to a proclamation on the 24th of April 1550, prohibiting all preaching, except by persons licensed by the king or the archbishop of Canterbury: and the disorders occasioned by men's divorcing their wives, or marrying more wives than one, were likewise ordered to be proceeded against by the same proclamation. On the 9th of August, there came out another proclamation, prohibiting all plays till Allhallowtide: what the reason of this last was does not appear. That against all preaching was much censured. It was represented that by reason of the proclamation against preaching, the people were running into great ignorance and dissoluteness. So letters were ordered to be written to the bishops of Durham and Ely; and eight days after to the bishop of Lincoln and other bishops, to appoint their chaplains and others by their discretion to preach in their dioceses, notwithstanding the proclamation against preaching. There was also an order made in council, that some bishops and other learned men should devise an order for the creation of bishops and priests. I use the words in the council-book. Twelve were appointed to prepare it. Heath, bishop of Worcester, was one of them. It seems there was a digested form already prepared, probably by Cranmer, for that service: for the order was made on the 2nd of February, and on the 28th it was brought to the council, signed by eleven of the number, Heath only refusing to sign it: he said, as it is entered in the council-book, that all that is contained in the book was good and godly; he also said he would obey it; but added that he would not sign it. The matter was respited for some days, and great pains was taken by Cranmer and others to persuade him to sign it; but he still refusing it (as the council-book has it) obstinately, he was on the 4th of March sent to the Fleet. He was in September called again before the council, and required to subscribe the book: and divers learned men argued to persuade him that the book was expedient and allowable: his obstinacy was charged on him, for which they said he had deserved a longer imprisonment; but he might still recover the king's favour if he would subscribe it. He acknowledged he had been very gently used, rather like a son than a subject: he insisted on what he had formerly said, that he would not disobey the order set forth in the book: every one in the council took pains on him, for it seemed a contradiction to say he would obey it, and yet not subscribe it. He was offered more time for conferences. He said he knew he could never be of another mind; adding, that there were other things to which he would not consent, as to take down altars and to set up instead of them tables. The matter ended with a charge given him to subscribe under the pain of deprivation: at this time two entries made in the council-books show the good effects of Latimer's zealous preaching. On the 10th of March he brought in 104*l.* recovered of one who had concealed it from the king; and a little after 363*l.* of the king's money, of which for his attendance in Lent 50*l.* was allowed to him. I find there was in this reign, as in the former, a peculiar seal for ecclesiastical matters, which was in secretary Petre's keeping: many took out licences under this seal for eating meat in Lent; some only for a man and his wife; and some for four, six, or ten, that did eat with them; and some for as many as should come to their house. Licences of another nature, I find, were often taken out for keeping a number of retainers, above what was allowed by the statute.

All endeavours were too weak to overcome the aversion that the people had to the steps that were made towards a reformation. Dr. Cox, the king's almoner and preceptor, was sent to Sussex to preach and instruct the people there, who were much disturbed (as the council-book has it) by the seditious preaching of Day, bishop of Day, Bishop of Chichester, in Trouble for not removing Altars. Chichester, and others. Day denied this: so an order was made in council, that he should bring in writing that which he had preached. The duke of Somerset reported to the council that Day had been with him, and owned that he had received the order that the council had made for the taking down of altars, and setting tables in their stead; but answered that he could not in conscience obey it. This seemed indeed unaccountable; but he insisted that he could not in conscience obey it, and prayed to be excused: upon that he was summoned to appear before the council, and there, he said, he could not conform himself to their order; for he thought he followed in that both the Scriptures, and the doctors, and fathers of the church; and that he did not perceive any

strength in the six reasons given by the bishop of London to justify the change. He quoted a passage in Isaiah, which the archbishop, with the bishop of London, and the rest of the council, thought not at all to the purpose; so he was ordered to confer with the archbishop, and the bishops of Ely and London, and to appear before them on the 4th of December. When he was again before the council, he entered into a dispute with the archbishop and the bishop of Ely. They pressed him to give his reasons for being so positive; he insisted on those words in the Epistle to the Hebrews, "We have an altar:" and though they thought it was clear that by the altar Christ himself was meant, yet that did not satisfy him: they also showed him, from Origen, that the Christians in those days had no altars; he might call the table an altar if he pleased: so the ancient writers did; but all this had no effect on him. A few more days were given him to consider of the matter: he positively answered he could not obey their order with a good conscience; and rather than do it, he was resolved to suffer the loss of all he had. Two days more were given him, but he was still firm. So on the 11th of December, 1550, he was sent to the Fleet. Further proceedings against him were stopped for many months; in which time it is said that the king himself wrote to him; but all was in vain. So in September, 1551, a commission was given to judge him; and on the 14th of October, it seems, both Heath and he were deprived: for then an order passed in council for seizing the temporalities of both their bishoprics. Letters were written in June 1552 concerning them to the bishops of Ely and London; the former was to receive Day, and the latter Heath, and to use them as in Christian charity should be most seemly. It seems that both Heath and Day saw the change of doctrine that was preparing with relation to the sacrament: so they were willing to lay hold on the first colour to break off from any further compliances; for the points they stood upon did not seem of such importance as to suffer deprivation and imprisonment for them.

There was at that time a very scandalous venality of all offices and employments, which was so much talked of at the court of France, that the ambassador whom the king had there wrote over an account of it; and it was said that whereas king Henry had by his endowments made some restitution, yet for all the wealth they had seized on in chantries and collegiate churches, no schools nor hospitals were yet endowed. Here a very memorable passage in Ridley's life deserves to be remembered: he wrote to Cheke, that he, being to give Grindal a prebend in St. Paul's, had received a letter from the council to stop collation, for the king was to keep that prebend for the furniture of his stable. "Alas! sir (he writes), this is a heavy hearing. Is this the fruit of the gospel? Speak, Mr. Cheke, speak for God's sake, in God's cause, unto whomsoever you think you may do any good withal: and if you will not speak, then I beseech you let this my letter speak." There was nothing that opened all men's mouths, more than a complaint entered in the council-book, made by one Norman against the archbishop of York, that he took his wife and kept her from him. The council gave such credit to this, that as a letter was written to that archbishop not to come to parliament, so they ordered a letter to be written to sir Thomas Gargrave and Mr. Chaloner to examine the matter. What they did, or what report they made, does not appear to me. Holgate, during all the time he was archbishop of York, was more set on enriching himself than on anything else. He seemed heartily to concur in the Reformation, but he was looked on as a reproach to it, rather than a promoter of it. This might have a share in the censure that, as was reported, king Edward passed on the bishops in that time, "Some for sloth, some for ignorance, some for luxury, and some for popery, are unfit for discipline and government." At this time the anabaptists were again inquired after, and a commission was granted to Cranmer, Thirleby, Cox, and sir Thomas Smith, to inquire after them, and to judge them.

Now Gardiner's business was brought to a conclusion. On the 23rd of November, a committee of the council was appointed to consider how to proceed further against him: on the 14th of December an order was sent to the lieutenant of the Tower to carry him to Lambeth on the 16th, and after that as often as they required him. The commission to try him was directed to Cranmer and others: he desired council; it was granted; and his lawyers had free access to him. On the 19th of January his servants moved in council, that some of that board might be sworn as his witnesses:

Gardiner is
deprived.

they said they would answer upon their honour, but would not be sworn: and on the 15th of February, the last mention made of him in the council-book is in these words: "For as much as the bishop had at all times, before the judges of his cause, used himself unreverently to the king's majesty, and very slanderously towards his council, and especially yesterday being the day of the judgment given against him, he called the judges heretics and sacramentaries; these being there as the king's commissioners, and of his highness's council; it was ordered that he should be removed from his present lodging into a meaner one in the Tower, and have but one servant to wait on him; that his books and papers should be taken from him, and that from henceforth he should have neither pen, ink, nor paper given him, but be sequestered from all conference, and from all means that may serve him to practise any ways." Here was severity upon severity, which as it raised him to be depended on as the head of the popish party, so it must have recommended him to the compassions of all equitable people.

Whether these hard orders were rigorously executed or not, does not appear to me. I find in a letter of Hooper's to Bullinger one circumstance relating to Gardiner. It is without date. In it, as he tells him that Crome did with zeal oppose their doctrine concerning the sacrament, but commends him as a person of great learning, and a man of a most holy life; he tells him also, that Gardiner had a month before sent him a challenge to a public disputation upon that head; promising, that if he did not clearly carry away the victory, he would submit himself to the laws, and would willingly suffer the cruellest hardships. Hooper accepted the challenge, and a day was set for them to dispute: but when the day came near, Gardiner said he must be first set at liberty: so all this show of a readiness to maintain the old doctrine vanished to nothing. Concerning the king, Hooper writes in that same letter, that these thousand years, there had not been any person of his age who had such a mixture both of piety and learning, with so true a judgment, as appeared in him. If he lived, and went on suitably to these beginnings, he would be the wonder and the terror of the world. He took notes of all the sermons he heard; and after dinner he asked the young persons that were bred up with him an account of what they remembered of the sermon, and went over the whole matter with them. He wrote further in this letter, that then they were every day expecting that the duke of Somerset should be again called to sit in the council.

Poinet, bishop of Rochester, was translated to Winchester, being nominated to it the 8th of March: and on the 5th of April, he took his oath of homage. While he was bishop of Rochester, he had no house to live in, so he kept his benefice in London. But it is entered in the council-book, that no bishop after him was to have any benefice besides his bishopric.

A new scene of contention was at this time very unhappily opened. Hooper, a zealous, a pious, and a learned man, had gone out of England in the latter years of king Henry's reign, and had lived at Zurich, at a time when all Germany was in a flame on the account of the Interim. Upon that a great question arose among the Germans concerning the use of things in themselves indifferent. For a great part of the design of the Interim was to keep up the exterior face of things as it had been in popery, with the softenings of some other senses put on them. It was said, "if things were indifferent in themselves, it was lawful, and that it became the subject's duty to obey them when commanded." Many thought that Melancthon himself went in that matter too far. It was visible the design in it was to make the people think the difference was not great between that and popery: so the rites were ordered to be kept up on purpose to make it easy to draw the people over to popery. Out of this another question arose, "Whether it was lawful to obey in indifferent things, when it was certain they were enjoined with an ill design?" Some said the designs of legislators were not to be inquired into nor judged; and whatever they were, the subjects were still bound to obey. This created a vast distraction in Germany, while some obeyed the Interim, but many more were firm to their principles, and were turned out of all for their disobedience. Those who submitted were, for the most part, Lutherans, and carried the name of *Adiaphorists*, from the Greek word that signifies, things indifferent. The reformed were generally firmer. Those of Switzer-

land, particularly at Zurich, had at this time great apprehensions of a design of introducing popery, by keeping up an exterior that resembled it. Of this I find a very late instance,

Collection, the year before this, in a letter that Mont wrote from Strasburg on the 18th of Number 3. February, 1548, to Musculus, which will be found in the Collection.

“When he left Augsburg, there were no changes then begun there; but they expected every day, when the new superstitious practices were to be set up. One of the ministers told him that the magistrates had desired the ministers not to forsake them in that time of distress. They promised that they would give them timely notice when those rites were to be brought in among them. They prayed them likewise to recommend the Interim in the softest manner, and with the best colours they could. This was refused by the greater number of them, who said they could never approve that which was by an unanimous consent condemned. He did not doubt but they had heard what was done in Saxony. He wishes the German courage and firmness might now appear: that if they could not act with their usual courage, they might at least show their courage in suffering. The duke of Deux-Ponts had left Augsburg, and said, the publishing the Interim did not belong to him, but to the bishops. Those of Breme had such a heavy composition laid on them by the emperor, that they said it was not in their power to comply with it, though they had a mind to it. So it was thought this was done on design to take their town as a convenient post for a garrisoned place, to keep that country in order. He concludes, desiring to know what agreement there was, as to these matters, in the Helvetic churches.” They were, indeed, much inflamed on this occasion, and very zealous against any compliance with the Interim, or the use of the rites prescribed by it: so Hooper came from Zurich in the heat of this debate, and with this tincture upon his mind.

When he came to Brussels on the 20th of April, 1549, he wrote a letter to Bullinger, that is in the Collection. “He sets forth in it very tragically the misery of the Collection, Netherlands under the violent oppressions of the Spaniards. Complaints were Number 4. heard in all places of rapes, adulteries, robberies, and other insolencies every day committed by them: so that an hostess of a public-house said to him, if she could but carry her children in her arms with her, she would choose to go and beg from door to door, rather than suffer their brutalities every day as they were forced to do. He hoped this would be a warning, to put others on their guard.

“The emperor came seldom out of his chamber. Hooper had been at the duke of Saxony’s house, who had about thirty of his servants still attending on him: he designed to have talked with Hooper, but the Spaniards hindered it. He had no hope of obtaining his liberty, though his health was much broken: but he continued firm in his religion, and did not despair of things, but hoped religion would be again revived. The landgrave was kept at Oudenard. He was both uneasy and inconstant. Sometimes he was ready to submit to the emperor, and to go to mass: at other times he railed at the emperor and at the Interim (Hooper was entertained by Hobby, the English ambassador, from whom probably he heard these things); he prayed God to pity him, for he suffered justly for his treachery. The pope’s legate was there, and preached all that Lent in his own court.

“The pope and the emperor were then in very ill terms. The pope pressed the emperor to own the council at Bologna, for he was afraid to let it sit again in Trent: but the emperor was as positive for their coming back to Trent; and said roundly, he would break with the pope if that were not done. The ambassador told him that if the emperor’s confessor were to any degree right set, there might be good hope of the emperor: but both he and all his ministers were strangely governed, and in a manner driven by the confessor. About seven months before this he had left the emperor, because he would not be more severe, and would not restore popery entirely in Germany. The emperor had offered him a bishopric in Spain worth twenty thousand crowns; but he refused it, and said he would be tied to the church, but not to him, unless he would serve the church with more zeal. The emperor seemed to design to break the peace of Switzerland; and Hooper understood that some of Lucern were then hanging on at court, probably with no good design. He wishes they would fear God, lead holy lives, and fight bravely, and so they might expect to be protected by God: yet he understood that the emperor was troubled that he had meddled so much as he had done

in matters of religion in Germany : he found that was like to cross his other designs, which might have succeeded better if he had left that matter more at liberty. His army lay then near Bremen, but was undertaking nothing. The cities there had furnished themselves with stores and provisions for five years, and were making no submissions." This account I thought no digression from my chief design in writing, since this intelligence came, no doubt, from the ambassador. Upon Hooper's coming to England, he applied himself much to preaching and to the explaining the Scriptures. He was much followed, and all churches were crowded where he preached. He went through the Epistle to Titus, and ten chapters of the Gospel of St. John : his fame came to court. Poinet and he were ordered to preach all the Lent at court ; Hooper on Wednesdays, and Poinet on Fridays : he was also sent to preach both in Kent and in Essex. At this time Bullinger wrote to the king, and sent with it a book that he dedicated to him, which was presented to the king by the marquis of Northampton ; for an order was made that none but privy councillors might bring books or papers to the king. The king said to Hooper, that he had read the letter, and would read Bullinger's book, and spoke to the marquis of a present to be sent him : but Hooper told him he never took any ; besides, that it was forbidden by the laws of Zurich. Hooper, in his letters to Bullinger, on the 8th of February, 1550, says, the archbishop of Canterbury, the bishops of Rochester, Ely, St. David's, Lincoln, and Bath, were sincerely set on advancing the purity of doctrine, agreeing in all things with the Helvetic churches. He commends particularly the marquis of Dorchester, afterwards duke of Suffolk, and the earl of Warwick, afterwards duke of Northumberland, who at that time put on such a show of zeal, that Hooper calls him a most holy instrument, and the best affected to the word of God. He writes of Cranmer, that he wishes he were not too feeble. He was at London when the council divided from the duke of Somerset, but had not meddled in that matter : and he says not a word of it, but that he blesses God the duke of Somerset was to be set at liberty. In June he was named to be bishop of Gloucester ; for he gives an account of

*Fœdum et im-
pium.*

it in a letter to Bullinger on the 29th of June. He declined it, as he writes, both for the oath, which he says was foul and impious, and by reason of the

Aaronical habits. The king asked what his reasons were ? He told them very freely to him. He says of him, that the world never saw such a prince as he was for his age. He likewise says, the lady Elizabeth, his sister, was wonderfully zealous and very knowing : she read both Greek and Latin ; and few could maintain an argument against her, particularly in matters of religion.

Among the letters sent me from Zurich, I find some written upon the occasion of the difficulty that was made in Hooper's business, to Bullinger and Gualter, pressing them very earnestly to write to the king, to let fall all the ceremonies : they tell them that Ridley, though he stood upon the forms of the law, yet was very earnest to have Hooper made a bishop. They seem also to reflect on the bishops for their earnestness in that matter, as if they were ashamed to have that to be blamed, to which they themselves had submitted : and they reflect on Bucer for supporting the matter too much. Those of Zurich were more discreet and modest than to interpose in such a manner. It would have been too great a presumption in them to have made any such application ; but it seems Bullinger wrote about it to the king's preceptor, Cox. I have not found his letter ; but I find, by Cox's letter to him, that he himself was for proceeding easily in this matter. He wrote to him in May, in these words :—"I think all things in the church ought to be pure and simple, removed at the greatest distance from the pomps and elements of this world. But, in this our church, what can I do in so low a station ? I can only endeavour to persuade our bishops to be of the same mind with myself. This I wish truly, and I commit to God the care and conduct of his own work." Of the king he writes, "believe me, there appears in him an incredible beginning of learning, with a zeal for religion, and a judgment in affairs almost already ripe." Traheron, at the same time, writes of him, "We are training up a prince that gives the greatest hopes of being a most glorious defender of the faith, even to a miracle. For, if God is not so provoked by our sins as to take him too early from us, we do not doubt, but that England shall again give the world another Constantine, or rather one much better than he was."

This matter took up much time, and was managed with more heat than might have been expected, considering the circumstances of that reign: he being named to be bishop of Gloucester, was recommended by Dudley to Cranmer, that he would not charge him with an oath that was (as is expressed) burdensome to his conscience. This was the oath of supremacy. He next desired to be excused from accepting the bishopric, or from the ceremonies used in the consecration; upon which the king writ to Cranmer in August, freeing him from all dangers and penalties that he might incur by omitting those rites, but left the matter to the archbishop's discretion, without any persuasion or command to omit them. The archbishop did not think fit upon that letter to act against the laws: there were several conferences between Ridley and Hooper, not without heat: Hooper maintaining that if it was not unlawful, yet it was highly inexpedient to use those ceremonies. The council apprehending the ill effects of controversies between men of the same profession, sent for Hooper, and wished him to let this opposition of his fall. He desired leave to put his reasons in writing; that was granted him: and when he offered his reasons, they were communicated to Ridley. I gave an account in my former work how honestly and modestly both Bucer and Peter Martyr behaved themselves on this occasion. Peter Martyr mentions Hooper's unseasonable and bitter sermons, which it seems his heat carried him to; and probably that was the reason that moved the council to command him to keep his house, unless it were to go to the archbishop of Canterbury, or to the bishops of Ely, London, or Lincoln, for the satisfaction of his conscience, and not to preach or read till he had further licence. But he did not obey this order: he writ a book on the subject, and printed it. This gave more distaste. He also went about and complained of the council, for which being called before the board, he was committed to the archbishop's custody, to be reformed by him, or to be further punished. The archbishop represented that he could in no sort work upon him, but that he declared himself for another way of ordination: upon that he was, on the 27th of January, committed to the Fleet.

Micronius, a minister of the German church at London, in a letter to Bullinger on the 28th of August, 1550, tells him that the exception that Hooper had to the oath of supremacy, was because the form was "by God, by the Saints, and by the Holy Gospels." This he thought impious; and when he was before the council, the king being present, he argued that God only ought to be appealed to in an oath, for He only knew the thoughts of men. The king was so fully convinced by this, that with his own pen he struck these words out of the oath, saying that no creature was to be appealed to in an oath. This being cleared, no scruple remained but with relation to the habits. The king and council were inclined to order him to be dispensed with as to these. But Ridley prevailed with the king not to dispense in that matter. The thing was indifferent, and therefore the law ought to be obeyed. This had such an effect, that all Hooper's exceptions were after that heard with great prejudice. Micronius was on Hooper's side as well as Alasco. Ridley had opposed the settling the German church in a different way from the rites of the church of England: but Alasco had prevailed to obtain an entire liberty for them to continue in the same forms of worship and government in which they had been constituted beyond sea, in which he had been assisted by Cranmer. It is added in that letter, that it was believed that the emperor had sent one over to carry away the lady Mary secretly, but the design was discovered and defeated. To explain this matter of the oath, I shall insert in the

Collection,
Number 5.

Collections the oath of the bishops, as it was practised in king Henry's reign, and continued to be used to that time, which is on record, and is among Mr. Rymer's manuscripts. Hooper's matter hung in suspense nine whole months; in which time he seemed positively resolved not to yield, not without severe and indecent reflections on those who used the habits. Cranmer expressed a willingness to have yielded to him; but Ridley and Goodrick stood firm to the law; while many reflected on them, as insisting too much on a thing practised by themselves, as if vain-glory and self-love had been their chief motives. They said they wished that distinction of habits was abolished; but they thought the breaking through laws was so bad a precedent, and might have such ill consequences, that they could not consent to it. Bucer and Peter Martyr expressed their dislike of the habits, but thought the thing was of itself indifferent; so they blamed him for

insisting so much on it. Alasco, on the other hand, encouraged him to continue in his refusal to submit to the laws in that matter : in conclusion, he was prevailed on to submit, and was consecrated. This was written to Bullinger by one of the ministers of the German church. His standing out so long, and yielding in the end, lost him much of the popularity, that, to speak freely, he seemed to be too fond of ; yet his great labours in his diocese, and his patience and constancy during his imprisonment, and in his last most extreme sufferings, made all good people willing to forget what was amiss, and to return to a just esteem of what was so truly valuable in him.

In conclusion, he submitted and was consecrated according to the established form, and went into his diocese, which he found overrun with ignorance and superstition : he applied himself to his duty with great and indefatigable industry ; preaching often twice, sometimes thrice in a day, to instruct the people, and to reform the clergy : he did earnestly wish that the articles of religion, which he knew were under consideration, might be quickly published. He found the greatest opposition in his diocese rose from the prebendaries of his church. Of this he made great complaints ; as indeed all the bishops that were well affected to the Reformation found the greatest opposition in their cathedrals ; though none of them expressed it so severely as Ferrar, bishop of St. David's, who wrote to a lord, desiring that he might have leave to defend himself against those " high-minded, arrogant, stubborn, ambitious, covetous canons," who for private revenge were set against him : yet, on the other hand, there were great complaints made of his behaviour in his diocese, as both indiscreet and contentious. A petition was sent up to the council in the name of the inhabitants of his diocese against him, complaining of his insatiable covetousness, and his daily vexing his poor tenants and clergy without cause ; and indeed his firmness and sufferings afterwards raised his character more than his conduct in his diocese had done.

The last and the most eminent of all the popish clergy that fell in trouble during this reign, was Tostall, bishop of Durham. He was a generous and well-tempered man, learned far above the common rate. He retained his old opinion concerning the presence in the sacrament ; but he had hitherto submitted, and gone along in all that was done : he had no heat, nor a spirit of opposition in his temper, yet his opinion was known. The true account of his matter has been taken out of the council-book, which has come to light since I wrote my history. One Ninian Mainvil charged him as consenting to a conspiracy in the north for raising a rebellion there ; to this the bishop answered, and Mainvil made replication. The council-book only refers to these, and gives no account of the bishop's answer. Mainvil had a letter of the bishop's, which was his main evidence, upon which the issue of the trial depended : but that was then wanted ; and, as appeared afterwards, the letter was put in the duke of Somerset's hands, and he still kept it ; but whether he did it out of kindness to him, or to have this as a check to overawe Tostall, does not appear.

This letter was found among the duke of Somerset's papers, after his last apprehension : upon which Tostall was sent for, and his letter was produced against him. He could not deny it to be of his own hand ; and not being able to make any further answer, he was on the 20th of December sent to the Tower. Whitehead, dean of Durham, and Handmarsh, Tostall's chancellor, were accused of the same crime by Mainvil. The dean's death put an end to his trouble, but Tostall lay in the Tower till queen Mary set him at liberty : and there, in the 77th year of his age, he wrote his book asserting the corporal presence of Christ in the sacrament. It seems the evidence against Tostall did not at all amount to a consent to a conspiracy ; for he was only charged with misprision of treason ; whereas the consenting to it would have been carried further, to high treason itself : but even that must have been by a stretch of his words, since if his letter had imported that, Cranmer could not have opposed, much less have protested against the bill attainting him for misprision, if the evidence had been clear. This is confirmed by the opposition made in the house of commons, where the bill fell. So, since the parliament would not attain him, a commission was issued out some months after ; and on the 22d of September, 1552, a letter was written to the lord chief justice, signifying to him that there was a commission addressed to him, and to some others, for determining the bishop of Durham's case, with eight letters, and other writings touching the same, which he is required to consider and to hear, and to

give order in the matter as soon as the rest of his colleagues were brought together. He was brought before these commissioners: he desired counsel and time convenient to make his answer. Both were denied him, as is set forth in the sentence that reversed this. He was charged as a conspirator against the king and the realm. The commission empowered them to proceed against him for all offences, both according to the ecclesiastical and the temporal laws. He made divers protestations against the several steps of their proceedings, and at last he appealed from them to the king. The commissioners on the 11th of October deprived him of his bishopric, but did not attain him of misprision of treason; for the judgment in that case must have been the forfeiture of his goods, and imprisonment for life: but he was, by order of council on the 31st of October, to receive money for his necessities, remaining prisoner in the Tower, till further order should be given touching the money and goods lately appertaining to him.

This was one of the violent effects of the duke of Northumberland's ambition, who was all this while a concealed papist, as himself declared at his execution. I have laid all these things relating to the deprivation of the bishops that opposed the Reformation together, to give a full view of that matter. But now I must look back to some matters that happened while these proceedings went on. There was an information brought to the council, of some at Bocking, who were irregular in the worship of God, who thought that to stand or to kneel at prayer, or to be covered, or bare-headed, was not material, and that the heart only was necessary: when they were brought before the council, they confessed that they met together; sometimes to confer about the Scriptures; and that they had refused to receive the communion above two years, as was judged upon very superstitious and erroneous principles (so it is entered in the council-book), with diverse other evil opinions, worthy of great punishment. Five of them were sent to prison, and seven gave bonds to appear when called for: they were required to resort to their ordinaries, if they had any doubt in religion, for resolution from them. These were probably some of the anabaptists, though that is not objected to them.

The great point that was then most canvassed in the universities was, the presence in the sacrament. Concerning this I have, among the papers sent me from Zurich, a letter of Peter Martyr's to his friend Bullinger, dated from Oxford the 1st of June, Coll. Numb. G. 1550, which will be found in the collection. "He excuses himself for his slowness in answering his letters, by reason of the constant labours he was engaged in. For, besides his daily exposition of St. Paul, which might claim his whole time, there was a new load brought on him: he was commanded, by an order from the king, to be present at the public disputations upon theological matters, which were held once a fortnight. And in the college in which he was placed, there was a disputation, where he was appointed to be present, and to moderate. He was in a perpetual struggle with most obstinate adversaries. The business of religion did not go on with the zeal and success to be wished for: yet it made a better progress than he had expected four months before. The number of their adversaries was great; they had few preachers on their side; and many of those who professed the gospel were guilty of gross vices. Some, by a human policy, were for purging religion, but for altering outward things as little as might be. They being secular men, apprehended, that upon a more visible change, such disorders would follow as might prove fatal: whereas, it was evident that the innumerable corruptions, abuses and superstitions, that had overrun the church, were such, that it was impossible to reform it, without bringing matters back to those pure fountains, and to the first sound principles of religion. The devil studied to undermine those good designs, by keeping up still many relics of popery, that by these the memory of the old abuses might be preserved, and the return to them rendered easier. On the other hand, they had this great comfort, that they had a holy king, full of fervent zeal for true religion. He writes, that he speaks in all this tender age, with that learning, that prudence, and that gravity, that it amazes all people who hear it. Therefore they were all bound to pray God earnestly, to preserve him long for the good of the church. There were several of the nobility well inclined, and some bishops not of the worst sort, among whom the archbishop of Canterbury was the standard-bearer. Hooper was lately made a bishop, to the joy of all good men, who was to pass through Oxford, in

his way to his diocese. He believed that he himself had given Bullinger an account of his being made a bishop, otherwise he would have wrote it. He also commends Coverdale's labours in Devonshire, and adds, that if they could find many such men, it were a great happiness. Alasco being forced to leave Friesland, by reason of the Interim, was then about the settling his congregation in London. He was at that time in the archbishop's house. The peace with France gave them some hopes. All were under great apprehensions from the pope's designs of bringing his council again together: but they must still trust in God. And after somewhat of their private concerns, he desires his prayers, for the progress of God's word in this kingdom."

He also, in a letter written on the 6th of August, 1551, laments the death of the young duke of Suffolk, "looking on him as the most promising of all the youth in the nation, next to the king himself." After some more on that subject, he adds this sad word, "There is no end put to our sins, nor any measure in sinning*." He commends Hooper's labours in his diocese mightily, and wishes that there were many more such bishops as he was.

Upon the death of the two young dukes of Suffolk, Grey, marquis of Dorchester, was made duke of Suffolk. He had married their sister, but had no sons by her. He had three daughters, of whom the eldest, lady Jane, was esteemed the wonder of the age. She had a sweetness in her temper, as well as a strength of mind, that charmed all who saw her. She had a great aptness to learn languages, and an earnest desire to acquire knowledge. Her father found out a very extraordinary person, to give her the first impressions: Ailmer, who was afterwards, in queen Elizabeth's time, advanced to be bishop of London. Under his care, she made an amazing progress. He found, it seems, some difficulty in bringing her to throw off the vanities of dress, and to use a greater simplicity in it. So, on the 23d of December, 1552, he wrote to Bullinger, "That the lady Elizabeth was a pattern to all, in the modesty of her dress; and yet nobody was prevailed on by such an illustrious example to follow it; and, in all this light of the gospel, to abstain from wearing gold, or gems, or plating of hair." He was particularly charged with the education of lady Jane Grey, whom he calls his scholar: but, it seems, he could not prevail in this particular; so he desires Bullinger to write his thoughts to her on that head.

There was nothing done for almost two whole years, pursuant to the act passed in November 1549, for making a new body of ecclesiastical laws: concerning which, it is not easy to guess what was the clause in it that gave the bishops so much offence, that the greatest part of the bench protested against it. For both the archbishops, and the bishops of Ely, Durham, Worcester, Westminster, Chichester, Lincoln, Rochester, and St. David's, joined in the protestation. There were only two clauses that I can imagine could give them this disgust. One is, that only four bishops and four common lawyers were made necessary to be of the number of the thirty-two persons. The other might be, the limitation of the time to three years: though that seems designed to make the act have its effect in a little time. Two years were almost ended before any steps were made towards the execution of it. On the 6th of October, 1551, the council wrote to the lord chancellor, to make out a commission for thirty-two persons, to reform the ecclesiastical laws. These were the archbishop, the bishops of London, Winchester, Ely, Exeter, Gloucester, Bath, and Rochester. The eight divines were, Taylor, Cox, Parker, Latimer, Cook, Peter Martyr, Cheke, John Alasco. The eight civilians were, Petre, Cecil, Smith, Taylor of Hadley, May, Trahern, Lyell, Skinner. The eight common lawyers were, Hales, Bromley, Goodrick, Gosnald, Stamford, Caryl, Lucas, Brook.

This, it seems, brought Peter Martyr from Oxford to London, in March 1552. And on the 8th of that month he wrote to Bullinger, from Lambeth, being lodged with the archbishop. He tells him, "That the king did earnestly press the bishops, that since the papal authority was cast out of this church, the ecclesiastical laws might be so reformed, that none of the papal decrees might continue to be of any authority in the bishops' courts; and that another body of laws ought to be compiled for them. He had therefore appointed two-and-thirty persons to set about it, of which number he himself was one. He says, the greater number of them were persons both eminently learned and truly pious: in this, he

* "Peccatis neque finis neque modus imponitur."

desires both their advices and their prayers. This work must be so prepared, as to receive a confirmation in parliament, in which he foresaw some difficulties." It seems that this number was thought too great to bring anything to a good conclusion, or these persons had not all the same views; for soon after, on the 9th of November after this, a new commission was ordered to be made out to eight persons, for preparing the same work. These were the archbishop, the bishop of Ely, doctor Cox, Peter Martyr, Taylor, May, Lucas, Goodrick. Strype tells us he saw the digest of the ecclesiastical laws, written out by the archbishop's secretary; the title being prefixed to each chapter, with an index of the chapters in the archbishop's own hand. In many places there are corrections and additions in his hand, and some lines are scored out: some of them were also revised by Peter Martyr: the 7th chapter in the title *De Prescriptionibus* is all written by Peter Martyr. Several chapters are added to the first draught, which is probably that which was prepared in king Henry's time. There was a later and more perfect draught of this work, prepared for king Edward, which coming into Fox's hands, he printed it in the year 1571: the differences between the two draughts, as Mr. Strype assures us, are not very material. But all this was brought to no conclusion.

I find somewhat to be added concerning the duke of Somerset's tragical death, in a letter that one John ab Ulmis, a Switzer, then in England, wrote from Oxford the 4th of December, 1552, to Bullinger; that the duke of Somerset was censured, as having been too gentle to the lady Mary, in conniving at her mass: but when he proposed the doing that in council, the earl of Warwick answered, "The mass is either of God or of the devil: if it is of God, we ought all to go to it; if it is of the devil, why should it be connived at in any person?" yet still the gentleness of the duke of Somerset made him suffer it to go on. But now, he adds, since the earl of Warwick had the greatest share in the government, he had put her priests in prison, and had given strict orders to suffer no mass to be said in her house.

He tells one remarkable particular in the duke of Somerset's trial: "That after he was found guilty of the conspiracy against the earl of Warwick (upon which the people expressed a great concern), the earl of Warwick addressed himself to the duke, and told him, that now, since by the law he was adjudged to die, he, as he had saved him formerly, so he would not now be wanting to serve him, how little soever he expected it from him. He desired him, therefore, to fly to the king's mercy, in which he promised he would faithfully serve him. Upon this, the duke did petition the king, and it was hoped, that he would reconcile those two great men, and that by this means the duke of Somerset should be preserved."

It seems there was some treaty about his pardon: for though he was condemned on the 1st of December, he was not executed till the 22d of January. What made it to be respited so long, and yet executed at last, does not appear. It is probable it was from a management of the duke of Northumberland's, who, by the delay, did seem to act in his favour, that so he might be covered from the popular odium which he saw his death was like to bring upon him; and, at the same time, by the means of some who had credit with the king, he possessed him with so bad an opinion of the duke of Somerset, that he, looking on him as an implacable man, capable of black designs, resolved to let the sentence be executed upon him.

In the same letter he gives an instance of Hooper's impartial zeal in the discharge of his function in his diocese: that while he was censuring some inferior people for their scandalous life, one said to him, "We poor people must do penance for these things, while great and rich men, as guilty as we, are overlooked. Upon that, he said, name any person, how great soever, that was guilty of adultery, so that it could be proved against him, and he would leave himself in their hands, to be used by them as they pleased, if he did not proceed equally against all. So, in a few days, sir Anthony Kingston, a great man in those parts, being accused of adultery, he cited him into his court. He, for some time, refused to appear. At last he came, and when the bishop was charging his sin severely upon him, he gave him very foul language, and at last fell to beat him. This was presently followed so severely, that he was fined in 500*l.* and forced to submit to do penance."

This raised the bishop's character, as it contributed not a little to establish his authority

in his diocese. He set himself to do his duty there with so much zeal, that his wife, who was a German, wrote to Bullinger, praying him to write to her husband, to take a little more care of himself: for he preached commonly thrice, sometimes four times in one day. The crowds of those who came constantly to hear him made him look on them as persons that were hungering for the word of life. So she apprehending that his zeal made him labour beyond his strength, studied to get others to put some stop to that, which, it seems, she could not prevail with him so far as to restrain.

About this time the bishops and divines were employed in the review of the Common-Prayer; but I have met with nothing new with relation to that matter, save that on the 6th of May, 1551, there was an order of council, for preserving peace, sent to all the Reg. Exon. cathedrals, at least to that of Exeter, for it is in that register. And on the 18th of January there was a commission issued out for the repressing of heresy, and for observing the Common-Prayer. And on the 27th of October, 1552, the council-book mentions also a letter, written to the lord chancellor, to add in the edition of the new Common-Prayer Book a declaration touching kneeling at the receiving the communion.

It remains that I give the best account I can of the articles of religion. It seemed to be The Articles of Religion prepared. a great want that this was so long delayed, since the old doctrine had still the legal authority of its side. One reason of delaying the publishing them probably was, that the king, in whose name, and by whose authority, they were to be published, might be so far advanced in years, and out of the time of pupillage, that they might have the more credit, and be of the more weight: for though it was a point settled in law, that the king's authority was at all ages the same, yet the world would still make a difference in their regard to things passed while he was a child, and those things authorized by him when he was in the 16th year of his age.

The first impression of these articles appeared with a title apt to make one think they had been agreed on in the convocation. It runs thus in English, "Articles which were agreed to in the synod of London, in the year 1552, by the bishops and other godly and learned men, to root out the discord of opinions, and establish the agreement of true religion." But there is reason to believe that no such articles were offered to the convocation. Weston objected afterwards to Cranmer that he had set forth a catechism in the name of the synod in London, and yet, said he, there be 50 which, witnessing that they were of the number of the convocation, never heard one word of this catechism. And in a long and much-laboured sermon of Brooks', preached at St. Paul's Cross in November 1553, there is an intimation that makes it indeed probable that the articles were brought into the upper house of convocation. For when he complains that they were set forth as allowed by the clergy, he adds, whereas the convocation, without all doubt (for the lower house at least), was never made privy thereto: that reserve seems to make it probable that they were brought into the upper house. In the first impression of the articles, the catechism is printed first before the articles: so this is to be understood of that whole book, which is indeed a very small one.

When this was objected to Cranmer, he answered, "I was ignorant of the setting to of that title, and as soon as I had knowledge thereof I did not like it. Therefore, when I complained thereof to the council, it was answered by them, that the book was so entitled, because it was set forth in the time of the convocation." In the interrogatories that were afterwards exhibited to him, in order to his final censure, the 7th ends thus, "That he did compile and caused to be set abroad divers books." The last part of his answer to that was, "As for the Catechism, the Book of Articles, with the other book against Winchester, he grants the same to be his doings."

It is true, in the first convocation under queen Mary, when the prolocutor charged Philpot with this, that a catechism was put forth without their consent, he answered on the sudden, that the house had granted an authority to make ecclesiastical laws to certain persons to be appointed by the king's majesty; and what was set forth by them might be well said to be done in the synod of London, although the house had no notice thereof before the promulgation; but Weston also said, "That the catechism beareth the title of the last synod before this, although many of them who were then present were never made privy

thereof in setting it forth :” so that both Weston and Philpot agree that the book was never brought before the convocation. In this matter Philpot, as he could not deny the fact, so he made use of the best answer that then occurred to him, without considering that the convocation had not agreed to any such deputation of 32 persons,—for that was settled by an act of parliament ; nor did the deputation relate to matters of doctrine, but only to the canons and proceedings in the ecclesiastical courts ; for as it was a revival of the acts passed in king Henry’s time, so it run in the same strain with them. These evidences make it plain that the articles of religion did not pass in convocation. We have Cranmer’s own word for it, that he drew them, and that he, who was always plain and sincere, did not approve of that deceitful title that was prefixed to them, to impose upon the unwary vulgar. He also owns that they were his doings. One reason that may seem probable for his not offering them to the convocation might be, that he had observed that many made a difference between obeying orders already made, and the consenting before-hand to the making of them. A greater degree of authority and evidence seemed necessary for the one than for the other ; besides that the offering things to debate, while it was free to argue on either side of the question, might carry some to engage themselves so far, that they could not after that submit with any decency. This, as far as I can judge, seems to be Cranmer’s reason for not offering the articles to be debated and passed in convocation.

But now that they were to be published with authority, that was to be done in the king’s name ; so a very few days before the king’s death, he sent a mandate to Cranmer to publish the articles, and to cause them to be subscribed. This was done pursuant to the archbishop’s motion to the king and council ; for he had desired, “ That all bishops might have authority from him to cause all their preachers, archdeacons, deans, prebendaries, parsons, vicars, curates, with all their clergy, to subscribe the said articles ; and he trusted that such a concord and quietness in religion should shortly follow thereon, as else is not to be looked for in many years. God shall thereby be glorified ; his truth shall be advanced, and your lordships (for he writes it to the privy council) shall be rewarded of him, as the setters-forward of his true word and gospel. Dated from Ford, the 24th of November.” It seems they were prepared some time before that, for on the 20th of October, in the year 1552, the council had written to the six preachers, Harley, Bell, Horn, Grindall, Pern, and Knox, to consider of some articles then offered to be subscribed by all preachers, which can be no other than these articles ; but as this matter was long delayed formerly, so when it was now ordered, it was sent about with all the diligence that so important a work required. The king also directed his orders to all the archbishop’s officers, enjoining them to cause all rectors, vicars, or those in any ecclesiastical employments, to appear before the archbishop, to obey and do on the king’s part as shall be signified to them.

The mandate that upon this was sent out by the archbishop’s officers, which is in the Collection, though it is in the king’s name, yet was issued out by Cranmer himself, in execution of the mandate ; it is mentioned in it that it was sent to him by the king. It was thus put in the king’s name, pursuant to the act passed in the beginning of this reign, that all process in the ecclesiastical courts should be in the king’s name ; but its being tested by the archbishop shows it was the act of his court : for though there is an exception in that act for the archbishops, yet that only related to what they should act in their provinces as metropolitans, but not to their proceedings in their particular dioceses,—in which, it seems, they were put on the same foot with the other bishops. The king’s mandate to himself is not in any record that I was able to find out. After the mandate, the execution of it by his officers was certified to him on the 22d of June, which is in his register, and is added in the Collection to the mandate. But probably the time given them run further than the king’s life ; for nothing farther appears to have been done upon it. The clergy of the city of London (probably only his peculiars) appeared before him, and he exhorted them to subscribe the articles. No mention is made of any one’s refusing to do it ; but he compelled none to subscribe, which he affirmed in his answer to an interrogatory put to him by Queen Mary’s commissioners ; for he said that he compelled none, but exhorted such to subscribe as were willing to do it, before they

But published
by the King’s
Authority.

And sent to
the Arch-
bishop of Can-
terbury.
Col. Numb. 7.

did it. It came to Norwich, where Thirleby was bishop, who complied readily with everything that he was required to do, though by his sudden turn, and his employments in the next reign, it appears that he acted, at least, against his heart, if not against his conscience.

The mandate for Norwich, which will be found in the Collection, bears date the 9th of June, in the 7th year of this reign. And it is not to be doubted but that the like mandates were directed to all the bishops, though they do not appear upon record. It sets forth that "whereas, after a long time of darkness, the light was now revealed to the inestimable benefit of the nation; the king thought it his duty to have a uniform profession, doctrine, and preaching for the evading

dangerous opinions and errors; and therefore he sent him certain articles gathered with great judgment, of the greatest part of the learned bishops of the kingdom, and sundry others of the clergy; which he required and exhorted him to sign, and in his preaching to observe, and to cause them to be subscribed by all others, who do, or shall preach, or read within his diocese; and if any shall not only refuse to subscribe, but shall preach contrary to them, he is required to give notice of it to the king and his council, that further order may be given in the matter. And for such persons as came to be admitted to any benefice or cure, he was to confer with them on these articles, and to cause them to subscribe them, otherwise not to admit them to any such benefice, to which they were presented. But if the person was ignorant, and did not understand them, pains was to be taken on him to instruct him, and six weeks' time might be given him to examine them by the Scriptures: but at the end of six weeks, if he did not subscribe them, he was to be rejected. Then follows an order for him to receive the catechism, and to give it to all masters of schools, that it may be taught in them all; and he is required to make report to the archbishop of the province, of the obedience given to these orders." This order was so readily executed, that about fifty of the clergy subscribed it. This instrument was examined and sent to me by Dr. Tanner, the learned chancellor of Norwich.

But besides the evidence that appears from the registers of Canterbury and Norwich, I have a further proof that the articles of religion were only promulgated by the king's authority, in an injunction sent to the university of Cambridge, signed by the bishop of Ely, sir John Cheke, Mayo, and Wendy, who were the visitors of the university, bearing date the 1st of June, 1553; directed to all the regents and non-regents; setting forth that great and long pains had been taken by the king's authority, and the judgments of good and learned men, concerning some articles described according to the title with which they were printed; these being promulgated by the king's authority, and delivered to all the bishops, for the better government of their dioceses, they did commend them to them, and by their visitatorial authority, they do enjoin that all doctors and bachelors of divinity, and all doctors of arts, should publicly before their creation swear to them, and subscribe them; and such as refuse to do it are to be denied their degree. To this is added the form of the oath to be taken: the injunction will be found in the Collection.

Thus it appears, by a variety of evidences, that these articles were not passed in convocation, nor so much as offered to it. And, as far as can be judged from Cranmer's proceedings, he intended to put the government of the church in another method, different from the common way by convocation; and to set up provincial synods of bishops, to be called as the archbishop saw cause, he having first obtained the king's licence for it. This appears by the 18th chapter of the "Reformation of the Ecclesiastical Laws" prepared by him, in which it is plain that these provincial synods were to be composed only of the bishops of the province. The convocations now in use by a long prescription, in which deans, archdeacons, and cathedrals, have an interest, far superior in number to those elected to represent the clergy, can in no sort pretend to be more than a part of our civil constitution, and have no foundation either in any warrant from Scripture, or from the first ages of the church; but did arise out of that second model of the church, set out by Charles the Great, and formed according to the feudal law; by which a right of giving subsidies was vested in all who were possessed of such tenures as qualified them to contribute towards the supporting of the state.

And the Bishop of Norwich.
Coll. Numb. 8.

And to the University of Cambridge.

Coll. Numb. 9.

Cranmer designed to set up the Provincial Synods.

As for the catechism, it was printed with a preface prefixed to it in the king's name, bearing date the 24th of May, about seven weeks before his death: in which he sets forth that it was drawn by a pious and learned man (supposed to be bishop Poynt), and was given to be revised by some bishops and other learned men; he therefore commands all schoolmasters to teach it.

I come now to set forth the dismal overturning of all that had been done now in a course of twenty years. King Edward was for some months under a visible decay: his thoughts were much possessed with the apprehensions of the danger religion must be in, if his sister Mary should succeed him. This set him on contriving a design to hinder that. He seemed to be against all females' succession to the crown. I have

put in the Collection a paper that I copied out of a manuscript of the late Mr. Petyt's, all written in that king's own hand, with this title, "My Device for the Succession:" by it "the crown was to go to the issue male of his own body, or if

he had only female issue, to the issue male coming of the issue female; next to the issue male of the lady Frances, then in succession to her three daughters, and to their issue male; and if they had only female issue, to the first issue male of any of her daughters. The heir male after 18 was to enter upon the government: but his mother was to govern until he was of that age, with the advice of six of that council of twenty persons, which he should name by his last will: but if the mother of the issue male should not be 18, then the realm was to be governed by the council, provided that after the issue male was of the age of 14, all matters of importance should be opened to him. If at his death there were no issue male, the lady Frances was to be governess-regent; and after her life, her three daughters were to be governesses in succession, till an heir-male was born; and then the mother of that heir-male was to be governess. If four of the council should die, the governess was ordered, within a month, to summon the whole council, to choose four in their stead, in which the governess was to have three voices. But after the death of the governess, the council was to choose the new councillors till the king was 14, and then he was to choose them, but by their advice."

It may seem by this, that the king designed this some time before his death; while he thought that he himself might have issue: but he was prevailed on to change a great deal of this scheme, especially those clauses that kept the crown as in an abeyance, till an issue-male should be born; which would have totally changed the government: so he departed from these clauses.

This was afterwards put in another form by the judges; and that scheme which they prepared was, in six several places, superscribed by the king's hand. Probably it consisted of so many pages. I never saw that paper; but I have put in the

Collection 11. Collection the paper that was subscribed by twenty-four councillors and judges: in which they set forth, "That they had often heard the king's earnest desire, touching the limitation of the succession of the crown, and had seen his device written in his own hand: and after that was copied out, and delivered to judges and other learned men, they did sign with their hands, seal with their seals, and promise by their oaths and honours, to observe every article in that writing, and all such other matter, as the king should by his last will declare, touching the limitation of the crown: and never to vary from it, but to defend and maintain it to the utmost of their power. And they also promised that they would prosecute any of their number, or any other, that should depart from it, and do their uttermost to see them severely punished."

I gave an account in my History of the opposition that Cranmer made to this: but

Mr. Strype has discovered more particulars concerning it. He tells us, "that he argued with the king himself once about it in the hearing of the marquis of

Northampton and the lord Darcy. He desired leave to speak to the king alone about it, that so he might be more free with him; but that was not allowed him. He hoped, if he had obtained that liberty, he should have diverted the king from it. He argued against it in council, and pleaded that the lady Mary was legitimate: but some lawyers were prevailed on to say that the king, being in possession of the crown, might dispose of it as he pleased. He stood firm and said, that he could not subscribe it without perjury, having sworn to the observance of king Henry's will. Some councillors said they had sworn to

that will as well as he, and that they had consciences as well as he. He said every man was to answer to God for his own deeds, and not for other men's: he did not take upon him to judge any man's conscience but his own. He spake with the judges about the matter; and they agreed that the king might settle the succession, notwithstanding king Henry's will: yet he remained still unsatisfied; till the king himself required him to set his hand to his will, saying, he hoped he alone would not stand out, and be more repugnant to his will than all the rest of the council were. This made a great impression on him; it grieved him much: but such was the love that he bore to the king, that in conclusion he yielded, and signed it."

A little before the king's death, a very extraordinary thing happened in Ireland. I had The Primate of Ireland told in my former work, that Goodacre and Bale were sent over to promote the Reformation in Ireland. The former was made primate of Armagh: of whose poisoned. death there is a report, that has been all along believed by his posterity. A reverend and worthy clergyman of Hampshire, not far from Salisbury (who is the fourth in descent from that primate, they having been all clergymen but one), told me he had it from his grandfather, who was the primate's grandson. "That he being invited to a popish lord's house, a monk there drank to him in a poisoned liquor, on design to poison him; of which they both died." This I set down from the venerable person's own mouth, as a thing known and believed in the family.

I have no particulars to add, neither concerning the death nor the character of that good prince, king Edward, whose untimely end was looked on by all people as a just judgment of God upon those who pretended to love and promote a Reformation, but whose impious and flagitious lives were a reproach to it. The open lewdness in which many lived, without shame or remorse, gave great occasion to their adversaries to say they were in the right to assert justification by faith without works; since they were, as to every good work, reprobate. Their gross and insatiable scrambling after the goods and wealth, that had been dedicated with good designs, though to superstitious uses, without applying any part of it to promoting the gospel, the instructing the youth, and relieving the poor, made all people conclude that it was for robbery, and not for reformation, that their zeal made them so active.

I will here give an eminent instance of fraudulent proceedings in the beginning of this reign; of which the present learned and zealous dean of Norwich was pleased to send me a copious account out of their registers. The prior, when inducted into that dignity, took an oath not to alienate any of their lands, which was confirmed by injunctions exhibited to the convent in the royal visitation. But the king, upon certain reasons suggested by the prior and convent, and approved by him, did dispense with that oath; so that notwithstanding the oath, they were left at liberty to alienate some lands set forth in the instrument, dated the 1st of April 1538, countersigned by Cromwell. A month after that, on the 2nd of May that year, the church was converted from a prior and convent to a dean and chapter; and the last prior was made the first dean of the church.

But on the 26th of May 1547, in the beginning of king Edward's reign, a letter was sent to that church, signed by the duke of Somerset, Rich, the lord chancellor, and six other privy-councillors, pretending that they designed the advancement of God's glory, and the truest intent of the late king's determination: by which sir Richard Southwell, sir Roger Townshend, and sir William Paston, were authorised to receive a full surrender of the whole chapter; assuring both the dean and every one of the prebendaries, that there should be no alteration made in their yearly profits, and that there should be a just contentation given to the residue of the ministers there. A commission was granted on the 27th to these persons to take the surrender, with articles and instructions annexed to it: which, because, probably many others were of the same sort, are put in the

Collection, Number 12.

Collection. But, for all this appearance of fair dealing—it being pretended that this was only designed that the king should be the founder, and that the church should lose nothing by the surrender—yet when they had made the surrender, in the hope of new letters-patent, they could not obtain them. And lands, to the value of 200*l.* a year, were taken from them. Upon which that corporation tried, in queen Mary's time, to get

a bill to pass, to restore them to the state they were in before they were prevailed on to make the surrender. But the bill did not pass. Perhaps it might be suggested that it would alarm the nation too much if any alienation of church lands, how fraudulently soever obtained, were meddled with. I give this as a well-attested instance; by which it may appear how things of this kind were obtained and managed chiefly in the beginnings of this reign. For I am not so much set on justifying everything that was done in this reign, as

Coll. Eccl. another voluminous writer is on condemning almost everything done in it, with Hist. p. 332, a particular virulence against the memory of that pious prince. This, from one col. 2. of another communion, is that which might have been expected; but it is a little singular, when it comes from one who says he is of our church.

The irregular and immoral lives of many of the professors of the gospel, gave their enemies great advantages to say, they ran away from confession, penance, fasting, and prayers, only that they might be under no restraint, but indulge themselves in a licentious and dissolute course of life. By these things, that were but too visible in some of the more eminent among them, the people were much alienated from them: and as much as they were formerly prejudiced against popery, they grew to have kinder thoughts of it, and to look on all changes that had been made, as designs to enrich some vicious courtiers, and to let in an inundation of vice and wickedness upon the nation. Some of the clergy that promoted the Reformation, were not without very visible blemishes: some indiscretions, both in their marriages and in their behaviour, contributed not a little to raise a general aversion to them.

It is true, there were great and shining lights among them, whose exemplary deportment, continual labours, fervent charity, and constant zeal, both during their lives and at their deaths, kept up the credit of that work, as much as it was disgraced by others: but they were few in comparison of the many bad, and those of the clergy, in whom the old leaven had still a deep root, though they complied in everything that was imposed on them. Seeing that they had lost those perquisites at masses and other practices, which brought them their chief gains, and saw nothing came in lieu of them for their subsistence, they, who in their hearts hated all that they were forced to profess outwardly, did secretly possess such as were influenced by them, with an abhorrence of all that was done: and they disposed the nation to be ready to throw it all off.

That which was above all, was, that God was highly dishonoured by men who pretended zeal for his glory, but with their works dishonoured him. They talked of the purity of the gospel, while they were wallowing in all sensuality and uncleanness: pretending to put all their confidence in the merits and sufferings of Christ, while they were crucifying him afresh, and putting him to open shame. In such lamentations as these, I find the good men of that time did often vent their sorrows in their letters to one another, and break out into severe reflections on them. Some did it afterwards abroad in their exile, and others at home in their sufferings. Their only human hope was in the king himself; in whom there appeared such a progress, both in knowledge and zeal, that they expected to see him complete the Reformation, and redress those crying abuses in which the men in power found their account too evidently to expect remedy from them. They were men, in whose hands things grew every day worse and worse; and whose arrogance and other disorders our chief reformers were forced in some measure to connive at, that they might not provoke them to retard a work that could in no wise be carried without their countenance and authority; though they saw the prejudice it brought upon them to be obliged to apply to, and to make use of such tools with which the righteous souls of our best reformers were much grieved. They were engaged with men that were ready to pull down, especially when anything was to be got by it; but were as backward in building up as they were forward in plucking down: so that they seemed to design to leave all in a great ruin. These were great hindrances to the progress of the Reformation, as they were both the burden and the shame of our reformers.

I thought it not amiss to open this as fully as I found it lying before me: and I hope the reader will not only consider this as a part of the history of a former age, but as an admonition to us in the present: if we fall under the disorders and corruptions that then reigned,

why should not we expect such a calamity as overtook and overwhelmed them? We may justly look for worse, since we have the advantages of much more light, and many more blessings, as well as many alarming terrors, which have all gone over us without those dismal convulsions that we might have looked for: and they have as easily slept out of our thoughts, as if we had never seen or felt them. To the viciousness of life, and the open immoralities and neglect of religion, that were the sins of the former age, many among us have added a studied impiety and a laboured opposition to all revealed religion: which some have owned in so barefaced a manner, that perhaps no age of the world can show anything like it. If others with secular views have declaimed against this, and put on some show of zeal, how much more of party than of true religion has appeared in it. The divided parties among us have showed little true regard to religion, and to a course of virtue and piety, which can only give both strength and honour to a church; and this does too plainly appear in many who talk the most of it, or for it.

Have we of the clergy made the steps that became us, and that were designed in the former age, for throwing out abuses, for regulating the courts, and restoring discipline? while we have for above 150 years expressed once a year a faint wish that the primitive discipline were again restored, and yet have not made one step toward it: what a venality of the advowsons to livings do we hear of, and at best the disposing of them goes generally by secular regards, by importunities, obligations, or friendship: and above all, how few of those that labour in the gospel do labour indeed, and give themselves wholly to it? how much of their time and zeal is employed in things that do not deserve it so well as the watching over, the instructing, and the building up their flock in their most holy faith? How few do fast and pray, and study to prepare themselves and their people for the evil day that seems much nearer us than the greatest part are willing to apprehend; that so we may by our intercessions deliver our church and nation from that which is ready to swallow us up; or at least be so fortified and assisted, that we ourselves, and others, by what they see in us, may glorify God in that day of visitation.

I shall conclude this book with one reflection that may make us hope that the reformation was under a particular and watchful care of providence: when the light seemed almost extinguished in one place it broke out in another, by which as it was still kept shining somewhere, so there was a sanctuary opened, to which those who were forced to fly from one place, might in their flight find a covert in another from the storm. In the beginning of this reign, by breaking of the Smalcaldick league, by the taking of the elector of Saxony, and the landgrave of Hesse, and by the Interim, the reformation seemed to be near extinguished in Germany. In this church it was at that time advanced; and we kindly then received those who were forced to fly hither for shelter. And now in the year before the death of this good king, there was not only a revival, but a lasting settlement procured in Germany to the reformation there. So that those who fled from hence found a safe and kind harbour in all the places of the empire, to which they were driven by the storm and tempest that arose here. Of which I go next to gather up such gleanings as have come in my way.

The provi-
dence of God
towards the
Reformed.

PART III.—BOOK V.

OF WHAT HAPPENED DURING QUEEN MARY'S REIGN, FROM THE YEAR 1553 TO THE YEAR 1558.

As soon as the queen came to the Tower of London, she sent for the lord mayor and the aldermen of the city, and told them, "That though her own conscience was stayed in matters of religion, yet she meaneth graciously not to compel or strain other people's consciences, otherwise than God shall, as she trusteth, put in their hearts a persuasion of the truth." These soft words were not long remembered: of the progress of the severities in her reign, I have a very authentic account before me, in the original council-book, that begins on the 17th of August, 1553, and goes to the end of the year 1557: but from that to her death I have not so sure a thread. The book begins with orders for letters to be written to Coverdale and Hooper for their undelayed repair to the court; and a complaint being made of a sermon preached by Fisher, parson of Amersham; he was ordered to appear the next day, and to bring the notes of his sermon with him. A parliament was summoned to meet in November: on the 14th of August the writ for the convocation was directed to Cranmer. A letter was soon after written by the queen and council to the bishop of Norwich, to suffer none to preach without a special licence; the same order was intimated to the lord mayor of London, and the same was no doubt universally both ordered and executed.

On the 20th of August there was an order for guards to defend the preacher at St. Paul's cross, occasioned by what had happened to Bourn: it seems few came to hear the sermons, for the lord-mayor was ordered "to make the ancients of the companies resort to the sermons, lest the preacher should be discouraged by a small audience." Rymer MSS. On the 23d of August Gardiner was declared lord chancellor: here I shall set down the appointments of the lord chancellor as they were settled at that time. There was a privy seal given for wages and diets, and for the masters in chancery, for 542*l.* 15*s.* yearly: 50*l.* was ordered for attending on the star-chamber every term; and besides that a salary was given of 300*l.*, and 64*l.* for 12 ton of wine, and 16*l.* for wax. All these were granted the 21st of September, but were to commence from the 23d of August. On the 24th of August there was an order sent to the keeper of Newgate to receive and keep John Melvil, a Scot, and a very seditious preacher; so he was called in the warrant. On the same day a letter was written to the mayor of Canterbury, to set Panton, vicar of St. Dunstan's, and one Burden, on the pillory, for seditious words against the queen, and to take bonds at their discretion for their good bearing. On the 26th of August a letter was writ to the mayor of Coventry to apprehend Symonds, a vicar there, and to send him up with such matter as can be procured to charge him with: "And to punish at their discretion such slanderous talkers, as by his lewd preaching have had dissolute and seditious talk."

Here is a great deal of heat in ten days' time. Cranmer was called before the council in the beginning of August; probably on the account of his signing king Edward's will, and acting upon it: but since so many of those who had signed it, were then at the council board, they were perhaps ashamed to proceed further against him, who had opposed it so much. He had for that time only a severe reprimand, and was commanded to keep his house. He was brought again before some of the queen's commissioners, being cited to appear, and to bring the inventory of his goods with him; he brought it, but no further proceedings against him are mentioned at that time. On the 29th of August Hooper appeared before the council: on the 1st of September he was sent to the Fleet, no regard being had to the active zeal that he had expressed in asserting the queen's right, and against the lady Jane; so sincerely did he follow the dictates of his conscience, when he

could not but see what consequences it was like to have. On the 2d, order was given that his servant might attend on him. On the 31st of August, Coverdale appeared before them, and in respect that he was a foreigner, he was ordered to attend till further order. On the 2d of September, Sanders, vicar in Coventry, appeared before the council, and a letter was written to the mayor of Leicester to bring up their vicar : on the 4th of September, Latimer was summoned to appear, and a letter was written to the mayor of Coventry to set Symonds at liberty, upon his repentance for a wish he had uttered, wishing they were hanged that said mass : if he refused to do that, the mayor was to give notice of it.

On the 5th of September a letter was written to sir John Sidenham to let the strangers depart, and to give them a passport. This related to the congregation of the foreigners that had settled, in order to set up a manufacture at Glastonbury. On the 10th of September a letter of thanks was ordered for the gentlemen of Cornwall, for their honest proceeding in electing knights for the parliament : it seems there was some debate about it with the sheriff, for a letter was written to him to accept of the election, and not to trouble the county for any alteration : on the 13th of September it is entered, that Latimer, for his seditious demeanor, should be close prisoned in the Tower, with a servant to attend him ; on the same day Cranmer was ordered to appear the next day at the star-chamber. On the 14th, in the the star-chamber, Cranmer, as well for his treason against the queen as for spreading seditious bills, moving tumults, to the disquieting the present state, was sent to the Tower, and referred to justice. There are several orders made for restoring all chalices to churches, together with all other goods belonging to them, though they had been sent into the great wardrobe. On the 4th of October the archbishop of York was committed to the Tower for divers offences ; and Horn, the dean of Durham, was summoned again and again, but he thought fit to go beyond sea. Nothing gave more offence than the promoting petitions for retaining the doctrine and service settled in king Edward's time. Those of Maidstone were charged with it ; and this is on several occasions mentioned in the council-book : but as the government was thus set to overthrow all that had been done in king Edward's time ; so the fierceness of the popish party made them on many occasions out-run the government : some of the clergy continued to perform the daily worship, and to celebrate the sacrament ; more they durst not do in public, all preaching being forbidden. The people that favoured the reformation frequented the service with great devotion and zeal, for all saw what was coming on them, and so they studied to prepare themselves for it. Some of the ruder multitudes came into their churches and disturbed them while they were at their devotions ; they insulted the ministers and laughed at their worship, and there were everywhere informers with false stories to charge the more zealous preachers : in many places the people broke in violently into churches and set up altars, and the mass in them, before the parliament met to change the laws.

The duke of Northumberland shewed that abjectness of mind that might have been expected from so insolent a man, loaded with so much guilt ; he begged his life with all possible meanness, " That he might do penance all the days of his life, if it were in a mouse-hole." He went to mass in the Tower, and received the sacrament in the popish manner. He sent for Gardiner, and asked him if there was no hope for him, to live, and do penance for his sins. The bishop said his offence was great, and he would do well to provide for the worst, especially to see that he stood well with God in matters of conscience and religion ; for to speak plainly, he said, he thought he must die. The duke desired he might have a learned priest sent him, for his confession and spiritual comfort. " For religion, he said, he could be of no other but of his, he never was of any other indeed ; he complied in king Edward's days only out of ambition, for which he prayed God to forgive him, and he promised that he would declare that at his death." The bishop shed many many tears, and seemed to be troubled for him ; and as he reported himself, he pressed the queen so much that he had almost gained her consent for his life. But the emperor who was then designing the marriage, that took effect afterwards, saw what a struggle there might be against that, and what mischief such a man might afterwards do : so he wrote his advice for his death positively to the queen ; and he was executed, and died as he had lived.

The Duke of Northumberland begs his life, but in vain.

Gates and Palmer, who suffered with him, had tried how far the going to mass and receiving the sacrament in the popish way, could save them : but when they were brought to suffer, Gates confessed "that he had lived as viciously as any in the world. He was a great reader of the Scriptures ; but no man followed them less : he read them only to dispute. He exhorted people to consider how they read God's holy word, otherwise it would be but poison to them. Palmer thanked God for his affliction, and said, he had learned more in one dark corner of the Tower than he had ever learned formerly : he had there come to see God in his works, and in his mercies, and had seen himself a mass of sin, and of all vileness the vilest." He seemed not daunted with the fear of death, though he saw two die before him, and the bloody axe coming to finish the business on himself. I find nothing new, with relation to the session of parliament.

A Convocation summoned.

The writ upon which the convocation was summoned was directed to Cranmer, but executed by Bonner, bishop of London. Weston was chosen prolocutor ; and the queen sent a message to them, to dispute about religion. I gave formerly an account of that disputation, and can add little to it. The minutes tell us that Philips, who was one of the five that refused to subscribe, did, on the 30th of April, recant and subscribe. It is indeed of little consequence to enquire into the proceedings of the convocation during this reign, in which all the old notions of popery were taken up, even before they were enacted. Though both this convocation and the next were summoned by the queen's writ, with the title of supreme head of the church.

There was at this time an infamous slander set about, of the queen's being with child by Gardiner. The queen's whole life being innocent as to all such things, that might have made them to despise such a report rather than to trace it up ; besides, Gardiner's great age made that none could believe it. But the earl of Sussex, in his officious zeal, pursued it through eight or ten hands ; and one at last was indicted for having reported it ; though such an absurd lie had, perhaps, been better neglected than so minutely inquired into. In the same letter that mentions this, the earl of Sussex gives an account of examinations touching a design for an insurrection, upon the arrival of the prince of Spain.

The emperor had, on the 21st of December, signed a commission empowering the count of Egmond, and others, to treat a marriage between his son and the queen.

A Treaty of marriage with the Prince of Spain.

Upon their coming to England, the queen gave a commission on the 1st of January to the lord chancellor, and others, to treat with them. And prince Philip of Spain did, on the 28th of April, send from Valladolid full powers to the same effect. That which quickened the treaty was, an account of a vast treasure that was come with the fleet, from the West Indies to Seville ; reckoned to have brought over five millions, as Mason wrote from Brussels. He does not denominate the millions, whether pounds or crowns. He wishes the half were true. It was necessary to have a great treasure in view ; for though I never found any hint of the corrupting of parliament men, before this time, yet there was now an extraordinary occasion for it ; and they saw where only the treasure to furnish it could be had. A concurrence of many circumstances seemed to determine all things for this marriage. Everything was agreed to : the conditions seemed to be of great advantage to the nation. In this treaty of marriage, if Cæsar Campana (who wrote Philip's life very copiously) was well informed, Philip himself was extremely disgusted at it : for he desired to be married to a wife more suited to his own age. He adds another particular—"That the nation shewed such an aversion to it, that the count of Egmond, with the others sent over to treat about it, saw themselves in such danger, that they were forced to fly away, that they might avoid it : and a parliament was to be called, to approve of the conditions of the treaty."

Sir Thomas Wyatt was a man that had been oft employed in embassies, particularly in Spain ; where he had made such observations upon the subtlety and cruelty of the Spaniards, and of the treatment that such kingdoms and provinces met with that came under their yoke, that he could not look on the misery that his country was like to fall under, without a just concern about it. He was the duke of Northumberland's kinsman, yet he would not join in lady Jane's business : and before he

Wyat's Rising and Principles.

knew that any others had done it, he proclaimed the queen at Maidstone; but he did not, upon that, run to her for thanks, as others did; yet the queen was so sensible of his loyalty and zeal for her, that she sent her thanks to him by the earl of Arundel; to whom he appealed, as to this particular, when he was under examination in the Tower. He had obtained a pass to go beyond the sea; but his lady being with child, he stayed to see the end of that. Nothing set him on to raise the country as he did but his love and zeal for the public. He never pretended that religion was his motive: many papists joined with him. When he passed by Charing-Cross, he might have turned to Whitehall, which was but ill defended; for many of the earl of Pembroke's men came over to him. This shewed that he meant no harm to the queen's person. His marching into London was, on design to engage the city to come and join with him in a petition to the queen against the Spanish match. The queen herself was so satisfied as to his good intentions, that she intended to have pardoned him, had not a message from the prince of Spain determined her to order his head to be cut off. I suppose there may be a mistake here; and that it was the emperor, then in Flanders, and not the prince of Spain, who was yet in Spain, that sent this advice. He never accused the lady Elizabeth: but being entangled by questions in one examination, he had said somewhat reflecting on the earl of Devonshire; for this he begged his pardon. And when he was on the scaffold, he not only cleared the lady Elizabeth, but referred himself with relation to her innocence, and that she was not privy to their matters, to the declaration he had made to the council. All this account concerning him I take from a relation that his son gave afterwards to the lord Burleigh, marked with that Ex MSS. Petyti. lord's hand on it. It seems the priests at this time understood the interests of their cause better than others did above an age after; for they moved the queen to shew a signal act of mercy, and to pardon all that had been engaged in this rising.

Only it gave a colour to the severity against the lady Jane Gray and her husband. She was the wonder and delight of all that knew her. I have two of her letters Lady Jane Gray executed. in Latin, writ to Bullinger, copied from the originals all in her own hand, written in a pure and unaffected style. She was then entering on the study of the Hebrew, in the method that Bullinger advised her. She expresses in her letters a wonderful respect and submission to him, with a great strain of modesty, and a very singular zeal for religion. There being nothing in those letters that is in any sort historical, I thought it was not proper to put them in my Collection, though one cannot read them without a particular veneration for the memory of so young and so rare a creature.

And now the government finding all things under their feet, did begin to show the whole nation what was to be expected. All that adhered to the Reformation were sure Severities against the married Clergy. to be excluded from all favour: commissions were sent over the whole kingdom, to proceed, as upon other points, so particularly against the married clergy. These came to York, directed to the guardian of the spiritualities in that place: and the dean and chapter were authorized by the queen to act pursuant to their instructions. And they acted as in a vacancy, though the commission to proceed against the archbishop bears date the 16th of March; yet on the 9th of March they sent out a general citation of the Reg. Ebor. clergy, to appear before them on the 12th of March. They did not, indeed, begin Sede Vac. to deprive any before the 27th of April; and from that day to the 20th of f. 65, 66. December, they deprived one-and-fifty, of whom several were prebendaries.

I will here insert a short account of the unjust and arbitrary deprivations of the married clergy, that was published by Parker, afterwards archbishop of Canterbury. "What examples have they in stories before-time, that deprivations have been thus handled before our days? I will not speak of particular cases, where some men have been deprived, never convict, no, nor never called: some called that were fast locked in prison; and yet they were nevertheless deprived immediately. Some were deprived without the case of marriage after their order: some induced to resign upon promise of pension, and the promise as yet never performed. Some so deprived, that they were spoiled of their wages, for the which they served the half year before, and not ten days before the receipt sequestered from it: some prevented from the half-year's receipt, after charges of tenths and subsidies paid, and yet not deprived six weeks after. Some deprived of their receipt somewhat before the day,

with the which their fruits to the queen's majesty should be contented; and some yet in the like case chargeable hereafter, if the queen's merciful grace be not informed thereof, by the mediation of some charitable solicitor. * * * And a little after they were deprived or driven away, twelve or sixteen thousand, as some writer maketh his account." But there are good reasons to think that numbers have been wrong taken of this. Among other suggestions, Dr. Tanner has sent me this; that the diocese of Norwich is reckoned almost an 8th part of all England; and he finds there were only 335 clergymen deprived on that account: by this, the whole number will fall short of 3000. This, it is true, is but a conjecture; yet it is a very probable one, and the other account is no way credible.

I shall, to this, only add another short account of the proceedings at that time, published by Ailmer, afterwards bishop of London. "The bishops that were married were thrust out of the parliament-house; and all married deans and archdeacons, out of the convocation, Many put out of their livings, and others restored, without form of law. * * * Many churches were changed, many altars set up; many masses said, many dirges sung, before the law was repealed." From these accounts, we may easily believe, that when the laws were altered, there was a vigorous and a speedy execution of them.

After all matters relating to the queen's marriage was settled, the emperor sent a fleet for the prince of Spain: and upon that occasion the queen was prevailed on to break through all forms, and to write the first love-letter to him; of which, having met with the original, I have put it in the Collection, as a singularity in such matters. She tells him, "that she understanding that the emperor's ambassador was sending the bearer to him, though he had not written since their alliance had been a treating; yet she, thinking herself obliged by the sincere affection that he had for her, confirmed by good effects, and by the letters that he had written to the emperor's ambassador, could not restrain herself from letting him know the duty in which she intended to correspond always with him: and she thanked him for all his good offices. She acquainted him that her parliament had, without any opposition, agreed to the articles of their marriage, and thought them honourable, advantageous, and more than reasonable. This gave her an entire confidence, that his coming to England should be safe and agreeable to him. She ends recommending herself most affectionately and humbly to his highness, as being his entirely-assured and most obliged ally."

But the matter of the marriage being settled, and afterwards executed, I will now look again into the proceedings of the council. On the 16th of January, one Wotton, called an esquire, was committed to be close prisoner in the Fleet, for his obstinate standing against matters of religion. On the 14th of February, letters were written to the lord Rich, and to sir John Wentworth, to punish some in Colchester, Coggeshal, and other places, who dissuaded people from frequenting such divine service as was then appointed by law to be observed. Upon this, many were committed, and others put under recognisances to appear. On the 8th of March an order was sent to the lieutenant of the Tower, to deliver Cranmer, Ridley, and Latimer, to sir John Williams, who was to carry them to Oxford. On the 26th of March, an order was given to send up Taylor, parson of Hadley, and Askew, of West Hillesly. Barlow, bishop of Bath and Wells, was carried beyond sea, by one Williams, a mariner of Bristol; who returning to Pembrokeshire, some gentlemen there seized on him, and sent him to London: so he was sent to the Marshalsea, and a letter of thanks was written to those who had seized on him, so careful were they to encourage every officious show of zeal.

But now came on the second convocation in this reign, in which all that was done was, that the prolocutor, Weston, with some deputed to go along with him, were ordered to go to Oxford to dispute with the three bishops; of which I can add nothing to the account I formerly gave of it. On the 27th of April, Weston returned, and reported the conference, or examination, of Cranmer and the two other bishops, attested under the seal of the university; and soon after that they were dismissed, for the parliament met on the 2nd of April, and was dismissed on the 5th of May.

Aggravated
by some.

The Queen
writes the first
Letter to K.
Philip.

Coll. Numb.
13.

Proceedings
against
Heretics.

A Convoca-
tion.

On the 3rd of May, Cranmer, Ridley, and Latimer, being judged obstinate heretics, the judges were asked what the queen might do, since Cranmer was attainted. He was a man dead in law, and not capable of any other censure; and this seems to be the true reason that moved the queen to pardon the treason upon which he was already condemned: for though he was very earnest to obtain a pardon for that, it does not appear that there was any regard had to him in granting it, but on the contrary, it seems, it was resolved that he should be burned as a heretic. And since that could not be done while he stood condemned of treason, this seems to be the only motive of that mercy, which, in this case, was certainly done out of cruelty. On the 20th of May, a servant of the lady Elizabeth's was brought before the council; but there is nothing in particular mentioned, only he was required to attend. There were suspicions of her being concerned in Wyat's rebellion, as appeared in the account given of Wyat himself. It is alleged that Gardiner studied to suborn false witnesses to charge her with that; and that this went so far, that a warrant was brought to Bridges, the lieutenant of the Tower, for her execution, but that he would not obey it till he knew the queen's pleasure. Some credit seems due to this, since it was published in her reign, and was not contradicted, nor denied as far as I can find. But it seems to be denied in a declaration set forth many years after by herself, when she was queen, which shall be mentioned in its proper place. On the 25th of May, some in Stepney were ordered to be set on the pillory for spreading false news; the ears of one were ordered to be nailed to the pillory, and then cut off. On the 26th of May, sir Henry Bedingfeld was sent with instructions, signed by the queen, for the ordering the lady Elizabeth.

On the 1st of June, an order was sent to the bishop of London to send discreet and learned preachers into Essex, to reduce the people there. Bonner seemed to think of no way of reducing any but by severity and force, so that the council found it necessary to put him in mind of his pastoral care. Orders were then given for the reception of the prince of Spain. Some were ordered to be set on a pillory, and their ears were to be nailed to it, and cut off. The duchess of Northumberland desired that her sons might hear mass in the Tower: this was granted, but order was given that none might speak with them. On the 11th of June, orders were given to receive the duke of Savoy at Dover. And on the 5th of July, order was given to punish those who were concerned in the imposture called "the spirit in the wall." On the 6th of July, some of the lady Elizabeth's servants were committed for lewd words of the state of the kingdom. On the 24th of July, two treaties for the queen's marriage, made by the lord Fitzwater, who had been ambassador in Spain, were given to the lord Treasurer.

Now the marriage was made, and the jollities on such occasions put some stop to severities: but it was a short one; for on the 15th of August, letters were writ to the justices of peace, in Sussex, to punish those who railed at the mysteries of Christ's religion. I must observe here, once for all, that the letters themselves, writ by the council, are not entered in the book: these would have set out particulars much more clearly than those short entries do. But there were forms of those letters put in a chest, and the council-book refers us often to the letter in the chest. On the 19th of August, letters of thanks are ordered to Tirrell and others for their care, ordering them to imprison all such as came not to divine service, and to keep them in prison till they had the comfort of their amendment: several men and women were imprisoned in Huntingdonshire. The 20th of August, mention is made of some in prison for words. On the 21st of August, an order was sent to examine into a conspiracy, in Suffolk, by certain lewd persons. On the 16th of September, a letter was ordered to the lord mayor and aldermen of London to punish the spreaders of false rumours.

But now came on the great affair of the reconciling the nation to the see of Rome. The two former parliaments could not be brought up to that; so the court was willing to accept all that they could be brought to; but when they saw at what they stuck, they were sent home. And some were so weak as to think, that, by yielding in some things, they should give the court such content as to save the rest. They were willing to return back to that state of religion in which king Henry left it; and

Cranmer's
Treason pardoned, that he might be burned.

Reply to Parsons, p. 84.

The Council
orders severe
Proceedings.

The Recon-
ciliation with
Rome design-
ed.

did not rightly apprehend that nothing could give the queen an entire content but a total reconciliation with the pope: whereas those who could not come up to this, ought to have stood firm at first, and not, by giving ground, have encouraged the court to compass their whole design. The queen was more than ordinary solicitous to get a parliament chosen to her mind. She wrote a letter to the earl of Sussex; and probably she wrote to all those in whom she confided, in the same strain: it will be found in the Collection. "She had now summoned a parliament to the 12th of November, in which she expected to be assisted by him; and that he would admonish her good subjects, who had a right to elect the members, to choose men of the wise, grave, and catholic sort,—such as indeed meant the true honour of God, and the prosperity of the commonwealth, which she and the king her husband did intend, without the alteration of any particular man's possession, which, among other false rumours, the hinderers of her good purposes, and the favourers of heretics, did most untruly report. She desired him to come up against the feast of All-Saints, at the furthest, that she might confer with him about those matters that were to be treated of in parliament." This is dated the 6th of October; and so careful was that lord to merit the continuance of the queen's confidence, that, on the 14th of October, he wrote to the gentlemen of the county to reserve their voices for the person whom he should name. He also wrote to the town of Yarmouth for a burgess. But now to open more particularly the great matter that was to be transacted in this parliament.

When the news of the change of government in England, and of the queen's intentions, were brought to Rome, it was not possible to deliberate long who was the properest person to be sent legate. Pole had so many meritorious characters on him, that, besides the signification of the queen's desire, no other person could be thought on. A. Harmer has given the bull upon which he was sent from Rome: it is dated the 5th of August, 1553, though the queen came not to London till the 3rd of August, and Comendone, who carried her message to the pope, was in London on the 23rd; for he saw the duke of Northumberland's execution. It seems that at Rome, upon king Edward's death, they took it for granted, both that her right would take place, and that she would reconcile her kingdom again to that see; and therefore the bull was prepared. Pole had at that time retired three hundred mile from Rome, to an abbey upon the lake, now called Di Garda. In his absence he was declared legate; upon which he wrote a letter to the queen, on the 13th of August, which I have put in the Collection.

"He begins expressing his joy at her exaltation, more particularly at the manner of it, which he reckons a singular work of an immediate providence; in which, as indeed the subject seemed to allow it, he enlarges very copiously. And since she carried the name of the Blessed Virgin, he calls on her to say the Magnificat, applying it to the late providences of God towards herself. He desires her to consider what was the beginning of all the miseries that England had felt: it was the king her father's departing from the apostolic see and the catholic church. He was a witness to all the steps made in that matter; he had upon all occasions asserted both her mother's marriage and her own right; and had done and suffered much on that account. He was, therefore, now most particularly concerned to know what her mind was with relation to religion; and though he was then three hundred miles from Rome, he was named legate to be sent to her, to the emperor, and to the French king; therefore he sent one to her to know her mind. He did not doubt of it; for no person owed more to the apostolic see than she did, since it was upon her account that so much outrage had been done to it. So, before he would proceed in his legatine function, he desired to know her pleasure more particularly."

Upon this she wrote an answer on the 10th of October, which is also in the Collection. "She thanked him for all the kind expressions in his letter, and in particular for the good advice he gave her. She was full of reverence and obedience to the holy see; but it was a great trouble to her that she could not yet declare her mind openly in that matter: as soon as it was safe for her to do it, she would let him know it. His messenger would tell him all particulars: she was then crowned. She hoped the parliament would repeal all the bad laws; and that she should obtain the pope's pardon for all her own faults. She sends by him her most humble thanks to the pope for his clemency

to her, and for his readiness to forget all that is past." With this she sent back Ormanet to him. The bull that the pope sent to Pole is all a rhetorical panegyric upon the queen's coming to the crown, and on her pious intentions: but bulls being often in a common form, it is not in it, but in the breves, that we are to seek the powers or instructions given to Pole. There was a part of cardinal Pole's register conveyed to me about a year after my second volume was printed: a short account of the most remarkable things in it was then printed, in a letter directed to me. The characters of the truth of the papers are visible: some of them are in Latin, and some in Italian; and because I look on this as a matter of great consequence, I will give a very particular account of them.

The first paper which will be found in the Collection is the breve, that was at first sent Col. Num. 17. him of the pope's own motion, and bears date the 8th of March, 1554. By it

His first "Pole is empowered to receive all heretics of both sexes and of all ranks, even Powers.

bishops and archbishops, communities as well as single persons, of what heresies soever guilty, though relapsed in them, upon their true and unfeigned repentance; and to absolve them from all pains and censures, how long soever they had continued in their errors, and though their sins were reserved immediately to the holy see. And he was empowered to pardon all irregularities run into by them; and all the bigamies of ecclesiastical persons, they first relinquishing their wives; notwithstanding which they might be continued in their orders and functions, and might be capable of all ecclesiastical promotions: all infamy being pardoned, provided they, with a contrite heart, should sacramentally confess their sins to any catholic priest at their choice, and submit to such penance as he should enjoin: excusing them from all public confession, abjuration, or open penance: absolving all communities from any unlawful pactions in favour of others, though confirmed by oaths. Empowering him to receive all regulars, and to absolve them from the censures of apostacy, allowing them to possess benefices as seculars: dispensing with the strict observation of Lent, as to milk, meats, and eggs, and even flesh, upon the allowance of either the confessor or the physician. Giving him authority to suffer such of the clergy, under the degree of a bishop, who were married, upon their true conversion, to live in that state, so that no scandals were given by it; only they were not to minister at the altar, nor to do any ecclesiastical function; but they might lawfully continue in the married state, the issue being declared lawful." To this is added a power of uniting benefices.

Next comes the clause concerning the possessors of ecclesiastical goods. "He is empowered to agree, transact, and discharge them, for all the profits they had wickedly received, and for the moveable goods that they had consumed; 'the immoveable goods that have been by them unduly detained being first restored, if that should seem to be convenient to him.' And whatever should arise out of any such agreement was to be applied to the church to which such goods had belonged, or for the advancement of studies, and to schools. There is likewise a power granted to delegate others under him for the care and performance of all these particulars. But because he was to go first to Flanders, and stay in those parts for some time, the pope gave him authority to execute these powers even while he was without the kingdom, to all persons belonging to it that should apply to him, particularly with relation to all orders unduly received; and to confirm bishops or archbishops who had been promoted by a secular nomination during the schism, and had assisted the former kings, though they had fallen into heresy, upon their return to the unity of the church; and to provide to metropolitical or cathedral churches such persons as should be recommended to him by the queen, according to the customs of the kingdom, upon any vacancy; and to absolve and rehabilitate all clergymen of all ranks, notwithstanding their past errors. All these powers are confirmed, with a full *non obstante* to all constitutions whatsoever."

Here was a great fulness of favour, with relation to all personal things. When Pole Cardinal Pole came to Flanders, he was stopped by the emperor's orders, till his power was stopped in seen, and sent to England. When they were seen, they were considered as far Flanders by short of what was expected, and of what seemed necessary for the carrying on the Emperor. the reconciliation quietly through the nation; so Pole sent Ormanet to Rome for fuller powers, and retired to Diligam Abbey, near Brussels. While he was there, he heard the news of Philip's arrival in England, and of the queen's being married to him: upon which

he wrote a letter of congratulation to the bishop of Arras, which is in the collection ; and on the same day he wrote this acceptable piece of news to cardinal de Monte, which is also in the Collection. In the postscript to the bishop of Arras he tells him that Ormanet was returned with fuller powers. He brought with him two breves.

The first is of no importance to this matter ; but because it was thought to be suppressed on design by the writer of the letter directed to me, by him that wrote on this subject in king James's time, it is put in the Collection. It sets forth, " That he was sent first to the Queen of England ; and after that he was constituted legate *à latere*, for mediating a peace between the emperor and the king of France. He had also very ample powers given him while he remained in Flanders with relation to English persons and affairs. But since, by reason of the schism and other errors, many cases might happen that wanted a provision from the apostolical see, which could not be comprehended within the faculties given him ; and because it is doubtful whether he may yet use them in the queen's dominions, and which of them shall be made use of while he is either with the emperor or the king of France, the pope gives him full power to make use of all faculties sent to him by himself, or by any other deputed by him, and to do everything that he shall think will conduce to the glory of God, the honour of the holy see, and the bringing the queen's dominions to the communion of the church as fully as may be. And while he remained with the emperor, he gave him all the powers of a legate *à latere* for all his dominions ; and he gave him the same powers while he should be with the king of France."

The other breve, which is also in the Collection, sets forth, " That upon the hopes of reducing the kingdom of England, that had been torn from the body of the catholic church, to an union with it, out of which there is no salvation, the pope had sent him his legate *à latere*, with all the powers that seemed necessary or proper for effecting that work ; in particular, to agree and transact with the possessors of church goods concerning them. And whereas, by the beginnings and progress already made, there is good hopes of bringing that work to a full perfection, which will go on the easier the more indulgent and bountiful the pope shows himself with relation to the possessions of those goods. The pope, therefore, not willing that the recovering that nation and the salvation of so many souls should be obstructed by any worldly regards, in imitation of the good father who received the returning prodigal, he empowered Pole, in whose prudence and dexterity he put an entire confidence, to treat with all the possessors or detainers of ecclesiastical goods for whom the queen should intercede ; and to transact and compound with them, that they might, without any scruple, enjoy and retain the said goods ; and to conclude everything that was proper or necessary with relation to them. ' Saving always such things in which, for the greatness and importance of them, it shall seem fit to you to consult this holy see, to obtain our approbation and confirmation.' " Upon which he is fully empowered to proceed, with a full *non obstante*, bearing date the 28th of June. With these breves, cardinal de Monte wrote him a letter, in the Roman way, of high compliment, which is in the Collection.

The next letter is from cardinal Marone, which is likewise in the collection. By this it appears that Pole had gone to France upon his legatine commission ; and after the usual Roman civilities, " He tells him he had laid his letter before the pope, who was beginning to despair of the affairs of England ; and though the pope had not the patience to read or hear his letter, which was his ordinary custom, yet he told him the sum of it, with which he was satisfied, and said he had given no cause, neither to the emperor nor to any other, to use such extravagant words to him. It seems Pole had desired to be recalled ; but the pope said that could not be done. It would be a great disgrace both to the pope and to the apostolical see, to the emperor himself, and to cardinal Pole, and a great prejudice to England. But he would not write to the emperor upon it ; nor was he resolved about the goods of the church, concerning which he spoke often very variously. He resolved to write both to the queen and to the prince of Spain, which letters, he adds, will be sent by Ormanet, who is despatched with everything necessary for the business, conform

to his desire." The rest is all compliment, dated the 13th of July. Then follows a breve, merely in point of form, extending the former powers that were addressed only to the queen, to Philip her husband, dated the 10th of July.

Upon this, the emperor being then at Valenciennes, the cardinal sent Ormanet thither, who gave an account of his audience to Priuli, the legate's great and generous friend, which will be found in the collection. The bishop of Arras told him how much the emperor had the matters of religion at heart, and that he would be always ready to promote them. But when Ormanet pressed him for a present despatch, he said they had no news from England since the marriage, and that before any other step was made it would be necessary to know what ply the affairs of that kingdom were like to take. It was fit to consider whether the powers of securing the goods of the church should come from the legate, or from the king and queen. Then he desired to see the copy of the cardinal's faculties. As to the point of time, Ormanet said it was not fit to lose a moment, since so many souls were endangered by the delay; and the first coming of the prince of Spain ought not to be let slip, by which the honour of the work would be chiefly due to him. As for his faculties, all things necessary were committed to the cardinal in the amplest manner; and more particular resolutions could not be taken but upon the place. Somewhat further passed between them, which Ormanet reserves till he saw the cardinal. The bishop of Arras promised to lay all before the emperor, and to do all good offices. The emperor was at that time so well, that he was often on horseback to view his army, which had then marched to St. Amand, and the two armies were very near one another. This is dated the last of July.

On the 3d of August, the bishop of Arras wrote to the cardinal, "That the emperor received his congratulations on the marriage very kindly, but did not think it was yet proper for him to go to England, till they had a perfect account of the present state of affairs there. To know that, he had that day sent an express thither; upon his return he should be able to give him a more positive answer. He knew the zeal of the king and queen was such, that they would lose no time; but yet they must proceed with such moderation, that the way to a true remedy might not be cut off by too much haste." This is in the Collection. The cardinal had a letter from Bartholomew de Miranda, a friar, who (I suppose) was king Philip's confessor, and afterwards Col.Num.25. archbishop of Toledo, from Winchester, July 28. It is only a letter of respect, desiring his commands. The cardinal wrote to the bishop of Arras, on the 5th of August. He sent him the copy of his faculties, and expressed a great earnestness in his design of going speedily into England, as soon as the courier, sent by the emperor, should return. Col.Num.26. He showed himself as impatient of the delays as in good manners he could well do. This is also in the Collection.

King Philip stayed at Winchester some days after the marriage; for on the 4th of August he sent the count of Horn over to the emperor from thence; and by him he wrote a letter, partly of respect, partly of credit, to the cardinal. To this the cardinal wrote an answer, which I have put in the Collection; though, besides such high compliments Col.Num.27. as are usually given to princes, there is nothing particular in it, only he still insists earnestly for leave to come over. On the 11th of August the bishop of Arras wrote to him, "That he had seen the copy of his faculties, and he joins with him in his wishes to see that kingdom restored to its ancient obedience; he assures him the emperor was pressing the despatch of the matter, and he did not doubt but that it would be speedily accomplished." Pole wrote on the 2d of September to Soto, the emperor's confessor, "thanking him for those pressing letters that he had written, both to the emperor and to duke Alonzo d'Aquilara, with which the legate was so delighted that he writes as one in a rapture upon it, and he animates him to persist in that zeal for promoting this great work."

He was still put off with new delays, of which the best account I can give is, that this being the decisive stroke, there was a close canvassing over England for the elections to this parliament. Since nothing can effectually ruin this nation but a bad choice; therefore, as it is the constant character of a good ministry, who design nothing but the welfare and happiness of the nation, to leave all men to a due freedom

The reason of those delays.

in their elections, so it is the constant distinction of a bad ministry, that have wicked designs, to try all the methods of practice and corruption possible to carry such an election, that the nation being ill represented by a bad choice, it may be easy to impose anything on a body of vicious, ignorant, and ill-principled men, who may find their own mercenary account in selling and betraying their country. It appeared in the two former parliaments who they were that could not bear the returning to their old servitude to the papacy. It was, no doubt, spread over England, that they saw the legate was kept in Flanders, and not suffered yet to come over. This seems the true cause why his coming was so long put off. It might be likewise an artifice of Gardiner's, to make the difficulties appear the greater, and by that to enhance his own merit the more. It is plain that till the election was over, and till the pulses of the majority were first tried, it was resolved not to suffer the legate to come over. This seems to be that which he insinuates in his letter to the confessor, when he says, that "the wisdom of the wise has kept the gate so long shut against him."

On the 13th of October, Pole wrote the pope an account of what had passed between him and the bishop of Arras and the emperor himself. The bishop of Arras, as he writes, came to him and assured him that the emperor was in the best disposition possible; but it was necessary to come to particulars, to examine all the impediments, and the best methods to put them out of the way. The legate said he had full powers, and desired to know from England what impediments were suggested. He added, this was not a negotiation like that in making a peace, where both sides did conceal their own designs all they could, till they discovered those of the contrary side. Here all had but one design, and he was ready to enter into particulars when they pleased. He had an audience of the emperor, none but the nuncio and the bishop of Arras being present. In it, after usual compliments, the impediments proposed were two; the first related to the doctrine, in which there was no abatement to be made, nor indulgence to be showed. The other was concerning the lands; for the usurpers of them knowing the severity of the ecclesiastical laws, were afraid to return to the obedience of the church: to this the legate answered, that the pope was resolved to extend his indulgence in this case. First, as to all the meane profits already received, and the censures incurred by that, which was a great point, the pope was willing freely to discharge that entirely: nor did he intend to apply any part of these to himself, or to the apostolical see, as many feared he would; though that might seem reasonable, as a compensation for damages sustained, but he would convert all to the service of God, and to the benefit of the kingdom: and he had such regard to the piety of those princes, that he had empowered him to grant such favours as they should intercede for, and to such persons as they should think worthy to be gratified, and were capable to assist him in the matter of religion. The emperor understanding all this, thanked the pope very heartily for his favour in that matter: he said he had granted enough; he excused himself, that being wholly taken up with the present war, he had no sooner applied himself to consider the matter; now he knew it well: he had already written to England, and he expected a speedy answer from thence, by which he would know the state of affairs there. He knew by his own experience in Germany, that this of the church lands was the point that was most stood on: as to matters of doctrine, he did not believe that they stood much upon that, they neither believing the one nor the other: yet those lands (or goods) being dedicated to God, he thought it was not fit to yield all up to those who possessed them: he added, that though the legate had told him the whole extent of his powers, yet he would do well not to open that to others. He then desired to see his faculties. The legate upon that, apprehending this would give a handle to a new delay, said he had already showed them to the bishop of Arras, and he told the emperor what a scandal it would give to the whole world if the reconciliation should not be settled by this parliament. The queen did not think fit to press it formerly, till she had received that mighty assistance which was now come to her by her marriage; yet if this, which ought to have been the beginning and the foundation of the rest, were delayed any longer, it must give great offence both to God and man. The emperor said, regard was to be had to the ill disposition of the people concerned, who had formed in themselves and others an aversion to the names of obedience, and to a red cap and religious habit. He said some friars whom his son had brought with

him out of Spain, were advised to change their habits. They had not indeed done it, nor was it convenient that they should do it. He also touched on the ill offices that would be done them by their enemies abroad, in order to the raising of tumults : (meaning the French). The legate answered, if he must stay till all impediments were removed, that would be endless. The audience ended with this, that he must have a little patience till the secretary whom he had sent into England should return.

Mason was then the queen's ambassador at the emperor's court. He in a letter on the 5th of October, writ towards the end of it (the rest being a long account of the war between the emperor and the French king), concerning the cardinal (which will be found in the Collection), that he was sent by the pope on two designs ; the one to mediate a peace between those two powers ; the other to mediate a spiritual peace, as he called it, in the kingdom of England : but seeing no hope of succeeding, either in the one or the other, he began to despair : and if he did not quickly see some appearance of success in the last, he would go back to Rome, a sorrowful man ; and here Mason runs out, either to make his court to the queen or to the legate, or that he was really possessed with a very high opinion of him, which seems the more probable, as well as the more honest motive : he says "all the world adores him for his wisdom, learning, virtue, and godliness. God seems to dwell in him ; his conversation, with his other godly qualities, was above the ordinary sort of men. It would be a strong heart that he would not soften in half-an-hour's talk."

At this time the cardinal wrote a long letter to king Philip in Latin : he tells him he had been now for a year knocking at the gates of the palace, and nobody opened to him : though he is the person that was driven from his country into an exile of above twenty years' continuance, because he was against shutting the queen out of that palace, in which he now lived with her : but he comes with a higher authority, in the name of the vicar of the great king and shepherd, St. Peter's successor, or rather St. Peter himself, who was so long driven out of England : upon this he runs out into a long allegory, taken from St. Peter's being delivered out of prison, from Herod's cruel purpose, and coming to the gate of Mary, where, though his voice was known, yet he was kept long knocking at the door, Mary not being sure that it was he himself. He dresses this out with much pomp, and in many words, as a man that had practised eloquence much, and had allowed himself in flights of forced rhetoric ; liker indeed to the declamation of a student in rhetoric, than the solemn letter of so great a man on such an occasion. It is true that this way of writing had been early practised, and had been so long used, even by popes themselves, that these precedents might to warrant him to copy after such originals.

At last the queen sent the lord Paget and lord Hastings to bring him over : their letter upon their coming to the emperor's court is dated from Brussels the 13th of November. In it they give an account of their waiting upon the emperor with the king and queen's compliments. The emperor had that day received the sacrament, yet they were admitted to audience in the afternoon : he expressed great joy when he heard them give an account how matters were in England and roused himself up in a cheerful manner and said, that among many great benefits, he was bound to thank God for this as a main one, that he now saw England, brought back to a good state. He had seen what the kingdom had once been, and into what calamities it fell afterwards : and now he thanked God for the miracles showed to the queen, to make her the minister to bring it again to its ancient dignity, wealth, and renown. He also rejoiced that God had given her so soon such a certain hope of succession : these tidings of the state of her person, with the report of the consent of the noblemen and others touching the cardinal, and their obedience and union with the catholic church, were so pleasant to him, that if he had been half dead they would have revived him : he promised them all assistance, as they should come to need it.

From the emperor they went to the cardinal, who welcomed them with great joy, and with expressions full of duty and thankfulness to the queen. Here they enlarge on his praises :—"They call him the man of God, full of godliness and virtue ; and so eminently

humble, that he was contented to come into England in such sort as the queen had commanded; not as a legate, but as a cardinal and an ambassador sent to the queen: and they assured the queen, that touching the matter of possessions, all things should pass on the pope's behalf so that every man there shall have cause to be contented." Pole took leave of the emperor on the 12th; he was to set out in slow journeys, his body being then too weak for great ones; in six days he was to be at Calais, where they had ordered everything to be ready for his transportation.

It seems by this that the queen reckoned on it, as sure, that she was with child: though The Queen believed herself to be with child. in that, after the hopes of it were published with too much precipitation, she found herself so much mistaken, that it was believed the grief and shame of it, both together, had an ill effect on her health and life.

About this time there was a very abusive libel, printed in the form of a letter as writ by Bradford to the queen; in which it was said, "that it was believed the queen intended to give the crown to the king, hoping that then he would keep company with her more, and live more chaste, contrary to his nature; for peradventure after he was crowned, he would be content with one whore; whereas he had then three or four in a night: and these not ladies, but common prostitutes." One John Capstoke the printer was discovered;

Rymer, T. 15. he was condemned to be imprisoned, and to have his ears nailed to the pillory and cut off; yet he was pardoned. The consideration is not mentioned; it may be

easily imagined it was no small one; probably enough it was upon the discovery of some of those whom they were seeking out for the slaughter.

I have nothing to add to what I wrote formerly with relation to this parliament and the reconciliation made in it: no doubt Pole, according to the powers in his breve, Cardinal Pole carries his Powers beyond the limits set him. desired the queen would name such persons to whom the favour of confirming them in their possessions should be granted; but it seems they durst not venture on any discrimination, lest that should have made the excepted persons desperato.

So it is evident, that the confirming of all without exception was, if not beyond his powers, yet at least a matter of such importance, that he ought to have consulted the pope upon it; and to have stayed till he had new and special orders to pass it in so full a manner as he did. But still it is plain by the message sent to Rome, that he made the council at least to apprehend that it was necessary to send thither for a confirmation of what he had done; without any limits, upon powers that were expressly limited, and reserved to a confirmation.

On the 12th of December, Mason wrote from Brussels; and after he had given in his Some preach for restoring the Abbey Lands. letter an account of what passed in the diet, upon a letter written to it by the French king: he also writes, "that one of the emperor's council had told him that his master was displeased to hear that a preacher was beating the pulpit jollily" (I use his own words) "for the restitution of the abbey lands:

Collection, Number 32. upon this he writes, that if it be so meant by the prince, and the thing be thought convenient, he did his duty: but if it was not so, it was a strange thing that in a well-ordered commonwealth, a subject should be so hardy as to cry thus to the people, to raise storms next summer, against what they were then doing in winter; and if the thing were to be talked of, it ought to be to the prince and council, and not to the people: he reflects on the unbridled sermons in the former times, that they were much disliked: so he hoped that in a good government that should have been amended. He thought the person that preached this might be well put to silence; for he being a monk, and having vowed poverty, possessed a deanery and three or four benefices. He tells them he had heard by the report of other ambassadors, that England was now returned to the unity of the Christian church. He should have been glad that he might have been able to confirm this by some certain knowledge of it; but it was ordinary for the ambassadors of England to know the least of all others of the matters of their own kingdom."

Paper-Office. A custom of a long continuance, of which I have heard great complaints made of a later date. On the 25th of December he wrote, that according to his orders, he had let the emperor know the apprehensions the queen had of the progress of her big belly: and that all was quiet, and everything went on happily in England. Upon this the emperor fell into

a free discourse with him of the difference between governing with rigour and severity; and the governing in such sort, that both prince and people might “s’entre entendre et s’entre aimer,” mutually understand and mutually love one another. This as it is at all times a noble measure of government, so it was more necessary to offer such an advice, at a time in which it was resolved to proceed with an unmerciful rigour against those whom they called heretics. The queen seemed to be so sure that she was quick with child, that the privy council wrote upon it a letter to Bonner, and ordered him to cause *Te Deum* to be sung upon it. With such a precipitation was this desired piece of news published.

Some small favour was, at king Philip’s desire, showed to some. The archbishop of York Jan. 18, 1555, was released, upon a bond of 20,000 marks for his good behaviour. How far he recanted or complied does not appear. One thing may be reasonably concluded, that since no more mention is made of the complaint put in against him for keeping another man’s wife from him, there is no reason to think there was any truth in it; for there being so particular a zeal then on foot to disgrace the marriage of the clergy, so flagrant an instance as this in a man put in so eminent a post, would not have been passed over if there had been any colour of truth or proof for it. On the 27th of January, Hopkins, sheriff of the city of Coventry, was put in the Fleet for ill religion. On the 19th of February, some small regard was had to Miles Coverdale, as being a foreigner—for he was a Dane. He had a passport to go to Denmark, with two servants, without any unlawful let or search.

On the 29th of January, cardinal Pole gave deputed powers to the bishops to reconcile all persons to the church, pursuant to the first breve he had from the pope, by which the reconciliation was made very easy, every one being left at his liberty to choose his own confessor, who was to enjoin him his penance: upon which the clergy, both regulars and seculars, were to be entirely restored, confirmed in their benefices, and made capable of all further favours; but those who were accused or condemned for heresy were only to be restored to the peace of the church, for the quiet of their consciences. All canonical irregularities were also taken off; all public abjurations or renunciations were, at discretion, to be either moderated or entirely forgiven; with a power to the bishop to depute such rectors and curates as he shall think fit, to absolve and reconcile all lay-persons to the church. That sent to the bishop of Norwich is still upon record, and was collated with the register, and sent me by Dr. Tanner. With this I have likewise put in the Collection the method in which it was executed; first, the articles of the visitation are in it, in English; then follow rules, in Latin, given by the cardinal to all bishops and their officials. The most material of these is, “that all who were empowered to reconcile persons to the church, were required to enter into a register the names of all such as they should receive, that it might appear upon record who were and who were not reconciled, and to proceed against all such as were not reconciled; in particular, they were to insert Thomas Becket’s name and also the pope’s in all their offices.”

Now came on the burning of heretics. Many had been kept above a year and a half in prison, when yet there was no law against them; and now a law was made against them, which it could not be pretended that they had transgressed. But articles were objected to them, to which they were, by the ecclesiastical law, obliged to make answer; and upon their answers they were condemned. Sampson, in a letter to Calvin, wrote on the 23d of February, “that Gardiner had ordered fourscore of the prisoners to be brought before him, and had tried to prevail on them, both by promises and threatenings, to return, as he called it, to the union of the church. But not one of them yielded except Barlow, that had been bishop of Bath and Wells, and Cardmaker, an archdeacon there.” So this proved ineffectual. How far these yielded does not appear.

It was resolved to begin with Hooper, against whom both Gardiner and Bonner had so peculiar an ill will, that he was singled out of all the bishops to be the first sacrifice. A copy of his process and sentence was sent me by Dr. Tanner, which I have put in the Collection. On the 28th of January he was brought before Gardiner, in his court in Southwark, and is called only John Hooper, clerk. Gardiner set forth, “that the day

Letters sent
from Zurich.

The reform-
ers when tried
by Gardiner
were firm.

Col. Num. 35.

before he had been brought before him, and others of the privy council, and exhorted to confess his errors and heresies, and to return to the unity of the church, a pardon being offered him for all that was passed, but that his heart was so hardened that he would not accept of it: so he was then brought to answer to certain articles; but he had again the offer made him to be received into the bosom of the church if he desired it. He rejected that; and, as the acts of the court have it, he did impudently break out into some blasphemies." The articles that were objected to him were three:—1. That he, being a priest, and of a religious order, had married a wife, and lived with her; and did, both by preaching and writing, justify and defend that his marriage. To which he answered, acknowledging it was true; and that he was still ready to defend it. 2. That persons married might, for the cause of fornication or adultery, according to the word of God, be so divorced that they might lawfully marry again. To this he likewise answered, confessing it, and saying that he was ready to defend it against all who would oppose it. 3. That he had publicly taught and maintained that in the sacrament of the altar the true and natural body and blood of Christ are not present under the accidents of bread and wine; so that there is no material bread and wine in it." To which his answer is set down in English words, "that the very natural body and blood of Christ is not really and substantially in the sacrament of the altar; saying also that the mass was of the devil, and was an idol." Gardiner, upon this, ordered him to come again into court the next day; and then he did again try by many persuasions to prevail on him: but he continued still obstinate, and said further, "that marriage was none of the seven sacraments; and if it was a sacrament, he could prove there were sevenscore

Hooper, the first Bishop that suffered, barbarously used.

sacraments." After all this, Gardiner gave sentence, and delivered him over to the secular arm. Upon which the sheriffs of London took him into their hands as their prisoner; but it was resolved to send him to Gloucester, there to receive his crown of martyrdom. And there was a particular order sent along with him to Gloucester, in which he is designed "John Hooper, that was called bishop of Worcester and Gloucester, who was judged to be a most obstinate, false, detestable heretic, and did still persist obstinate, and refused mercy though it was offered to him. He was sent to be burned at Gloucester, to the example and terror of those whom he had seduced. Order is also given, to call some of reputation in that shire, to

assist the mayor and the sheriffs of that city. And because this Hooper is, as all heretics are, a vain-glorious person, and if he have liberty to speak he may persuade such as he has seduced to persist in the miserable opinions that he hath taught them; therefore strict order is given that neither at his execution nor in going to the place of it he be suffered to speak at large, but that he be led quietly and in silence for avoiding further infection." This will be found in the Collection. But though his words could not be suffered to be heard, yet the voice of his sufferings, which were extremely violent, had probably the best effect on those who saw both them and his consistency in them. He had been above a year and a half in prison, under much hard usage. He sent his wife out of England, to deliver himself from that which might raise too great tenderness in him, especially if he had seen her ill-used, which the wives of the clergy were in danger of daily. He wrote several letters to Bullinger from the prison, but was so watched that he durst not enter into any particulars. Most of his letters were recommendations of some who were then flying out of England. He in them all expressed much constancy and patience; and he was preparing himself for that in which he reckoned his imprisonment would soon end. He had no other prospect but of sealing the truth with his blood. He was very glad when he knew his wife had got safe to Frankfort, where she lived, and wrote several letters to Bullinger in a very clean and natural style of Latin; they do chiefly relate to her husband's condition.

Among several letters that Hooper wrote during his imprisonment to Bullinger, I find one that is so full, and shows so clearly the temper of that holy man in his imprisonment, that I have put it in the Collection. He had written several letters to him, that it seems fell into ill hands, and so came not to Zurich as they were directed, as he found by Bullinger's last letter that some of his were also intercepted. "That last which he had was directed to him, to be communicated to all his fellow-prisoners. He promised that he would take care to send it round among them. The wound that the papacy had received

in England was then entirely healed; the pope was now declared the head of that church. The prisoners, who had been shut up for a year and a half, were daily troubled by the enemies of the gospel. They were kept asunder from one another, and treated with all manner of indignities; and they were daily threatened with the last extremities, which did not terrify them.

"They were so inwardly fortified, that they despised both fire and sword. They knew in whom they believed, and were sure they were to suffer for well-doing. He desires the continuance of their prayers; let God do with them what seemed good in his eyes. He sent over to him two books that he had written, the one of true religion, and the other of false religion, which he had dedicated to the parliament, as an apology for the reformation. He gives them liberty to correct them as they thought fit, and desired that they might be quickly printed, for they were well approved by the pious and learned about him. He desires they may not be frightened from doing it, by the apprehensions of any harm that might happen to himself upon that account. He committed himself to God, who was his defence and his guard through Jesus Christ, to whom he had entirely dedicated himself. If God would prolong his life, he prayed it might be to the glory of his name; but if he would put an end to this short and wicked life, which of these soever it pleased God to order, his will be done." This is dated from his prison, the 11th of December, 1554. It appears that Hooper's wife was a German, so his sending her in time out of England was a just expression of his care of her.

On the 18th of March, some sacrifices being to be made in Essex, "letters were written by the council to the earl of Oxford and the lord Rich to be present at the burning of those obstinate heretics that were sent to divers parts of that county." And on the 1st of April, informations being brought that there were preachers at work in several parts of the kingdom, a general order was sent to all sheriffs to seize on them. When that madman, William Thomas, called otherwise Flower, or Branch, was seized on for wounding a priest in the church, they found a cloth about his neck, with these words, "Deum time, idolum fuge;" fear God, and fly from idolatry. He was seized on by Sir Nicholas Hare and Sir Thomas Cornwall: they had letters of thanks from the council for their pains. They were ordered first to examine him, then to send him to the bishop of London, to proceed against him for heresy, and to the justices of peace to punish him for the shedding of blood in the church; and if he persists in his heresy, order is given that he be executed in the latter end of the week, but that his right hand should be cut off the day before.

On the 16th of May, some persons were named, and their appointments ordered, who should be in readiness to carry the news of the queen's delivery to foreign princes. The lord admiral was appointed to go to the emperor, and was allowed four pounds a-day, and two hundred pounds for equipage. The lord Fitzwater was to go to the French court, and was to have two hundred marks for equipage. Sir Henry Sydney was to go to the king of the Romans, and to have five hundred marks; and Shelley was to carry the news to the king of Portugal, and to have four hundred marks. This was repeated on the 28th of May. The money was ordered to be ready for the immediate despatch of those envoys; and on the 29th of May order was given that the persons named should be ready to go when warned. On the 1st of June, a letter was ordered to the bishop of London, to proceed against some who were suspected to be of evil religion. And on the 3d of June, letters were written to the lord Rich to assist at the execution of some heretics at Colchester, Harwich, and Manintree; a letter was also written to the earl of Oxford, to send his servants to attend on the lord Rich at those executions. It is not easy to guess whether the many letters written upon those occasions were to prevent tumults, because they apprehended the people might rescue those victims out of the sheriff's hands if he had not been well guarded, or whether it was to celebrate those triumphs over heresy with much solemnity, which is commonly done in those countries where the inquisition is received. At the same time entries are made in the council books of the examinations of several persons for spreading false rumours.

On the 9th of June, letters were written to the lord North, and others, to put such obstinate persons as would not confess to the torture, and there to order them "at their discretion;" and a letter was written to the lieutenant of the Tower to the same effect. Whether this pretended obstinacy was a concealing of heretics, or

Persons appointed to carry the news of the Queen's being delivered.

Orders for Torture at Discretion.

of the reporters of false news, does not appear; but whatever the matter was, the putting people not yet convict, by that which the civil law called a half-proof (*semiplena probatio*), to the torture because they were thought obstinate, and would not confess, and the leaving the degree of the torture to the discretion of those appointed for their examination, was a great step towards the most rigorous part of the proceedings of inquisitors. On the 12th of June, orders were given for making out writs for the burning of three persons condemned for heresy in Sussex. On the 13th of June, letters of thanks were ordered to sir Henry Tirrel and Mr. Anthony Brown, for their assisting at the execution of heretics. And on the 15th of June, letters of thanks were ordered to the earl of Oxford and the lord Rich, on the same account. On the 17th of June, letters of thanks were written to those in Cambridge, who had committed some priests to prison; but they are ordered to release them if thoroughly penitent. And on the 18th of June, a letter was written to the bishop of London, informing him that four parishes in Essex did still use the English service. He is required to examine into this, and to punish it; and to send some of his chaplains to preach to them.

On that day, a letter was written from London to Peter Martyr, telling him that it was given out that the queen had said she could not be happily delivered till all the heretics then in prison were burned: for she continued still expecting to be delivered; and on the 24th of June, an order was given to have a passport ready for Shelley, that was to carry the news to Portugal. On the 27th of June, letters were written to the lord Rich to give the queen's thanks to some gentlemen of Rochford, in Essex, "for coming so honestly of themselves to Colchester, and other places, to assist the sheriff at executions." At this time a condition was put in all passports and licences to go beyond sea, that they shall avoid all heretics and all places infected with heresy.

I shall here add a passage, recorded by Fox, of a declaration that was made to himself before witnesses, in the year 1568. A woman told him that she lived near Aldersgate, and was delivered of a boy on the 11th of June, 1555; and after she had borne it, the lord North and another lord came to her and desired to have her child from her, with very fair offers, as that her child should be well provided for; so that she should take no care for it, if she would swear that she never knew or had such a child. And after this some women came to her, of whom one, they said, was to be the rocker; but she would in no case part with her child. This being at the time that the queen seemed to be every day looking for her delivery, may give some suspicions, and puts us in mind of the words of the Preacher, "That which is, is that which has been." On the 30th of June, letters were written to the gentlemen in Kent, to assist the sheriff at the execution of heretics in Rochester, Dartford, and Tunbridge.

On the 2nd of July, upon an information of a commotion designed in Sussex, the opinion of the judges was asked about it; and some judges were sent to proceed in it according to law. Great occasion was taken from foolish discourses to alarm the nation with the apprehension of plots, and the blame of all was to be cast on the concealed preachers that were now hid in corners instructing the people at the peril of their lives. Twelve persons were brought up out of Sussex as guilty of a conspiracy: but I find no more of that matter. Bird, that had been bishop of Chester, and was deprived for his marriage, did now think fit to repent, and engaged so far that Bonner made him his suffragan. He was blind of an eye; and being appointed to preach before the bishop, he chose those words for his text, "Thou art Peter;" but whether his conscience smote him, or his memory failed, he could go no further. So, instead of matter of triumph upon the apostacy of such a man, the shame of such a dumb action turned the triumph to the other side.

On the 9th of July, a letter was written to the bishop of London, directing him that the three condemned heretics should be burnt at Uxbridge, Stratford, and Walden; and he was ordered to proceed against the rest. At this time Pole thought it became him to write to Cranmer, to try how far a piece of highflown rhetoric could work on him, though some think this letter was written a very little while before Cranmer's execution: the original is yet extant. It does very little honour to his memory, being only a declamation against heresy and schism, against a married clergy, and separation from the

The Queen still looked to be delivered of a Child.
P. Mar. Loc. Com. 1626. Fol. 769.

Fox, p. 1450.
A Practice that gives Suspicion of ill Designs.

Plots pretended.

Card. Pole's Letter to Cranmer.

see of Rome, and the rejecting of transubstantiation. In it all he proves nothing, and argues nothing, but supposes all his own principles to be true and sure. He inveighs against the poor prisoner with some seeming tenderness, but with a great acrimony of style, and in an insulting manner, like one that knew he might say what he pleased; and that there was no room for making remarks and answers to so poor an epistle, which M. Le Grand has thought fit to translate into French; but I do not think it worth the while to put it in the Collection.

On the 14th of July, the archbishop of York was ordered to appear; but no more is said concerning him. There was intimation given of commotions designed at fairs, and orders were sent to sheriffs and gentlemen to watch them. Informations were also brought of a conspiracy in Essex and Suffolk, and of another in Dorsetshire. On the 6th of August, thanks were written to the earl of Oxford and the lord Rich, with the other justices of peace in Essex, for their diligence; desiring them to proceed in their examination of the late intended conspiracy, and to bring the offenders before them. If their offence was found to be treason, they were to suffer as traitors; or if their guilt did not rise up to that, they were to order them to be punished according to the statutes.

On the 28th of August, notice was given to the sheriffs and justices of peace that the king was going to Flanders. The ambassadors sent to Rome did return about the middle of September; and in council, on the 16th of September, the bishop of Ely produced the pope's bull, erecting Ireland into a kingdom, and bestowing on the crown of England the title of King of Ireland. This was given to the bishop of Dublin, with an order to publish it in Ireland; for that insolent pope would not give them audience upon their powers from the king and queen of England and Ireland, pretending that none had a right to assume the title King but as it was derived from him. So, as a special grace, he conferred that regal title on the queen, and then admitted them to audience, after he had made them stay a month waiting for it at Rome. It seems they knew the bigotry of the English court too well to dispute this point; so they yielded it up very tamely, fearing that they should be disowned if they had made any opposition to it. But the main errand they came upon was, to obtain a confirmation of the settlement of the church lands, made in parliament by cardinal Pole, that was not only flatly refused, but a bull was published that in effect repealed it all.

"It begins setting forth what pope Symmachus decreed against the alienating of any lands belonging to the church upon any pretence whatsoever, or farming out the rights of the church. He laid an anathema on all who should be any way concerned in such bargains, and gave an authority to any ecclesiastical person to recover all with the mesne profits; and this was to take place in all churches. Pope Paul II. had likewise condemned all alienations of church goods, and all farms of leases beyond the term of three years; and had annulled all such agreements, farms, or leases. Both the parties, as well the granter as the receiver of such leases, were put under excommunication; and the goods so alienated were to revert to the church. But these prohibitions notwithstanding, of late years, several persons, both of the laity and of the clergy, had possessed themselves of castles and lands belonging both to the church of Rome and to other cathedrals, and even to metropolitan churches; and to monasteries, regular houses, and hospitals, under the pretence of alienations, to the evident damage of those churches and monasteries, without observing the solemnities required by law in such cases; and they continue their possession, by which the incumbents in those churches are great sufferers; and the popes themselves, who were wont to supply the poor who came to Rome out of these lands, are no more able to do that, and can scarce maintain themselves and their families, which turns to the offence of God, the reproach of the clergy, and is matter of scandal to the faithful. Therefore the pope, of his own motion, upon certain knowledge, and by virtue of the plenitude of the apostolic power, does annul all the alienations or impropriations, either perpetual, or leases to the third or to a single life, or beyond the term of three years; or exchanges and farms of cities, or lands, or goods, or rights, belonging to the Roman church; or to any cathedral, monastery, regular house, or to any ecclesiastical benefice, with or without cure; to seculars or regulars, hospitals, and other

Ambassadors sent to the Pope came back with a Bull, erecting Ireland into a Kingdom.

See the Coll. of the former Books, Number 1. The Pope's Bull for restoring all Church-lands.

pious foundations, by whomsoever made, though by popes or by their authority, or by the prelates of cathedrals, monasteries, or hospitals; or the rectors of churches, though cardinals that had been made without the solemnities required by law, in what form of words soever they have been made, though confirmed by oath, and established by a long prescription. All these are by the apostolic authority rescinded, annulled, and made void, and the possessors of such lands are to be compelled by all censures and pecuniary pains to make satisfaction for all the mesne profits received or to be received; and all judges are required to give judgment conform to this bull." Dated the 12th of July.

Thus the pope, instead of confirming what the legate had done, did, in the most formal terms possible, reverse and annul it all. Even papal alienations, or made by the
Reflections made on it. papal authority, are made void. The pretended consent of the convocation is declared null, and all ratifications of what was at first illegally made are annulled.

By this also, not only the possessors of church lands, but all the tenants to any estate belonging to the church, who hold for lives or years, beyond the term of three years, may see in this bull how that all that they now hold by those tenures is made void. No doubt the ambassadors of England did all that in them lay to have this bull softened, or to have an exception made for England. But that pope was not to be moved; and perhaps he thought he showed no small favour to England, on the queen's account, in not naming it in this bull, and in not fulminating on the account of the late settlement. Thus the matter of securing the abbey lands by that fraudulent transaction is now pretty apparent.

Pope Paul was in the right in one thing, to press the setting up courts of inquisition everywhere as the only sure method to extirpate heresy. And it is highly probable that the king, or his Spanish ministers, made the court of England apprehend that torture and inquisition were the only sure courses to root out heresy. It has appeared already what orders were given about torture, even to use it at discretion; but another step was made that carried this matter much further.

Instructions had been given in March 1555 to the justices of peace to have one or more honest men in every parish secretly instructed to give information of the behaviour of the inhabitants amongst or about them. One of these was directed to the earl of Sussex, who acted with a superlative measure of zeal. He wrote on the 18th of April this year to the bishop of Norwich, complaining that at a town near him there had been no sepulchre, nor creeping to the cross before Easter. The day after he wrote that letter, it appears by another of his letters that Ket, who led the insurrection in Norfolk, in king Edward's reign, and whose body was hanged in chains, had fallen down from the gallows, and that prophecies were spread about the country of what should follow when that should happen. He ordered the body to be hanged up again, if it was not wasted; and he imprisoned those that gave out these prophecies. He went on to greater matters, and drew up an account of the obedience that the justices had paid to all the instructions and orders that had been sent them. I had a volume of his letters in my hands some years ago; but I wrote out of it only the answers he returned to the sixth article, in these words:—"It is agreed that the justices of the peace in every of their limits shall call secretly before them one or two honest and secret persons, or more, by their discretions, and such as they shall think good, and command them, by oath or otherwise, as the same justice shall think good; that they shall secretly learn and search out such person and persons as shall evil-behave themselves in the church, or idly, or despise openly by words the king's and queen's proceedings, or go about to make or move any stir, commotion, or unlawful gathering together of the people, or that tell any lewd or seditious tales, rumours, or news, to move or stir any person or persons, to rise, stir, or make any commotion or insurrection, or to consent to any such intent or purpose. And also, that the same persons so to be appointed shall declare to the same justices of the peace the ill-behaviour of lewd, disordered persons, whether it shall be for using unlawful games, idleness, and such other light behaviour of such suspected persons, as shall be in the same town or near thereabouts; and that the same informations shall be given secretly to the justices, and the same justices shall call such accused persons before them and examine them, without declaring by whom they be accused; and that the same justices
 11, upon their examination, punish the offenders according as their offences shall appear to

them, upon the accusation and examination by their discretion, either by open punishment or by good abearing."

Here was a great step made towards an inquisition, this being the settled method of that court to have sworn spies and informers everywhere, upon whose secret advertisements persons are taken up; and the first step in their examination is, to know of them for what reason they are brought before them; upon which they are tortured till they tell as much as the inquisitors desire to know, either against themselves or others. But they are not suffered to know neither what is informed against them, nor who are the informers. Arbitrary torture, and now secret informers, seem to be two great steps made to prepare the nation for an inquisition.

In September, the duchess of Suffolk, who had married Mr. Bertie, went out of the kingdom without a licence; upon which a commission was sent into Lincolnshire, to take an account of her estate. On the 19th of September, there was a paper cast into a house near Fulham, with some intimations of ill-designs in Essex. The master of the house brought it to the council, upon which they sent orders to that country to see what foundation there was for such suspicions. Tracy (probably the son of him concerning whose will there was much ado made in king Henry's time) had been brought before the bishop of Gloucester; and he, as was informed, behaved himself stubbornly towards him; upon which he was brought before the council, and was required to declare his conformity in matters of religion. He promised to do it; and upon that he was sent back to his country. On the 23d of September, there was some hopes given of the king's coming back; upon which Sir Richard Southwell was sent to attend on him. On the 9th of October, the governor of Jersey having examined one Gardiner, for speaking some indecent words of the king, desired orders how to proceed against him; upon which he was ordered to proceed according to the statutes, if these took place in that island; but if not, according to the custom of the place.

On the 12th of September, Brooks, bishop of Gloucester, who was constituted sub-delegate to cardinal Puteo, the pope's delegate, to try Cranmer (it being it seems thought indecent that Pole, who was to succeed him, should be his judge), came to

Cranmer proceeded against. Oxford with Martin and Story, who were the king and queen's commissioners, to demand justice against Cranmer, exhibiting articles against him. Cranmer made a long apology for himself. Among other things, he said, "The loss of his promotion grieved him not: he thanked God as heartily for that poor and afflicted state in which he was then as ever he did for the times of his prosperity. But that which stuck closest to him and created him the greatest sorrow was, to think that all that pains and trouble that had been taken by king Henry and himself for so many years to retrieve the ancient authority of the kings of England, and to vindicate the nation from a foreign yoke, and from the baseness and infinite inconveniences of crouching to the bishops of Rome, should now thus easily be quite undone, and that the king and queen should in their own realm become his accusers before a foreign power. If he had transgressed the law, they had sufficient authority to punish him; and to that he would at all times submit himself." They exhibited interrogatories to him, and he gave his answer to them. In conclusion, they required him to go to Rome within fourscore days, to make his answer in person. He said he was most willing to go if the king and queen would send him.

On the 16th of October, Ridley and Latimer suffered martyrdom; but Gardiner, who was with impatience waiting for the news, was, soon after he heard it, struck with an illness, in which he languished for some time. Pilkington, bishop of Durham, in a sermon that he preached, said, "He rotted above ground, so that it was scarce possible to get any to come near him." He died on the 12th of November. On the 5th of November, orders were given for to dispose of many prisoners.

Cranmer was now to be offered up. Some have thought that upon his attainder the see of Canterbury was vacant, and indeed the chapter of Canterbury acted accordingly; but the papal authority being restored, he was still, according to the papal law, archbishop, till by a commission from Rome he was judged an obstinate heretic, and was thereupon deprived. When the eighty days were out, a mock process was made at Rome; in which it was falsely said, that he did not care to appear; upon which he was declared contumacious;

and then a formal sentence was given in the pope's name, "as sitting on the throne of justice, having before his eyes God alone, who is the righteous Lord, and judgeth the world in righteousness." With such specious words was that grossly unrighteous judgment introduced. And upon that a letter came from Rome on the 14th of December, mentioning his being condemned and deprived, and delivering him over to the secular arm. The deprivation must have passed some days before; for on the 11th of December Pole's bulls were granted, in which mention is made of the see's being vacant, by the deprivation of Cranmer. The writ for burning him mentions his being judged an obstinate heretic by the pope, and deprived by him; and that he had been degraded by the bishops of London and Ely, by commission from the pope: so on the 24th of February the writ was sealed. I have nothing to add to the sad narration I gave both of his fall and of his repentance, and his firm constancy to the last in that amazing instance of holding his hand in the fire till it was almost burnt away, of which Thuanus gives a very particular account, so that the truth of the fact cannot be disputed.

On the 13th of March, the privy council were concerned when they heard his paper of recantation was printed. Rydall and Copeland, two printers, were required to deliver to Cawood, the queen's printer, the books of his recantation to be burned by him. One part of his character may be added out of Pole's letter to him. In one place he says, he hears "it was pretended that he forced no man in points of religion, but behaved himself mildly towards all persons." And in another place he writes, "that it was said his life was unblameable." But though Pole throws that off as of no importance, yet upon his mentioning these good characters, it may be depended on that they were true. Ridley, in that noble letter that he wrote to Grindall, when they were every day looking for their crown, says of him, "that he then showed how well he deserved the great character of the chief pastor and archbishop of this church;" to which he adds, of Latimer, "that he was the ancient and true apostle of Christ to the English nation." In a word, if it had not been for Cranmer's too feeble compliance in king Henry's time, and this last inexcusable slip, he might well be proposed as one of the greatest patterns in history. And if the excesses to which some opinions had formerly carried men did in some particulars incline him to the opposite extremes, this must be reckoned a very pardonable instance of managing the counterpoise without due caution. He was a pattern of humility, meekness, and charity. He had a true and generous contempt of wealth, and of those shows of greatness that belong to a high station. His labours in searching into all ecclesiastical authors, both ancient and modern, are amazing to those who have seen the vast collections that he writ out on all matters of divinity with his own hand. But now, after a long course of vexation and contradiction, and, in conclusion, after a long and severe imprisonment, he was put to a cruel death by persons whom he had served faithfully and effectually. For he had both served the queen and reconciled her to her father; and he had showed a most particular favour to Thirleby and others who concurred to finish this tragedy. I have put all this matter together, and now I must look back to public affairs.

There was a convocation sat with the parliament in October, and to the middle of November, 1555. Christopherson was chosen prolocutor; and after Bonner had confirmed him, he desired that the lower house would name eight or ten persons to hear some secret propositions that were to be made to them by the king and queen and by the cardinal, concerning the public good of the kingdom and of the church. They upon that did choose the prolocutor, and ten more; and to these the bishop of Ely proposed to offer the queen a subsidy, in return for the great favour she had showed the clergy, in forgiving the first fruits and tenths, and in restoring to the church all the impropriations of benefices, that were then, by the suppression of the monasteries, vested in the crown; for all which the bishop of Ely proposed a subsidy of eight shillings in the pound, to be paid in four years. The last session of the convocation was on the 15th of November; and a memorandum was inserted in these words: "After this convocation was begun there was a national synod, the clergy of York being joined with them;" for which the cardinal thought it safe and fit to take out a licence under the great seal. The first session was on the 4th of November; and in this the cardinal set himself so zealously

to remove many abuses, that Mason wrote that many of the clergy wished he were in Rome again.

The earl of Devonshire went out of England this summer. As he passed through Flanders, he waited on the emperor; and, as Mason wrote, he owned that he owed his liberty to him. The queen sent, and offered her mediation between the emperor and the French king: the emperor accepted it, but with very sharp reflections on the French king.

There was in April a treaty of peace between the emperor and the king of France set on foot, in which the queen was mediator, and sent over both Polo and Gardiner to Calais in order to it. The constable and the cardinal of Lorraine were ordered to come from the court, but the pope's death made it be thought more necessary to send that cardinal to Rome: what further progress was made in this does not appear to me, for I take it from a letter of Mason's to Vannes, then the queen's ambassador at Venice. It will be found in the Collection, the original being in Dr. Tanner's hands, who sent me this copy. By this letter it appears that Bolls of Cambridge, and S. Peter Mewtas, were there in prison upon suspicion, but nothing appeared against them. That letter tells us that the princes of Germany were alarmed upon the cardinal Morone's coming to Angsburgh, apprehending probably that he came to disturb the settlement then made in the matters of religion in the empire; but the emperor had sent such powers to his brother Ferdinand, that his coming was like to have no effect. He also tells in that letter that the dean and prebendaries of Westminster were using all endeavours to hinder the converting that foundation into an abbey; and that Dr. Cole was active in it, affirming that monks had not their institution from Christ as priests had; but he saw the court was resolved to have no regard to the opposition they made. He adds, that the duke of Alva was still in England, though he had sent his baggage and servants to Calais.

Mason writes news from the diet, that matters of religion had not been quite settled, but all were to continue in the state in which they were then till the next meeting; and it was provided that all parties should live according to the religion then accepted of them. The emperor seemed resolved not to consent to this. He writes that the allowance of the marriage of the clergy, and in particular of bishops, had been earnestly demanded, but was utterly refused. On the 28th of October, he writes that two monks of the Charter-house had desired the king's letter that they might return to their house, and at least receive their pension. The king answered, that as touching their house, since the parliament was then sitting, it was not a proper time to move it, but when he should come to England he would help them the best he could; and as to their pensions, he ordered Mason to write concerning that to secretary Petre. On the 7th of January, 1555-6, a letter was written to the mayor and alderman of Coventry, to choose some catholic grave man for their mayor for that year. A list of three persons was sent to them, and they were required to give their voices for one of them. These were, John Fitz-Herbert, Richard Wheeler, and one Coleman.

On the 14th of January, a letter of a very singular nature was written to the lord mayor and the sheriffs of London, "requiring them to give such substantial order, that when any obstinate man, condemned by the order of the laws, shall be delivered to be punished for heresy, that there be a great number of officers and other men appointed to be at the execution, who may be charged to see such as shall misuse themselves, either by comforting, aiding, or praising the offenders, or otherwise use themselves to the ill-example of others, to be apprehended and committed to ward; and besides, to give commandment that no householder suffer any of his apprentices or other servants to be abroad, other than such as their master will answer for; and that this order be always observed in like cases hereafter." Philpot's martyrdom had been about a month before this, and he being a man highly esteemed, who went through all his sufferings with heroic courage and christian constancy, it is probable there was more than ordinary concern expressed by the people at his sufferings, which drew this inhuman letter from the council, for they had no sacrifices at that time ready to be offered.

While these things passed in England, the scene abroad was considerably altered by the resignation of Charles the Fifth, who delivered over his hereditary dominions to his son

Motions in
the Diet of the
Empire.

Compassion
expressed to
those who
suffered, pun-
ished.

Philip. He began that with the dominions derived from the house of Burgundy ; after that, he resigned up to him the crown of Spain, and all that belonged to it. Upon that, letters were written to the several states and cities of Spain, on the 17th of January. These were all in one form ; so that which was addressed to the city of Toledo was sent over to the queen, translated out of Spanish into English, which, for the curiosity of the thing, I have put in the Collection.

In it, “ he tells them that which he always denied to the Germans, that for religion’s sake he had enterprised the war of Germany, upon the desire he had to reduce those countries to the unity of the church, that so he might procure an universal peace to all Christendom, and to assemble and assist at a general council for the reformation of many things, that so with the less difficulty he might bring home those who had separated themselves and departed from the faith. This he had brought to a very good point, when the French king allured the Germans to a league with him against their oaths and fidelity to the emperor, and so they made war on him both by sea and land ; and then the French king procured the coming of the Turk’s army into Hungary, to the great damage of Christendom ; upon which he was forced to bring down an army, to the great prejudice of his own person, by his being obliged to keep the field so long that it had brought on him painful infirmities. He was upon that become so destitute of health, that he was not able in his own person to endure the travel, and to use that diligence that was requisite, which proved a great hindrance to many things of which he had a deep sense. He wished he had taken the resolution he was now taking sooner ; yet he could not well do it, by reason of his son’s absence, for it was necessary to communicate many things to him. So he took order for his marriage, and to bring him over to him, and soon after that he resigned to him all his states, kingdoms, and the seigneuries of the crown of Castile and Leon, with all their appurtenances, which are more amply contained in instruments which he had signed of the same date with this letter. Trusting that he with his great wisdom and experience, of which he had great proof in all that he had hitherto handled in his father’s name, would now order and defend the same with peace and justice. He therefore having had large experience of their loyalty, fidelity, and obedience, did not doubt but that they would continue to serve and obey him in the same manner and sort as if God had taken him into his mercy. Dated at Brussels the 17th of January, 1556.”

Soon after that he retired to the place he had designed to spend the rest of his days in ; and, according to the account given by my worthy friend Dr. Geddes, there is great reason to believe that he applied himself to serious reflections on religion. No prince knew better than he did both the corruptions and the practices of the court of Rome ; and the artifices and methods by which two sessions of the council of Trent had been conducted. He must likewise have understood the grounds upon which both the Lutherans and the reformed in Germany built their persuasions : he had heard them often set out : but the hurry of business, the prepossession of education, and the views of interest, had prejudiced him so far against them, that he continued in a most violent enmity to them : but now that he was at full leisure to bring all his observations together, and that passion and interest had no more power over him, there are great presumptions to believe that he died persuaded of the doctrines of the reformed religion. Augustin Casal, a canon of the church of Salamanca, was his preacher, and was esteemed the most eloquent preacher that Spain ever produced : he was taken up in the year 1558, and with thirteen more was publicly burned at Valladolid in the year 1559 ; the unfortunate prince Charles and his aunt, donna Juana, then governess, looking on that barbarous execution. Constantine Pontius, a canon of Seville, who was his confessor, esteemed a man of great piety and learning, was likewise taken up by the inquisition for being a protestant : he died in prison, probably enough by the torture the inquisitors put him to : but his bones with his effigies were burnt at Seville ; so were the bones of the learned Egidius, whom the emperor had named to the bishopric of Tortosa, one of the richest in Spain : and at the same time eighteen were burnt alive for being protestants ; of which the history of the inquisition gives this account, that had not the holy tribunal put a stop to those reformers, the pro-

Charles the Fifth, the Re-signation of Spain.

Col.Num.39.

Reasons to think he died a Protestant.

testant religion had run through Spain like wildfire. People of all degrees, and of both sexes, being wonderfully disposed at that time to have embraced it: and the writer of the pontifical history, who was present at some of those executions, says, that had those learned men been let alone but three months longer, all Spain would have been put into a flame by them.

The most eminent of them all was Bartholomew de Caranza, a dominican, who had been confessor to king Philip and to queen Mary, and had been by her recommended to the archbishopric of Toledo. He had assisted Charles in the last minutes of his life. He was within a few months after his death, upon suspicion of his being a protestant, first confined by the inquisition to his own palace at Tordelaguna: and after he had been for seven years kept within that confinement, he was carried to Rome, and kept ten years a prisoner in the castle of St. Angelo; and was at last condemned as one suspected of heresy. That great man had been sent by Charles as one of his divines to the council of Trent, where he preached, and wrote a treatise of the personal residence of bishops. These things put together, make it highly probable that Charles himself was possessed with that doctrine that was so much spread among those who were then most about him. Mezeray tells us, "that at Philip's arrival in Spain, he caused a great many to be burned for heretics in his own presence, both at Seville and at Valladolid, both seculars and ecclesiastics, men and women, and in particular the effigies of his father's confessor: and if reports may be believed, he intended to have made his father's process, and to have had his bones burnt for heresy; being only hindered from doing it by this consideration, that if his father was an heretic, he had forfeited all his dominions, and by consequence he had no right to resign them to his son." This digression will be forgiven me, I hope, both because it belongs to the main design upon which I write, and since our queen was queen of Spain when this persecution was first begun.

There are in my hands two papers concerning the method in which the queen ordered her council to proceed; there is no date put to them: but they were written, either soon after the king went beyond sea, or perhaps about this time; for now king Philip having the Spanish monarchy put in his hands, and being engaged in a war with France, the queen had reason to expect that her dominions might feel the war very sensibly, as afterwards they did: and so it might seem necessary to put the administration of her affairs into a good method. One of these papers is writ in cardinal Pole's own hand, and is a memorial prepared for the queen, of the things that she was to recommend to her council, for she had ordered them to attend on her. It is in the Collection, Number 40.

The Method in which the Queen put her Affairs. Philip having the Spanish monarchy put in his hands, and being engaged in a war with France, the queen had reason to expect that her dominions might feel the war very sensibly, as afterwards they did: and so it might seem necessary to put the administration of her affairs into a good method. One of these papers is writ in cardinal Pole's own hand, and is a memorial prepared for the queen, of the things that she was to recommend to her council, for she had ordered them to attend on her. It is in the Collection, Number 40. "First she was to put them in mind of the charge that the king gave them at his departure, which was to be rehearsed to them; and that is, perhaps, the following paper: they were still to attend at court, the matters they were to treat about being of great weight; and they were to lay such matters as were proposed in council before the king, that they might have his pleasure before they were to be executed. They were in particular to know the resolution of the council, touching those things that were to be proposed in this parliament, and these were to be sent to the king that very day: and since the king delayed his coming over, they were to consider whether it were not better to delay the parliament till Candlemas, if there should be no prejudice to her affairs, that money was so long wanted; for there was great need of it at present for the setting out of ships, both for the emperor's passage to Spain, and for the king's return, for the payments due at Calais, for the debt owing to the merchants, the day of payment approaching, and for the debt of Ireland: and she was to ask of her council an account concerning all these things: she was likewise to charge them to call in her own debts, as the best way to clear what she owed to others: and she was to offer them all authority for doing it effectually; and to require them that at the end of every week she might know what came in that week, and what order was taken for the rest. And that all those who have any commission to execute any matter, shall at the end of every week inform the council what progress they have made that week: and that the council should never begin to treat of any matter in the second week, till they were informed of what was done in the former week." Thus she was to be taught what she was to say to them: upon which they, who did not know how weak a woman

she was, might imagine that she understood her own affairs well, and thought much of them : whereas the poor bigoted woman was only, as a machine, made to speak and to act as she was prompted by those who had the management of her : for, of herself, she seemed capable to think of nothing, but how to destroy the heretics, and to extirpate heresy.

The other paper is in Latin, and seems to be that which the king had left behind him.

It is also in the Collection. "He named in it a select committee, to whom the special care of matters of state, of the revenue, and the weighty affairs of the kingdom, were to be referred. These (in a modern term) were the cabinet-council ; and the persons were, the cardinal (in all great matters, when he could conveniently come), then the lord chancellor, the lord treasurer, the earl of Arundel, the earl of Pembroke, the bishop of Ely, the lord Paget, Rochester the comptroller, and Petre, the secretary. Every one of these was constantly to attend, to determine in all matters of state and revenue, and to make honourable payment of all debts, and to do everything in which the honour and dignity of the crown was concerned. They were also earnestly prayed to lay all differences or quarrels among themselves aside ; that so they might amicably, and in the fear of God, deliver such things in council as might tend to the glory of God, and the honour and good of the crown and kingdom. And when there is occasion for it, they were either to come to the queen, or to send some of their body to inform her of everything that came before them : and at least thrice a week, they were to give her an account of all their consultations and actings. In particular, they were to consider when the parliament was to meet, and what things were to be proposed and done in it, and to digest all that in writing. On Sundays they were to communicate such things to the whole council as should be thought convenient to be laid before them. They were to take special care for the payment of debts, for the retrenching of expense, and for the good management of the queen's estate, revenues, and customs, and for the administration of justice." Such were the orders laid down : how they were executed, does not appear.

The queen herself never came to council, and the cardinal very seldom. Sometimes they were very few that attended at that board : often not above three or four. And now I return to give an account of what I find in the council-book. On the 19th of January, a letter of thanks was ordered to the lord Willoughby and others in Lincolnshire. At first, upon the condemnation of heretics, notice was given to the council, before the execution, to see if a pardon should be offered them : but they found so few, if any, inclined to accept of it, that they did not think fit to expose the queen's pardon to any further contempt : so those persons are required to proceed thereafter against all such as should be condemned before them, according to the laws, and not to stay for any order. On the 20th of January, letters were written to the sheriffs of Warwickshire, Bedfordshire, and Cambridgeshire, ordering them, that though the prisoners should be acquitted by order of law, yet to detain them in safe custody till they should hear from the earl of Sussex. On the 14th of February, the council was alarmed with this, that a stage play was to be acted in Shrovetide, and that many were to run to it : so the lord Rich was ordered to hinder the acting of it, and to examine and report what he could learn concerning it. On the 16th of February, there was an order sent to sir Henry Bedingfeld, lieutenant of the Tower, to put two to the torture, and to pain them at his discretion. On the 19th of February, a letter of thanks was ordered the lord Rich for stopping the stage play. He had put the actors in prison, but he gave a good character of them : so he was ordered to set them at liberty ; but to have an eye on all such meetings. Several inquiries were made at this time after seditious books : many examinations and commitments were made on that account.

On the 20th of April, one Harris, a carpenter and gunner at Deptford, was brought before the council for having said on Maundy-Thursday, "The queen hath this day given a great alms, and has given that away that should have paid us our wages. She hath undone the realm too ; for she loveth another realm better than this." He confessed the words, but asked pardon, and was dismissed. It seems, about that time, they expected the king's coming over : for, on the 1st of June, the lord-admiral was ordered to attend on him. On the 21st of June, an order was sent to the lieutenant of the Tower, and to a master of

requests, to put one to the torture if he thought it convenient. Information was given to the queen by Wotton, her ambassador in France, that several heretics had fled over to France, and were well received there: in particular, that Henry Dudley (perhaps a son of the duke of Northumberland's) and Christopher Ashton, were plotting there against the queen. Upon that a letter was written to Wotton, to demand that they might be seized on, and sent at her charge to the frontier, to be delivered to her officers. When the draft of this was brought to her to be signed by her, she, with her own hand, interlined these words; "Considering that when the king my husband and he were enemies, I neither did, nor would have done the like."

Wotton wrote over, that the heretics took great advantage from the new war, that the pope engaged the French king to make on the king, after a truce for five years had been agreed to, and sworn by both kings. But the pope sent a legate to France to persuade that king to begin the war. And though the consciences of princes are not apt to be very scrupulous in the observing or breaking their treaties; yet a treaty made and confirmed by an oath so very lately, it seems, made such an impression on that king, that so great an authority was to be interposed to give a colour for the breaking it. Those called heretics took great advantages from this to infuse a horror in people at the papacy, since one who pretended to be the vicar of the prince of peace, became thus an open and a perfidious incendiary.

This, of the pope's dispensing with a prince's oath, gave so great a distaste everywhere, that I do not remember an instance in which it was openly put in practice since that time. But the protestant princes of Germany do believe, as one of the greatest of them told me, that the confessors of the princes of that communion have secret faculties to dispense with their breach of faith, which is so much the more dangerous the more secretly it may be managed. On that ground it was that the prince who told me this said, that, in all their dealings with princes of that communion, they took their word, but would never put anything to their oaths: for they knew that the popish princes reckoned they were bound by their word, as they were men and members of human society, but, for their oaths, they reckoned, these being acts of religion, their confessors had it in their breast to tell them how far they were bound to keep them, and when they were absolved from any obligation by them. But we have seen in our days, to the no small reproach of the Reformation, that princes professing it have, in an avowed manner, shaken off their leagues and alliances with this short declaration, "That they reckoned themselves freed from them;" as if they had been things of so little force they might be departed from at pleasure.

Pole was now, in his synod, labouring to bring the clergy to their duty. On the 13th of December, The Institution of a Christian Man was divided in parcels, to be examined by them; and some were appointed to prepare a Book of Homilies. On the 16th of December, a translation of the New Testament was ordered, and parcelled out: the Seven Sacraments were also treated of. On the 20th of December, the cardinal sent an order to the prolocutor to intimate to all the clergy, more particularly to all deans, that they should confirm no leases that had been made of their benefices. This seems to be done in obedience to the pope's bull, formerly mentioned, that condemned all leases for a longer term than three years. There was offered to them a schedule of some terms that were to be carefully considered in the translation of the New Testament. On the 8th of January that was again considered: propositions were also made for having schools in all cathedral churches. Thus Pole found it necessary to give some instruction in the matters of religion to the nation; for an earnest desire of knowledge in these points being once raised and encouraged, it was neither safe nor easy quite to extinguish that which is so natural to man. And, therefore, instead of discouraging all knowledge, and bringing men to the state of implicit faith without any sort of inquiry, he chose to give them such a measure of knowledge as might be governed and kept within its own bounds. There was in this synod a question moved, What should be done with such of the clergy as should refuse to say or come to mass? but I do not see what was determined upon it. Nor do I see what reason was given them for another petition to the queen, lords, and commons, for maintaining their liberties and immunities, nor what effect it had.

The Pope sets on a new War after a Truce was sworn to, and dispensed with the French King's Oath.

Pole's National Synod.

Pole prorogued the synod to the 10th of November, and from thence to the 10th of May.

“Pro certiore bonorum Ecclesiasticorum quantitatis et qualitatis ratione habenda, majus temporis spatium requiri videbatur.”

A great scarcity of all things.

The reason given is, because the bishops were in their visitations, which could not be soon ended, since a large space of time seemed necessary for their taking an exact account of the quantity and quality of all ecclesiastical goods. I suppose this was the procuring terriers of the lands, and inventories of the goods belonging to the churches; for many orders were given out for restoring such plate and furniture as could be found that had belonged to any church.

From the 10th of May, Pole prorogued the synod to the 10th of November.

The reason given is for the great want and penury of victuals; for I find the dearth at this time was very great. Wheat was at four marks the quarter; malt, at two pound four shillings; peas, at two pound five shillings. But the next harvest proving plentiful, it fell as low as it had been high: wheat was at five shillings, malt at a noble, and rye at three shillings and fourpence a quarter.

On the 28th of July, the council hearing that some naughty books were sent over, and concealed in the duchess of Suffolk's house, ordered the bishop of Lincoln to search for them, and to send them up. On the 19th of July, the council was alarmed with reports of conspiracies in Suffolk and Essex: so they sent orders to inquire about them, and about a zealous man that went about carrying letters and books over the country; from whence he was called Trudge-over: so he was ordered to be sought for. On the 15th of August, a letter was written to the mayor, jurats, and commons at Rye, to choose one of the queen's servants to be mayor for the ensuing year.

On the 21st of August, a letter of thanks was ordered for the earl of Sussex, for his diligence in apprehending those who spread about lewd and seditious reports, with whom he is desired to proceed according to the laws. And as for those lewd priests that had been married, and were found still to repair to their women, they tell him they had written to the bishop of Norwich to cause them to be apprehended and punished: and a letter was at the same time ordered for the bishop of Norwich to that purpose. On the 23rd of August, a letter of thanks was ordered to the lord Darcy, for his apprehending some ill-disposed persons who used conventicles and readings about Harwich. He was to get them to be fined according to their quality, and as he thought fit; and to bind them to appear before the bishop of London. And a letter was ordered to the bishop, either to reduce them to the church, or to order them according to the laws.

On the 4th of September, the earl of Sussex had moved that offenders should be proceeded against by martial law. His zeal is commended; and it was written back to him, “that these deserved to be so used, but that is not thought best; they are to be punished as the laws order. But when they have had their punishment, he shall cause them to be kept in prison and in irons till they know themselves and their duty.” On the 15th of September, a letter of thanks was written to the earl of Sussex, and the justices of Norfolk, for their diligence in punishing one Thomas Long.

At this time they were called on to consider of the danger Calais might be in. So a state of the fortifications, and of what was necessary to maintain the place, was laid before the council; but the giving orders in that matter was delayed till the king should come over, of which they were in daily expectation. For on the 17th of September, they understood that the emperor, with his two sisters, had embarked on the Tuesday before, and that the king was to come to Calais, and from thence to England. Privy seals were at this time sent about everywhere for a loan of money, but it came in very slowly: some took the privy seal, but did not pay in the money. There was about one thousand privy seals given out, at one hundred pounds a-piece. On the 6th of October, a letter was sent to Calais to search for some who had fled from England thither. It is directed to the earl of Sussex, which makes it probable they were heretics; for in that matter his heart was entirely as the queen's heart was. On the 7th of October, the lady Throgmorton was before the council, asking leave to send some supply to her husband, sir Nicholas, who was then in France. The cardinal had told her, in the presence of the lord chancellor and others, that for this one time the queen allowed of it, so it did not exceed forty crowns. It seems the way of exchange was much beset when so small a supply from

Calais in danger of falling into the hands of the French.

Prosecution of Heretics.

so near a relation could not be conveyed without such an application. On the 17th of November, a letter was ordered for the bishop of London to receive a companion of him who was called Trudge-over, to be ordered by him according to law ; and they complain to him that a man and a woman of Colechester, that had been sent to him charged with heresy, were returned back discharged by him, but were now worse than they were before. In another book, that seems to be the minutes of the council, it is entered that twenty-four persons were discharged by him, who were still rank heretics.

I find at this time the council was much employed in the matter of the privy seals. Our fleet was then so inconsiderable, that 14,000*l.* being ordered to be applied to the fleet by the lord treasurer and the lord admiral, both for repairing, furnishing, and victualling it, they reckoned that when that was done, 10,000*l.* a year afterwards would answer what was necessary. On the 19th of February, one Christopher Howe was ordered to be proceeded against for some detestable words, not fit to be heard ; so it was ordered that only such parts of them should be opened as might serve for evidence to the jury. On the 21st, complaints were brought of a jailor who suffered heretics to go freely about. On the 24th, the queen expected hourly to hear of the king's arrival ; so the lord admiral and others were ordered to attend on him. An ambassador came at this time from Russia ; he landed in the north of Scotland, and was well received, and nobly treated by the lord Wharton ; for which thanks were written to him. Here several orders are entered concerning the lord Sturton and his servants : three of them were ordered to be hanged in chains at Mere.

I had in my former work given a due commendation to that which seemed to me a just firmness in the queen, not to pardon the lord Sturton for so heinous a crime as the murdering father and son in so barbarous a manner. But since I have lived long in Wiltshire, I find there is a different account of this matter in that neighbourhood. The story, as it has been handed down by very old people, is this : The day before the execution was appointed, there was a report set about that a pardon or a reprieve was coming down ; upon which the sheriff came to the earl of Pembroke, who was then at Wilton, for advice. That lord heard the report, and was much troubled at it ; so, apprehending some message might come to him from the court, he ordered his gates to be shut somewhat early, and not to be opened till next morning. My lord Sturton's son came down with the order ; but since the gates were not to be opened, he rode over to his father, who received the news with great joy. In the night the sheriff left Wilton, and came so secretly to Salisbury that Sturton knew nothing of it, and believed he was still at Wilton, where he knew he was the night before. But when he was so far gone that the sheriff knew he could not come back in time to hinder the execution, he brought his men together, whom he had ordered to attend on him that day : and so the lord was executed before his son could come back with the order to stop it. I set down this story upon a popular report, of which I have had the pedigree vouched to me by those whose authors, upon the authority of their grandfathers, did give an entire credit to it. So meritorious a man as the lord Sturton was, who had protested against everything done in king Edward's parliament, had no doubt many intercessors to plead for him in this his extremity. I leave this with my reader as I found it.

On the 20th of March, the king came to England ; orders being sent into Kent that the gentlemen should attend upon him in their best apparel. Thanks were afterwards written to them for their readiness in furnishing him with post-horses. On the 17th of April, proceedings are ordered to be made upon a book that is called lewd and seditious. And the countess of Sussex coming over at this time, and bringing letters which gave some suspicion, she was sent to the Fleet. She had been for some years separated from her husband. She was ordered to be examined strictly ; but upon this and many other occasions, particulars are not set forth, and only a general mention is made of the minutes put in the chest.

There is, besides the great council-book, another council-book, which I suppose might be the minute-book, which was perused by my learned friend doctor Kennet, and who communicated to me all the extracts that he had made out of it, and some other manuscripts, which I never saw. It seems it was apprehended that the French designed a descent in Dorsetshire : so orders were sent to make musters in that county, and to have them in

readiness in case of an invasion or a rebellion. And three hundred men were sent over to Calais, with orders concerning the fortifications.

On the 14th of June, complaint was made of some naughty plays and lewd books. The council was often alarmed with these plays; but it does not appear whether there was anything in the plays with relation to religion or the government, or whether it was that they apprehended some mischief from the concourse of the people that those representations brought together. One sir Thomas Cawarden was committed to the Fleet for his misbehaviour to the state. He was ordered to be kept a close prisoner, with only one servant, since he had made no manner of submission, and had not acknowledged his offence; but what this offence was does not appear to me. On the 29th of June, orders were given for sending two thousand men to Calais, with directions to distribute them to the places about that wanted a reinforcement the most. Eight hundred and sixty of them were ordered for Guisnes, and a letter was written to the mayor and jurats of Calais to continue their mayor for another year. On the 3d of July, the cardinal made an offer of one hundred men to serve the queen: he was ordered to levy them immediately, and to send them to Dover. Two hundred foot and six hundred horse more were ordered in all haste for Calais; and assurance was given that more should quickly follow. There were then great apprehensions of disorders on the borders of Scotland, which were wholly in the hands of the French.

Bonner at this time gave the city of London a most dismal spectacle, a little removed from the city, perhaps for fear of a tumult, at Stratford, where thirteen persons, eleven men, and two women, were burnt in one fire. He had condemned sixteen to be thus sacrificed; but cardinal Pole heard there was some hope of working on three of them, so there came an order to put them in his hands: and he by the 26th of July prevailed so far on two of them, that a pardon was granted to those two who had been condemned by the bishop of London, but were prevailed on by the cardinal to abjure (a very extraordinary thing, as is mentioned in the pardon), and had received them into the communion of the church, "and he had upon that interceded with the king and queen for their pardon, which they, as true sons of the church, did willingly imitate, and embraced this occasion of showing their zeal." I cannot tell what became of the third person, whom he had taken out of Bonner's hands.

But here I must lessen the character of the cardinal's mildness towards heretics: for on the 28th of March this year he sent orders to proceed against the heretics in his diocese; and on the 7th of July he sent a significant of some heretics to be delivered to the secular arm.

I find likewise by other evidences, suggested to me by the laborious Mr. Strype, that Pole was not so mild as I had represented him. Parker in his *British Antiquities*, which Strype believes assuredly he can prove that it was written by him, he calls him *Ecclesie Anglicanæ Carnifex et Flagellum*,—the whip and the executioner of the church of England; and Calfhill, a canon of Christ Church in Oxford, in a letter he wrote to Grindall, bishop of London, mentions the proceedings of the visitors sent to Oxford by Pole; who were Brooks, bishop of Gloucester; Cole, dean of St. Paul's; and Ormanet. He sent them thither, not only to restore the pope's authority, but diligently to inquire if there were any who neglected the pope's ceremonies, and if there were any found that were under the least suspicion (*levissima suspicio*), they were without any delay to eject them. He writes there was nothing eminent in Ormanet, but intolerable insolence; nothing could be imagined more arrogant than he was. They raged, as he adds, against a great many in the University, and burned in the open market-place an infinite number of Bibles and other books. The like severity was practised at Cambridge, of which Mr. Strype promises an account in the *Life of Whitgift*, now ready for the press.

The nation began to grow everywhere weary of the cruel executions of so many heretics: the great promoter of these barbarous proceedings was the earl of Sussex. He died in March this year; for his son Thomas, who succeeded to him in his honour, was then deputy of Ireland; and on the 1st of April order was given for a new patent to him, by the title of the earl of Sussex.

the 28th of January, Bonner, as the cardinal's commissary, proposed some heads of Reformation; and the lower house desired leave to offer their propositions. On the 4th of February, a subsidy was agreed to of eight shillings in the pound, to be paid in four years; and on the 9th, he told the bishops that the lower house had agreed to it. Complaint was made of a want of priests to serve the cures: in order to remedy this, and to provide a supply for the smaller benefices, it was proposed that no priest should be taken up to serve in the wars. 2. That the bishops might have authority to unite small benefices, which the priest should serve by turns. 3. That the parishioners of chapels of ease might be obliged to come to the parish church till curates could be provided. 4. That bishops might be authorised by the pope to ordain *extra tempora*. There was also some consideration had about the furnishing of arms; and a decree passed for the provision of them, after the same rate that the laity had agreed to. But then the convocation was prorogued, first to the 11th of November, and then to the 17th; on which day the queen died.

But now to open the state of the nation: Calais, and the places about, were lost; and the nation was so exhausted, that the supporting the government was no easy thing. The persons most in favour with the two kings of France and Spain, were two clergymen, the cardinal of Lorraine and the bishop of Arras, soon after promoted to be a cardinal. They saw that the continuance of the war made it reasonable on both sides, not to put a stop to the progress of heresy, though it had not that effect in England: they, therefore, at an interview projected a peace; that so both kings might be at full leisure to extirpate heresy out of their dominions.

In order to this, France was willing to make great restitutions: only, from the first opening of the treaty, they declared very positively that they resolved never to part with Calais. A treaty was opened, and the earl of Arundel, the bishop of Ely, and dean Wotton were sent to treat in the queen's name. I shall here only give the abstract of two papers which I found relating to this matter.

The first is the council's letter to the ambassadors, written on the 8th of November, which is in the Collection. The ambassadors saw no hope of the restoring of Calais, so they had moved the council to lay the matter before the parliament. "It was not thought convenient to break it to the whole house: it was thought best to begin with the nobility, and some of the best and gravest sort. But before they made that step, they thought it necessary to ask the queen's mind: she thought it was best to lay it first before the king. Upon which they sent the ambassadors with a letter to the king, and resolved to stay till his answer came. They write that the queen was still sick and weak: they hoped for her amendment; but they were driven to fear and mistrust the worst. In a postscript they tell them, they had received the ambassadors' letters of the 4th, by which they saw the French were resolved not to restore Calais: and that the king told them that his commissioners had almost agreed with the French in all other matters; but he would agree to nothing unless the queen was satisfied. The council ordered the ambassadors to lay before the king the importance of leaving Calais in the hands of the French; and how much it would touch the honour of the king and queen, that so many restitutions being to be made on both sides, this alone should not be restored. The subjects of this realm would certainly be very uneasy at this. The war was begun at the king's request, and for his sake. If to other of the king's allies, places are to be restored that were taken from them some years ago, what then can be judged, if a peace is concluded without this restitution? Yet, on the other hand, if there is an agreement in all other matters" (which is like a giving up of the point), "much were to be endured for the wealth of Christendom. In these matters the ambassadors were ordered to deal plainly with the king, and to study to know his mind; since the French keeping these places might be as great prejudice to his Low Countries as to England. They desire a plain and speedy answer, that they might know what to offer to the nobility and parliament with relation to this matter."

The answer to this belongs to this reign, though it was written on the day after the queen died, signed by the three ambassadors. It is in the Collection. "They had written formerly, that the French king had said he would hazard his crown rather than

Proceedings
in Convoca-
tion.

A General
Treaty of
Peace was
opened.

Paper-Office.
Small Hope of
having Calais
restored.

Collection,
Number 42.

Collection,
Number 43.

restore Calais : yet, for all those high words, they did not quite despair. The commissioners of both kings had broke up their conferences, and returned to their masters to give an account of what they had done, and to receive their final orders. The ambassadors believed that if the king insisted positively on the restitution of Calais, that this might induce the French to agree to it : whereas, if the king and his ministers spoke but faintly of that matter, they were sure the French would still refuse to do it. Therefore they did not think fit to use any words to the king, to make him imagine that the queen or the kingdom would consent to a peace without the restoring of Calais : because their instructions were express in that point. The king continued to say that he would make no peace unless the queen should be satisfied : so that if she and her council continued to insist on that point, they did believe the French would restore it, rather than lose the view they had of peace. And whereas the council wrote to them, that if all other things were near agreed, much were to be endured for the peace of Christendom ; yet that all others should have restitution, and that poor England should only bear the loss, was hard ; especially so great a loss : and they were so far from thinking that the leaving Calais to the French would purchase a sure peace, that they thought, on the contrary, that nothing showed more evidently, that the French did not intend to continue the peace with England especially, than their keeping of Calais. The French could easily annoy England on the side of Scotland, the dauphin being then married to the queen of Scots : and what the French pretend to by that marriage was not unknown to them. (This probably was to claim the crown of England upon the queen's death.) Now if the French kept Calais, the English could neither hurt their enemies nor assist their friends, or be assisted by them so easily as when that place was in their hands. England would be shut out from the rest of Europe : the very knowledge of the transactions abroad would come late to them, and that place would be a scourge for England, as it was before Edward the Third took it ; which made him come with his son, and but with a small army, from Normandy into France, and to march through Picardy to besiege it, the enemy pursuing him with a greater army ; but he fought through them, till at last he fought them at Cressy, where, though the French were three to one, yet he totally defeated them, and continued the siege till he took it. So the French having Scotland on the one hand, and Calais on the other, it was easy to apprehend what might follow on this. The French would sign any terms with them to keep that place. These would be only parchment and wax. They knew how many parchments king Francis sealed to king Henry ; and the present king to king Edward. They saw the effects they had, and if a war should follow between England and France, they were not sure that Spain would join with England : whereas now the king could not honourably make any peace without us ; and he himself said he would not : so they did not think Christendom should have a good peace if Calais were left to the French : and it was certainly more the interest of England to continue the war in conjunction with the king, than to make a peace, letting it go, and then be forced to begin a new war, and to have all the burden of it lie upon England. All this they thought themselves bound to lay before the council. The bishop of Ely adds, that he was with the commissioners by the king's order ; they had not yet agreed concerning the matters of Corsica and Sienna ; the French have likewise demanded the restitution of Navarre : so that some thought the treaty would be broken off without concluding in a peace." The earl of Arundel adds, that " after they had gone so far in their letter, he received a letter from the bishop of Arras, dated the 17th, in which he writes thus :—' The bishop of Ely has told you on what terms we were in this purgatory at his leaving us. The French told us yesterday that they would condescend to everything rather than yield in the matter of Calais, or let that place go out of their hands. And we on our part told them, that without full satisfaction to the kingdom of England, we would not treat with them in any sort. And we parted so, that there is more appearance of a rupture than of a conclusion of the treaty.' " But after all, our ambassadors doubted much whether it would break off only on the account of Calais. If they were in doubt about it, while the queen was yet alive, it may be easily supposed that her death put them out of all doubt concerning it.

And now I am come to the conclusion of this inglorious reign. Campana gives a different account of the immediate occasion of the queen's death, from what is to be found in other authors. He tells us that king Philip seeing no hope of issue by her, and that she was in an ill state of health, designed a marriage between the duke of Savoy and the lady Elizabeth: the queen had a very bad opinion of her sister, suspecting she had ill principles in religion. King Philip thought the duke of Savoy would be a firm friend to him, and a constant enemy to France. But he could never bring the queen to hearken to this: yet now that she was declining very fast, he sent over the duke of Feria to propose the match to the privy council, without any regard to the queen, or to the opposition she might make to it. And he ordered him to use all possible means to bring it to a conclusion. The queen resented this highly; and when she saw it was designed to force her to it, she fell into an extreme melancholy. The privy council did not entertain the motion; and the queen dying in a few days, an end was put to it: for though I find the duke of Feria was in England upon queen Elizabeth's coming to the crown, it does not appear that he made any proposition of that matter to her. What truth soever may be in this, the nation was now delivered from a severe and unhappy, though short reign: in which superstition and cruelty had the ascendant to such a degree, that it does not appear that there was any one great or good design ever set on foot, either for the wealth or glory of the nation. The poor queen delivered herself up to her peevish and fretful humours, and to her confessor, and seemed to have no other thoughts but about the extirpation of heresy and the endowing of monasteries. Even the war, that commonly slackens vigorous proceedings, had not that effect here. Her inexorable hatred of all she accounted heretics was such, that I find but one single instance of a pardon of any condemned of heresy; and that was upon the cardinal's intercession. God shortened the time of her reign for his elect's sake: and He seemed to have suffered popery to show itself in its true and natural colours, all over both false and bloody; even in a female reign, from whence all mildness and gentleness might have been expected; to give this nation such an evident and demonstrative proof of the barbarous cruelty of that religion as might raise a lasting abhorrence and detestation of it.

It was visible that the providence of God made a very remarkable difference, in all respects, between this poor, short, and despised reign, and the glory, the length, and the prosperity of the succeeding reign: so that as far as we can reason from the outward characters of things, the one was all over mean and black, while the other shined with a superior brightness, to the admiration of all the world. It wanted no foil to set it off, being all over lustre and glory: but if that was wanting, the base and contemptible reign that went before it could not but add to its brightness.

One amazing character of Providence in her death, and in the great successor that came after her, was, that at the time that the two ministers, being both ecclesiastics, of the kings of France and Spain, were designing a peace, with the view of destroying heresy, upon the conclusion of it, their project was entirely blasted in so critical a minute: first, by the death of queen Mary, and the succession of queen Elizabeth; and next, by the unlooked-for death of the king of France in July after. So that not only the design totally miscarried, but France fell under the confusions of a minority; under which that they called heresy gathered great strength. And the cruelty of the Spanish government occasioned the revolt of the Netherlands; while the glorious queen of England protected and assisted both so effectually, that king Henry IV. owned his being supported by her in his lowest state, was the chief means that brought him to the possession of the crown of France; and the United Provinces had their main dependence on the protection and assistance that they had from her. So mercifully did God deal with this nation, by removing that queen, that he had set over it in his wrath; and so graciously did he watch over the Reformation, that, in the very time in which the enemies of that work reckoned it was to be rooted out, he raised up a glorious instrument that not only revived it among us, but by a kind and tender influence watched over it, and protected it everywhere. So I now turn to view the auspicious beginnings of that blessed reign.

A particular
Relation of
the Occasion
of the Queen's
Death.

A Parallel of
Queen Mary
and Queen
Elizabeth's
Reign.

PART III.—BOOK VI.

OF THE BEGINNINGS OF QUEEN ELIZABETH'S REIGN.

1558. No prince ever came to the throne in a more clouded state of affairs than this queen did: the nation was engaged in a war both with France and Scotland. The queen had no ally but king Philip; and though she was sensible of her particular obligations to him, yet, being resolved to make alterations in religion, she knew she could depend no longer on him when once these should be begun. The duke of Feria, then his ambassador in England, took all occasions to let her understand that his master was the catholic king, and that, therefore, he must protect that religion. The papists whom she found in the ministry possessed her with fears of rebellions at home, and of wars from abroad, if she set herself to alter religion. Those she brought into her councils, in conjunction with the papists, chiefly Bacon and Cecil, had been so accustomed to comply with what they condemned in matters of religion, that they brought themselves to bear what they did not approve; and they apprehended great danger if they should proceed too quick in those matters.

The queen's inclinations to the Reformation were universally relied on. Her education and knowledge; her bad usage during the former reign; and her title to the crown, that was grounded on a marriage made in defiance to the pope, led all people to conclude that, what slow steps soever she might make in it, she would certainly declare for it as soon as she saw she could be safe in doing it. Upon this some, whether out of a forwardness of zeal, or on design to encourage her, began early to pull down images and to make changes. But, on the other hand, the priests apprehending what was like to follow, began at the same time to alarm the people. Some broke out into seditious words, to animate the people against all changes; and the pulpits being all in their hands, they had free scope there to give the alarm. Some went further, and called her title to the crown in question, and set up the pretensions of the queen of Scotland. Of these, the industrious Mr. Strype has gathered many instances that showed, on the one hand, their seditious tempers, and, on the other hand, the great mildness of the government,—different from the cruelty of the former reign. To put a stop to these, she did by one proclamation prohibit all preaching; and by another, all alterations by private hands.

As her ministers advised this caution in matters of religion, so they persuaded her to digest the loss of Calais, and to come into a peace with France and Scotland.

They likewise thought of new alliances. In order to this, Mount was brought into England again; and had secret instructions given him by Cecil to go to all the princes of Germany to know how far the queen might depend on their assistance, and to receive the advices that the princes offered with relation to the affairs of England; and in particular, concerning a proper marriage for the queen. He found them ready to receive the queen into the Smalcaldic League; chiefly, if the Reformation that was intended might be made upon their model.

The match they all proposed was with Charles of Austria, the emperor Ferdinand's second son, brother to Maximilian, the king of Bohemia and Hungary, who was known to be a protestant: for though he complied in the outward acts of the popish worship, yet he had a minister in his court whom he heard frequently preach. Both the elector palatine and the duke of Wirtemberg assured Mount that Charles designed, as soon as he durst, for fear of his father's displeasure, to declare himself of their religion. He said to one of these princes, "I love the religion that my brother holds, and approve of it; and will, by the grace of God, profess it openly." He told him, "that his father suspected this, and had pressed him to take an oath that he would never change his religion. He refused that; but said to his father, that he believed, as he did, all that was in the New Testament, and in the orthodox

Her Inclinations in Religion cautiously managed.

A Match with Charles of Austria advised.

fathers." Upon which the emperor said, "I see this son is likewise corrupted." They thought this match would be a great strengthening of the queen: it would engage the whole house of Austria in the protestant religion, and unite the whole empire in an alliance with the queen. This was writ to the queen in the year 1559; but in the copy I saw, the particular date is not added.

Cotton Libr.
Galba, 11.

The news of the queen's coming to the crown no sooner reached Zurich, than all those who had retired thither resolved to return to England. They had been entertained there both by the magistrates and the ministers, Bullinger, Gualter, Weidner, Simler, Lavater, Gesner, and all the rest of that body, with a tenderness and affection that engaged them to the end of their lives to make the greatest acknowledgments possible for it. The first of these was, in all respects, the chief person of that society, with whom they held the closest correspondence. Peter Martyr was likewise there, and was treated by them all with a singular respect, even to a submission. Jewel was first formed by him at Oxford; and so continued to his death in a constant commerce of letters with him, writing always to him by the title of Father. I saw a great volume of those letters, as I passed through Zurich, in the year 1685; so I was desirous to have the volume sent me, but I found that by their rules that could not be done. I also understood that there were several letters relating to our affairs scattered through several other volumes; so professor Otto did kindly, and with much zeal, undertake to get them to be copied for me. The person who managed and procured this for me was that pious and learned professor at Geneva, Alphonsus Turretin, born to be a blessing to the state he lives in. He has given the world already, on many occasions, great instances of his exquisite learning, and of a most penetrating judgment, having made a vast progress in a few years; in which a feeble and tender body, though it is a great clog that gives his friends many sad apprehensions, yet cannot keep down an exalted mind from many performances that seem to be above both his years and his strength. But how valuable soever these qualities are, yet his zeal for the great things of religion, and his moderation in lesser matters, together with a sublime and exalted piety, is that which I observed in him, even when he was scarce out of childhood; and have, with a continual joy and delight, seen the advances of it ever since. This grateful account of him I owe not so much to his friendship (though I owe a great deal to that), but to his rare and singular worth. By his means I procured copies of the letters that our reformers continued to write, chiefly to Peter Martyr, Bullinger, and Gualter. And with them I have a solemn attestation, under the seal of that noble canton, of their being true copies, carefully collated with the originals, which I have put at the end of the Collection. If there had not been many interruptions in the series of those letters, they are so particular, that from them we should have had a clear thread of the history of that time; but many of them are lost, and they are wanting on some of the most critical occasions. I shall make the best use of them I can, as far as they lead me.

Horn and Sands went first to England; so Jewel, who was following them, writes from Strasburg, on the 26th of January, 1559, to Peter Martyr; and adds, "that they were well received by the queen; that many bishoprics were void; Christopherson was certainly dead. That White, whom Martyr knew well, had preached the funeral-sermon when queen Mary was buried,—the text was, 'I praised the dead more than the living:' in which he charged the audience, by all means, not to suffer any change to be made in religion. Inveighing against the fugitives that might perhaps return into England, he said, whosoever should kill them would do a deed acceptable to God." Upon this he writes, "that both the marquis of Winchester, and Heath, archbishop of York, seemed highly displeased at it." He adds, "that Bonner was obliged to restore to Ridley's executors all his goods that he had violently seized on, and was confined to his house." I have seen a copy of White's sermon: in it he commends queen Mary for this, that she would never be called Head of the Church. Though the falsehood of that is on record, in the writs that were sealed for above a year after she came to the crown. He runs out with great fury against heresy: Geneva is, in particular, named the seat of it. He says queen Mary's death was like the death of an angel, if they were mortal. He insinuates his fears of "flying in the winter on the Sabbath," or "being with child;" all

1559.

They were
well received
by the Queen.
Col. Num. 44.

which he represents as allegorical. Yet he has some decent words of the queen; and says, they were to comfort themselves for the death of one sister in the other that survived.

Gualter wrote to one Masters, who was the queen's physician, and was well known to him, on the 16th of January. He congratulates the happy change of their affairs. "He wishes" (I translate his words strictly) "that they would not hearken to the counsels of those men, who, when they saw that popery could not be honestly defended nor entirely retained, would use all artifices to have the outward face of religion to remain mixed, incertain, and doubtful; so that while an evangelical reformation is pretended, those things should be obtruded on the church, which will make the returning back to popery, to superstition, and to idolatry, very easy. I write not these things to you," he adds, "as knowing that there are any such among you; but I write from a fear that there may be some such. For we have had the experience of this for some years in Germany, and know what influence such persons may have. Their councils seem, to a carnal judgment, to be full of modesty, and well fitted for carrying on an universal agreement; and we may well believe that the common enemy of our salvation will find out proper instruments, by whose means the seeds of popery may still remain among you." A little after he writes, that "he apprehends that in the first beginnings, while men may study to avoid the giving some small offence, many things may be suffered under this colour that they will be continued but for a little while; and yet afterwards it will scarce be possible, by all the endeavours that can be used, to get them to be removed, at least not without great strugglings." Dr. Masters, in answer to this, tells him he had laid his letter before the queen, and that she had read it all. He promises to use his best endeavours for carrying on a sound reformation. This plainly insinuated their fears of somewhat like what was designed by the Interim in Germany.

The Earl of Bedford had some time at Zurich, and wrote to them. Col. Num. 46. Francis, earl of Bedford, had gone out of England in queen Mary's time, and had stayed some time at Zurich. He had expressed a true zeal for the Reformation, and a particular regard for the divines there, of which a letter in the Collection gives a clear account; and upon that they wrote often to him, and pressed him vehemently to take care in the first beginnings to have all things settled upon sure and sound foundations.

On the 24th of January the convocation was opened; but the bishops, in obedience to the queen's proclamation against preaching, did not think fit to open it with a sermon. Those who I find are marked as present, are the bishops of London, Winchester, Lincoln, Worcester, Coventry, and Litchfield, and the abbot of Westminster: these appeared personally; and the bishops of Ely, Peterborough, and St. Asaph, sent their proxies. But no mention is made of the bishops of Bath and Wells, St. David's, Llandaff, and Exeter. All the other sees were then vacant: Canterbury, Salisbury, Norwich, Chichester, Hereford, Gloucester, Oxford, Bangor, Bristol, and Rochester; ten in all. Harpsfield was chosen prolocutor. He asked what they had to do, and what was to be done to preserve religion? The bishops answered, they must pray the queen that no new burden might be laid on the clergy in this parliament. This was to prevent the demand of a new subsidy, the former not being yet paid. In the 7th session, the prolocutor offered to the bishops the five articles mentioned in my history. These they had drawn up for the discharge of their consciences, and they desired the bishops to be their leaders in this matter. The bishops received their paper, and promised to offer it next day to the House of Lords. In the next session, the prolocutor and clergy came up and asked the bishops if they had delivered their paper to the House of Lords? Bonner answered that they had delivered it to the lord-keeper, the mouth of that house, who to all appearance received it kindly or thankfully (*gratanter*), but gave them no answer. The clergy desired the bishops to get an answer from him, or at least to know his pleasure before their next meeting. In the 9th session, the bishops told the clergy that they had not yet found a fit opportunity to obtain an answer from the House of Lords. On the 10th session, Bonner told the clergy that all their articles except the last, which was, "That the authority of treating and defining in matters of the faith, of the sacraments, and of ecclesiastical discipline, belonged to the pastors of the church, and not to the laity," were approved by the two Universities.

Proceedings
in Convoca-
tion.

After this came only perpetual prorogations from day to day, without any business done, till the 9th of May, in which the convocation was dissolved: so this was the last and feeble struggle that the popish clergy made in convocation.

The bishops stood firm in the House of Lords, where there were none of the other side to answer them, few of the temporal lords being very learned. They seemed to triumph there, and hung so upon the wheels, that there was a slow progress made. On the 20th of March, Jewel writes to Peter Martyr, "That after a journey of fifty-one days from the time he left Zurich, he got to London, where he was amazed to find the pope's authority was not yet thrown off. Masses were still said, and the bishops continued still insolent. Things were beginning to mend a little. A public disputation was then resolved on; and he adds, that the queen spoke with great esteem of Peter Martyr. The inferior sort of the populace was both ignorant and perverse. He tells him Brooks, bishop of Gloucester, whom he calls an Impure Beast, was newly dead; and cried out as he was dying that he was damned.

Jewel, in a letter to Bullinger from London on the 22d of May, 1559, which is in the Collection, after great acknowledgments of his obligations to him, and to all Zurich, "thanks him for quickening them to act with zeal and courage. There was need of it; for, besides those who had been always their enemies, the deserters who had left them in the former reign were now their most bitter enemies. Besides this, the Spaniards had corrupted the morals of the nation to a great degree. They were doing what they could, and all things were coming into a better state. The queen did very solemnly refuse to be called Head of the Church. She thought that title was only due to Christ. The Universities were strangely corrupted by Soto, and another Spanish monk. It was scarce credible how much mischief they had done in so little time. He tells him that the lord Bedford had asked him what would be the most acceptable present that he could send to him and his brethren. He answered, nothing could be so acceptable to them as his expressing a zeal for promoting the gospel, and against popery. That lord assured him he would do that faithfully; which, as he writes, he was doing very sincerely. He writes also how that several princes were making addresses to the queen for her marriage; but many suspected her inclinations lay to one Pickering, a worthy and pious man, and one of a most noble figure as to his person." He refers him for other things to his letters to Peter Martyr. On the 6th of April, Jewel wrote a particular account of the disputation, which, though it is upon the matter the same that is in my History, yet since it is both a confirmation of it, and has some circumstances that are new, I have put it in my Collection. "He tells him that Cole treated the reformers with many reproaches and much scorn; and called them seditious incendiaries. He delivered his speech with great emotion, stamping with his feet, and putting himself as in convulsions. He said the apostles divided their work into two provinces, the Western and the Eastern: the first, St. Peter and St. Paul had given to them, where the worship was to be all in Latin; the Eastern division fell to the other apostles, where all was to be performed in Greek. This he introduced with pomp as a thing certain. He affirmed that it was not fit the people should understand the public worship, for ignorance was the mother of devotion. The paper prepared by the reformers was read gravely and modestly by Horn; so that all who were present, he names the earl of Shrewsbury in particular, acknowledged the victory was clearly on their side. By this, and by what happened the second day, the popish cause sunk much in the opinion of the people."

On the 28th of April, in another letter, which is in the Collection, he tells Peter Martyr how earnestly the bishops contended in the House of Lords. "Feckenham defended monastic orders from the sons of the prophets, and the Nazarites among the Jews; and said Christ and his apostles were monks. None struggled more vehemently than Thirleby. He saw a design at court of seizing on the bishops' manors, and assigning parsonages to them instead of them; but he laments most of all that no care was taken of schools, or of promoting learning. The universities were in a most miserable condition. The earl of Bedford pressed the queen to send for Peter Martyr: she said she would do it. But as much as Jewel desired to see him, he writes, that he would not advise his coming over if he was not sent for with such an earnest and honourable invitation as he deserved to have. He saw many

of the queen's ministers were in hope to enter into the Smalcaldic league. And one, who had been a bishop, possessed them with an opinion, that if Martyr were brought over, that would obstruct the other design." He expresses an ill opinion of that person, but does not name him. It must have been either Barlow, Scory, or Coverdale; for these were all the bishops of the Reformation that were then alive. Coverdale, as being a Dane, is the likeliest to have been engaged in the Lutheran opinion. He concludes his letter, that those who had returned from their exile were yet in great misery, no care being taken of them.

His next is on the 10th of April. "He laments the want of zeal and industry in promoting the Reformation, far short of what the papists showed in queen Mary's time. Then everything was carried on violently, without staying either for law or precedent; but now everything is managed in so slow, so cautious, and prudent a manner, as if the word of God was not to be received upon his own authority: so that as Christ was thrown out by his enemies, he is now kept out by his friends. This caution made, that the spirits of those that favoured them were sunk, while their enemies were much exalted upon it; yet he acknowledges, that though no law was made abrogating the mass, it was in many places laid down. The nobility seemed zealous in their hatred of popery. The queen had, indeed, softened her mass much; but there were many things amiss that were left in it. If she could be prevailed on to put the crucifix out of her chapel, it would give a general encouragement. She was truly pious, but thought it necessary to proceed by law, and that it was dangerous to give way to a furious multitude."

Cox, on the 20th of May, wrote to Weidner, another divine of Zurich, whom he calls a venerable old man. He tells him "that they found the short reign of queen Mary had such effects in hardening the minds of the people in their superstition, that it would not be easy to change the nation. Great opposition was made to every good motion by the scribes and pharisees in the House of Lords; for there was none there that could maintain arguments against the bishops. But the divines, who were returned from their exile, were called to preach at court before the queen, where they plainly affirmed that the pope was Antichrist, and that their traditions were blasphemies. Some of the nobility came every day over to them, and many of the people, but not one of the clergy: they stuck all together as a body that was not to be moved." He tells him the event that the public disputation had, and that now king Edward's laws were to be revived. "Thus," says he, "God has regarded the low estate we were in; and with his fatherly compassion has pitied us, and taken off the cross we lay under. God grant these his great and inestimable benefits may never be forgotten by us!" But he laments, that while there was so great a harvest, there were so few labourers.

All business was brought to a good conclusion in parliament. The king of France's unlooked-for death had given such a change to the face of affairs abroad, that the queen and her ministers seemed to be animated with more courage than had appeared hitherto. Of this there is a letter of Jewel's in the Collection. In the beginning of August, it appears, from another letter in the Collection, that preachers were sent to many different parts. "Many northern counties were assigned to Sands. Jewel had a large province: he was to make a circuit of about seven hundred miles, through Berkshire, Gloucestershire, Somersetshire, Devonshire, Cornwall, Dorsetshire, and Wiltshire. The popish bishops made a very poor address to the queen, persuading her not to change the state of religion; to which she answered very resolutely. And they, rather than abjure the pope once more, which they had often done before, were resolved now to relinquish their bishoprics. It was plain they had no religion among them, yet now they pretended conscience. They were full of rage; and one of the artifices they used at that time to keep the people from receiving the Reformation was, the giving out of prophecies that this change would be short-lived. Howsoever the queen had courage. So he thanks God for the state to which their affairs were then brought. Matters went well in Scotland: Knox was preaching in many places of the country, well guarded; the monasteries were everywhere pulled down, and all the superstitious stuff that was in them was destroyed. The young king of France took, among his titles, both England and Scotland. He understood

Col. Num. 51.

Col. Num. 52.

it was designed to make himself bishop of Salisbury, but he was positively resolved to decline it." In the letters sent me from Zurich, I find none of Grindall's on this occasion : but Mr. Strype, in his Life, has informed the world that Grindall, when he knew he was designed to be a bishop, wrote to Peter Martyr for his opinion in several matters. I shall give the substance of his letter : " He did not approve of the queen's taking away the estates of the bishoprics, and giving them parsonages instead of them. He thought this was the patrimony of the inferior clergy ; so he did not see how they could be supplied, if these were given to the bishops. He had also a doubt concerning the popish vestments. At another time he asked his advice, whether the popish priests, upon their changing again, should be received and continued in their functions ; or whether such of them as had been concerned in the late cruelty ought not to be prosecuted for that."

To all this Peter Martyr answered, " that, for the taking away the bishops' estates, and giving them parsonages for them, they could neither hinder nor help it ; but they ought, out of them, to support the clergy that laboured in those parishes. For the habits, he confessed he did not love them ; for while he was a canon in Oxford he never would use the surplice. He thought they ought to do what they could to get them to be laid aside ; but that if that could not be done, he thought he might do more good, even in that particular, by submitting to it, and accepting a bishopric, which might give him an interest to procure a change afterwards. As for the popish priests, he advised the forgiving all that was past, and the receiving them according to the practice of the primitive church in the return of the Arians to the orthodox body. But they were to watch over them, and to instruct and examine them with more care." This answer came too late, for Grindall was consecrated before he got it ; but it was, no doubt, a great satisfaction to him to find that a person, whom he esteemed so highly, approved of the resolution that he had taken : in which it was probable Jewel's opinion, of whom they had all a high esteem, might contribute to settle him. For though he disliked the use of those vestments, and treats the insisting so much on it with great contempt ; yet, on the other hand, he blames those who laid too much weight upon that matter, and so looked on it as a thing of more importance than truly it was.

They all rejoiced in the happy turn of affairs then in Scotland, the much greater part of that nation declaring themselves openly and zealously against popery.

Here I shall insert an account concerning Scotland, of what happened in the reign of king Henry ; but that came not to my knowledge till the impression of this volume was advanced to the reign of queen Mary. The Scottish nation was so well disposed towards the Reformation, that immediately upon king James V.'s death, which was in December 1541, there appeared a wonderful inclination among them to be better informed in matters of religion. Cardinal Beaton, to prevent this,

had got a will to be forged in the name of the deceased king, constituting him regent ; but as that was discovered to be a forgery, so the nobility had no regard to it, but owned the earl of Arran to be the second person in the kingdom ; and that he was next to the young queen, and the heirs of her body, the heir of the crown. So they took the oaths of allegiance to the queen as their sovereign, and to the earl of Arran as their governor, till the queen was of perfect age : and upon that the cardinal was secured.

A parliament was summoned to meet in May 1542, in which the regency of the earl of Arran was of new confirmed on the 13th of May ; and all the subjects were required to obey him in all things pertaining to that office, conform to the acts formerly made, which were again ratified by that parliament. They also ratified the oaths that had been taken to him by some lords spiritual and temporal ; and all who were present were required to confirm these oaths by solemn oaths in full parliament ; which they all did by the holding up of their right hands, swearing that they would be true and obedient to the lord governor, and serve him with their persons, kindred, friends, and goods, and no other, during the queen's nonage.

On the 15th of May, they ordered an authentic publication to be made of all they had done under the great seal ; and they all affixed their seals to the instrument made to confirm this settlement. On the same day a council was named : six of these was the number that

The Begin-
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Peter Mar-
tyr's Advice
to Grindall.

was at the least necessary to concur with the governor. The cardinal was not one of them ; the archbishop of Glasgow, who was lord chancellor, with the bishops of Aberdeen, Murray, Orkney, Ross, and Brechin, and the abbots of Dunfermline and Cowper, were for the ecclesiastical state. The earls of Angus, Huntley, Murray, Argyle, Bothwell, Marshall, Cassilis, and Glencairn, and the lords Erskine, Ruthven, Maxwell, Seton, and Methuen, for the nobility ; with some other commoners of the boroughs. After whom, the treasurer, the secretary, the clerk of register, the justice clerk, and the queen's advocate, are named. It seems they intended that no peers should be created but with the concurrence of the parliament ; for the governor, with the advice and consent of the estates of parliament, made the lord Stewart of Ochiltry a peer, to have vote and place in parliament. In the same record, mention is made of the draught of an act offered by the lord Maxwell to the lords of the articles in these words :

“ It is statute and ordained, that it shal be lawful to all our sovereign lady's lieges to have the holy writ of the New Testament and the Old in the vulgar tongue, in Inglis or Scotts, of a good and tru translation ; and that they shall incurre no crime for the having or reding of the same : provided always, that no man dispute, or hold opinions, under the pains contained in the acts of parliament.”

The lords of articles found this reasonable, and thought that the Bible might be used among all the lieges of the realm in our vulgar tongue, of a good, true, and just translation, because there was no law showed to the contrary ; and therefore they agreed that none should incur any crime for having or reading it, nor be accused for it, but added the proviso that was added to the draught offered to them.

But the archbishop of Glasgow did, in his own name, and in the name of all the prelates of the realm that were present in parliament, when the act came to be read in full parliament, “ dissent (simpliciter) to it, as being one of the three estates of the parliament : and they opposed them thereto unto the time that a provincial council might be had of all the clergy of this realm, to advise and conclude thereupon, if the same be necessary to be had in the vulgar tongue, to be used among the queen's lieges or not, and thereafter to show the utter determination that shall be done in that behalf.” Upon this he demanded an instrument to be made according to the forms in that kingdom : but notwithstanding this opposition, the act passed ; for in the same record there is an order entered, as signed by the governor, requiring the clerk of register to cause the acts passed in parliament to be proclaimed ; “ and in special the act made for having the New Testament in vulgar tongue, with certain additions.” But granted. In the copy sent me, this bears date the 19th of March ; but I believe it should be May, since the matter was not before the parliament till May. I have set down all this matter almost in the words of the record of parliament that was sent me.

In the same record, the instructions are set down that were given to the ambassadors that were sent to treat concerning the queen's marriage with Edward, then prince of Wales. In which it appears that they thought it necessary, if their sovereign went out of the kingdom, even after she was of perfect age, yet that the governor of the realm should continue to exercise his authority all the days of his life ; and that, after his death, the nearest lawful person of the blood should succeed to the said office by a large and ample commission, of which they order a form to be devised.

The free use of the Scriptures was a great step to let the nation look into the nature of the Christian religion : and the clergy foresaw well the consequences that would naturally follow upon it ; so it was no wonder that this was opposed so zealously by them. It was a great piece of foresight to secure the nation by having a governor with full powers still residing amongst them. In the subsequent treaty with France, there was not that care nor precaution used : but at the conclusion of the marriage, the French proceeded in so perfidious a manner, as to give a warning to all who in future times should treat with that court. For on the 4th of April 1558 (a fortnight before the articles of the marriage were settled, which was on the 19th of April), the young queen being then but little more than fifteen, a secret act was passed ; in which, after she had set forth the ancient alliance between the two crowns, and the honourable entertainment that she had received from the present king of France ;

"She, to confirm and establish the affection between the two kingdoms, and in order to unite the kingdom of Scotland to the crown of France, in case she should die without heirs of her body, had made some dispositions in favour of the crown of France, which she intended should have their full effect: yet she, by a communication with the deputies sent from Scotland, saw into the secret designs of some, who were practising to the effect, that in default of heirs of her body, the crown should descend to some lords of the country; depriving her by that means, to her great regret, of the power of disposing of it. Yet since she could not at that time openly oppose them for certain just causes of fear; and considering that she was out of her kingdom, and had no strong places in it at her own disposal; and that great troubles might arise, if what she was then doing should be publicly known, especially considering the present war with the kingdom of England: she therefore did protest, that what consent or agreement soever she should make to the articles and instructions sent over by the states of her kingdom with relation to the succession, in case she should die without heirs of her body; she intended still, that the disposition then made in favour of the crown of France should have its full and entire effect, notwithstanding any agreement she had made, or should yet make, conform to these instructions, as a thing contrary to her will and intention." Upon which she demanded an act from the keeper of the great seal, Bertrandi, who was made a cardinal that year*.

This instrument was signed by her and by the dauphin, and is printed in the great collection of the treaties of France that was published twenty years ago. It opens a scene of treachery; that how much soever the design was suspected (as will appear by the paper, of which an account will be given in the following relation), yet it was never certainly known till they themselves had made their own shame thus known to the world. But at that time this was so carefully concealed, that Francis the Second sent a formal obligation under his great seal, by which he bound himself to the duke of Chatellherault, to maintain his right of succeeding to the crown of Scotland, in case the queen should die without heirs of her own body. The original obligation is still preserved in Hawdton. The queen's secret act was as ill grounded in law as it was perfidious in itself: for certainly, what power soever our princes, with the concurrence of their parliaments, have to limit the succession to the crown, our princes themselves cannot, by any private act of their own, alter the succession, or dispose of it at pleasure. But to return to that which has led me into this digression.

The knowledge of religion, that the free use of the Scriptures brought the nation to, had such an effect, that the Reformation was everywhere desired; and the vices and ignorance of the popish clergy gave all people an aversion to them. This was long connived at even by the queen mother during her government: but now that she thought all was sure, she threw off the mask, and declared herself an open enemy to those whom she had courted hitherto, and seemed to favour. Upon this there was a great and a sudden turn. Popery was the object of all men's hatred: the churches were purged from idolatry and superstition: the monasteries were broke into; and many acts of hot and irregular zeal were complained of in all the corners of the kingdom.

One thing is not a little to the honour of Knox and his followers in that tumultuary Reformation, that the multitude was so governed, even amidst all that popular heat, that no blood was shed, and no man was killed in it: which being positively delivered by Lesley †, bishop of Rosse, that must be looked on as a testimony beyond exception.

But since the affairs of Scotland have not hitherto been so clearly represented as I find them stated in some original papers that I fell on in the Cotton Library, I will give a full account of them as far as those papers do guide me.

There is a long representation drawn up of the breach of faith, and of the violation of their laws during the government of the queen-regent of Scotland: at the end of which

* See page 824, where mention is made of two other instruments relating to this secret treaty, which had not come to the bishop's hands when this page in the original edition had been printed off.—*Eu.*

† Nobilium qui hæreseas obstringebantur crimine, humanitas non est reticenda, quod eo tempore paucos catholicos de religionis re multarint exilio, pauciores carcerc, morte nullos.—*Leslaus de Rebus Scot.* l. 10.

there is a petition to the queen, signed by the great lords of that kingdom, in which both papists and protestants concurred. And in order to obtain that concurrence, the matters of religion are not insisted on : but the continued course of a perfidious and illegal administration is charged on the queen-dowager. So that from this it appears that the war was not begun nor carried on upon the account of religion, but upon the pretence of public and national rights. I have put it in the Collection.

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“They begin it to show that the arms that they were forced to fly to was no rebellion. They run the matter back to the first proposition for carrying their queen into France : which, they say, was obtained, partly by corruption with money, partly by authority, and partly by fair promises : yet before that was agreed to, a treaty was made by the parliament, and sworn to, as well as ratified by the great seals of the king and dauphin of France, that Scotland should be governed by their own laws, and by the nobility and people of Scotland : that all offices should be given to them ; and that no garrisons of the French should be admitted to settle in the kingdom. Great practice was made after that to bring the parliament to consent that their queen should marry the dauphin : and to obtain that, the succession to the crown was declared to belong to the duke of Chatellerault and his heirs, after heirs of the queen's body. New oaths were then taken, and charters given under the great seal of France, and under their queen and the dauphin's seal, that Scotland should be governed by a council of natives : the castles were also to be put in sure hands. Duplicates of these were lodged in the castle of Edinburgh, and with the duke of Chatellerault. Upon this an embassy was sent to France of two bishops, two earls, and four lords, and the marriage was concluded. They were upon that dealt with to endeavour that the crown of Scotland might be given to the dauphin. They refused to undertake that ; and believed that it could not be brought about. The word upon that was changed. And it was desired only that the matrimonial crown might be sent him ” (which was afterwards explained in the act of parliament that granted it, that he should be king of Scotland during life). “The lords were suffered to return : but when they came to Dieppe, one bishop, two earls, and two lords died in one night. The three that were left came home much amazed, believing that the others had been poisoned.”

Here I must add another particular relating to that deputation. In the council-book, that goes from April 1554 to January 1558, that was cast by and neglected, many leaves being cut out of it, and was first discovered by a nephew of mine, whom I desired to search their register for me ; it appears that on the 13th of December 1557, there was a tax laid on the kingdom, to be paid in before Easter, for the expense of that embassy, of 15,000*l.* Scots money, that is, 1250*l.* sterling, which was to be levied by the same proportion that all the taxes were then levied ; of which there are several instances in that book : the one-half was levied on the spirituality ; and two-thirds of the other half was on estates in land, and the other third was levied on the boroughs. This shows that the estates of the spirituality were then reckoned by a settled proportion, the full half of the kingdom. The persons deputed were the archbishop of Glasgow, the bishop of Orkney, and the prior of St. Andrew's (afterwards earl of Murray), the earls of Cassilis and Rothes, and the lord Fleming, with the provost of Edinburgh and of Montrose. When I wondered how so small a sum could answer the expense of so great an embassy on such an occasion, he showed me that either the value of money, or, which is the same thing, the value of things to be purchased by money, is almost incredibly changed now in the course of one hundred and sixty years ; of which he gave me this instance : the tun of wine was then by act of parliament to be sold at twenty livres, or in sterling money at 1*l.* 13*s.* 4*d.* ; and in retailing it, their pint, which is four English pints, was to be sold at four farthings, their penny having six farthings ; so that reducing this to English measures, three quarts of wine were to be sold at a penny. This I thought was a small digression, which the reader would not be ill pleased to find laid in his way. To return to the Scotch memorial.

“The queen-dowager took two methods to gain her point : the one was to show favour to all those who had received no favour of the duke during his government, because they were in the interest of England ; whereas he was at that time in the interest of France : the other was, she offered them a permission to live according to their conscience in religion : in

conclusion, the queen-dowager brought the parliament to give the matrimonial crown to the dauphin ; but with this condition, that the duke's right should not be impaired by it.

"When all this was obtained, the queen forgot all her promises : she began with the greatest of the Scottish lords then in office, the earl of Huntley, who was then lord chancellor, and the duke's particular friend : she took the great seal from him, and gave it to one Rubay, a French advocate : she also put the earl of Huntley in prison, and set a great fine on him, and left him only the name of chancellor. She made another Frenchman comptroller, who had the charge of the revenue of the crown : and she put all Scotchmen out of the secrets of the council, committing these only to Frenchmen. She kept in several places garrisons of Frenchmen, who lived on discretion. She gave them no pay. She sent the revenue of the crown to France ; and brought over some base money that was decried in France, and made it current in Scotland. She also set up a mint for coining base money, with which she paid the soldiers. She tried to get the castle of Edinburgh into her hands, but that failed her. She gave such abbeyes as fell void to Frenchmen, as to her brother the cardinal of Guise, and others : and for the space of three years she kept all that fell void in her own hands, except such as were of any value ; and these she bestowed on Frenchmen. Nor did she ever follow the advice of those lords who upon her first entering upon the government were named to be of the council. Many intercessions were made to her upon these proceedings by the nobility : sometimes companies of them joined together ; and sometimes they applied to her more privately, for they foresaw that they could not be borne long.

"The queen dowager set herself next to a practice, which of all others was both the most dangerous and the most dishonourable, to set aside the duke and his house : pains was taken to engage the lord James and other lords in it, who had no friendship for the duke ; to whom the queen-dowager promised that she would bear with their devotion in religion, if they would join with her against the duke in favour of the French. This encouraged them to do those things by which they incurred the censures of the church, and were, by reason of a law not much known, brought in danger of the guilt of treason : so process was ordered against them ; and upon that the queen-dowager tempted them to engage in the French interest : but that not prevailing, they were declared traitors. The rest of the nobility being alarmed at this, the queen-dowager brought out her French garrisons, and disposed of their estates, and entered into St. John's Town in a warlike manner : she changed the magistrates, and left a garrison in the town. The whole nation was alarmed at this, and were coming together in great numbers. But she not having force enough to conquer the nation, sent for the duke and the earl of Huntley, and employed them to quiet the country, promising that everything should be redressed in a parliament that should be held next spring, with many other more particular promises : upon this assurance, these lords quieted the country : while this was a doing, the duke's eldest son being then in France, was sent for to court, but he had secret advertisements sent him, that it was resolved to proceed against him to the utmost extremity for heresy ; upon which he kept out of the way till an order was sent to bring him in dead or alive : upon that he made his escape ; but they seized on a younger brother of his, of the age of fifteen, and put him in prison.

"In Scotland the nobility had separated themselves, trusting to the faith that the duke had given them, that all things should be kept quiet till the parliament. But some companies coming out of France to Leith, the queen-dowager ordered that town to be fortified, and put twenty-two ensigns of foot with one troop of horse in it. The nobility upon that charged the duke with breach of faith, who could do no more but press the queen to forbear to give such cause of jealousy ; but all was to no purpose. The town was fortified ; all the ammunition she had was carried into it, and the French continued still to be sending over more forces. The duke, with the nobility, represented to the queen-dowager, that it was now plain she designed a conquest : but she despised all their requests, for by this time the French thought they were so strong, that they reckoned it would be a short work to subdue Scotland. There were but two or three mean lords, Bothwell and Seaton, that kept company with the queen-dowager ; yet even these signified to their friends, that their hearts were with their countrymen : upon all this, the duke, with the rest of the nobility, and with the barons and burgesses of the realm, seeing an imminent danger to the

whole nation, and no hope of remedy at her hands, began deeply to consider the state of the kingdom: their sovereign lady was married to a strange prince out of the realm, and wholly in the hands of Frenchmen, without any council of her own natural people; and they considered the mortality of her husband, or of herself without issue. The queen-dowager, sister to the house that ruled all in France, persisted in ruining the liberties of her daughter the queen's subjects, on design to knit that kingdom for ever to France; and so to execute the old malice of the French on the crown of England, of which they had already assumed the title.

"They upon all these grounds were constrained to constitute a council for the government of the kingdom, and for the use of their sovereign, to whom they had signified the suspension of the queen-dowager's authority; maintaining that being sore oppressed with French power, they had, as natural subjects, sufficient strength for that; though they are not able to stand against the power of France, but partly for the right of their sovereign; and partly for the ancient rights of the crown, they have been forced to spend their whole substance; yet they cannot longer preserve themselves from being conquered by the power sent over from France; a greater force being promised to be sent next spring. They therefore lay the whole matter before the queen of England's ministers then upon their borders; and commit their cause to her protection; desiring nothing but that their country may be preserved from France, together with the rights of their sovereign and of the whole nation."

To this they add a petition, "That the numbers of French soldiers then within the kingdom might be removed speedily; that so they might live quietly, and be suffered to offer to the king and queen such articles as were necessary for the peace and good government of the kingdom, without alteration of their ancient liberties:" this was signed by the earl of Arran, as he was then called, but that was his father's title; for he had no higher title in Scotland: the son therefore signed James Hamilton. It was also signed by the earls of Argyle and Glencairn; by lord James, afterwards created earl of Murray; and by the lords Boyd, Ochiltre, Maxwell, and Ruthven; and by a son of the earl of Huntley's; and a son of the earl of Athol's; both these families being at that time papists. And thus by the tenor of this whole paper, it appears that religion was not pretended to be the cause of the war.

Upon the suspending the authority of the queen-regent, I will here add a particular reflection, which will show what archbishop Spottiswood's sense was when he first wrote his history of that transaction. He gives an account of the opinion that Willock and Knox delivered when they were called and required to give it, which they did in favour of that suspension: for which he censures the opinion itself in these words:—"Howbeit the power of the magistrate be limited, and their office prescribed by God, and that they may likewise fall into great offences; yet it is nowhere permitted to subjects to call their princes in question, or to make insurrection against them. God having reserved the punishment of princes to himself." Yet in a fair manuscript of that history, written with great care, as for the press, this whole period was first penned quite in another strain; "allowing the states of the kingdom a right to restrain their prince when he breaks through rules; only censuring clergymen's meddling in those matters." This is scored through, but so that it is still legible, and Spottiswood interlined with his own hand the alteration; according to which his book was printed. This manuscript belonged to me, and forty-two years ago, I presented it to the duke of Lauderdale, and showed him that passage, on which he made great reflection. I cannot find out in whose hands that manuscript is fallen; but whosoever has it, will, I hope, justify me in this particular; for though I am not sure as to the words, yet I am very sure they are to this purpose*.

* The bishop at the end of his third volume appended the following notice respecting this manuscript:—"I have laid out by all the methods I could think on, for that MS. of archbishop Spottiswood's History, that I mention p. 285 [orig. ed.]. I once thought I had found it; for I fell on one copy that had belonged to the late duke of Lauderdale: but it was not that which had be-

longed to me: yet by that I see, that the archbishop came gradually, and not all at once, out of his first opinion. For in this MS. there is a material difference in the correction that is in the archbishop's own hand, from the first draught. The draught is 'that princes may commit offences deserving deprivation,' but the correction is, 'that they may fall into great offences,' without any more. A

When this representation and petition was brought to the queen, Cecil drew up a state of the matter, which will be found in the Collection; putting this as the question, Collection, "Whether it was meet that England should help Scotland to expel the French Number 54. or not?" for the negative "he says, it was against God's law, to aid any subjects against their natural prince or their ministers: it was also dangerous to do it: for an aid secretly given would be to no purpose; and an aid publicly given would draw on a war: and in that case the French would come to any composition with the Scots to join with them against England: since they will consent to anything, rather than suffer Scotland to be united to the crown of England: he adds, it may also be apprehended that the emperor, the king of Spain, the pope, and the duke of Savoy, with the potentates of Italy, will join with the French king, rather than suffer these two kingdoms to be joined in one manner of religion; and many within both kingdoms will not approve of this. But in opposition to all this, he concludes for assisting the Scots.

"He lays it down for a principle, that it is agreeable to the laws of God and of Nature, that every prince and state should defend itself, not only from perils that are seen, but from those that may probably come after: to which he adds, that nature and reason teach every person politic, or other, to use the same manner of defence, that the adversary useth of offence. Upon these grounds he concludes that England might, and ought to assist the Scots to keep out the French: and so earnest was that great statesman in this matter, that he prosecutes it very copiously.

"His first reason is that which the Scots would never admit, but he might think it proper to offer it to an English council; 'that the crown of England had a superiority over Scotland, such as the emperor had over Bohemia or Milan. He next shows that England must be in great danger from the French, if they became the absolute masters of Scotland. Upon this he runs out to show that the French had been long enemies to England; that they had been false and double in all their treaties with them these seven hundred years: and that the last peace was forced from them by their poverty. That France could not be poor above two years; nor could it be long without a war; beside the hatred that the house of Guise, who then governed the French councils, bore to England. They call in question the queen's title, and set up their own against it; and at the treaty of Cambray they set that pretension on foot; but it was then stopped by the wisdom of the constable; yet they used means at Rome to get the queen to be declared illegitimate: upon which the bull was brought into France: and at the solemnities, in which the king was killed, the arms of England and Ireland were joined with the queen of Scots' arms. The present embroilment in Scotland is the stop that now restrains them from carrying these pretensions further: but as soon as they can, they will certainly set them on foot: and the assaulting England by the way of Scotland is so easy, that it is not possible to avoid it but by stopping the progress of that conquest. A war by the way of Scotland puts France in no danger, though it should miscarry; but England is in the utmost danger if it should succeed. He concludes that as the matter was of the last importance, so no time was to be lost; since the prejudice, if too long delayed, would be irrecoverable.'"

What further steps were made in the secret debating of this point, does not appear to me but by the conclusion of the matter; for the queen sent forces, under the command of the duke of Norfolk, to the borders of Scotland. What followed upon that is set out fully in the common historians, and from them in my former work.

But a copy of the bond of association, into which the lords and others in Scotland entered (the original of which still remains in the possession of the duchess of Hamilton), will set out Col.Num.55. more particularly the grounds that they went on. It is in the Collection; and it sets forth, "that they promised faithfully, and in the presence of God, that

little after he had written, 'whatsoever may be thought of this opinion'; which imports some doubt concerning it: these words are struck out, but so that they are still legible. A little after that the MS. has it, 'that by an act of council, all the errors committed by the queen-regent were reckoned up.' This is softened by these words inserted after 'errors';—'alleged to have been

committed.' Thus it appears that the archbishop's first notions had carried him to write in a style that wanted great correction, as his thoughts grew into a better digestion, or as his interests carried him to see things in a different light from that in which they had at first appeared to him."

they would, to the utmost of their power, set forward the reformation of religion, according to God's word, that the true preaching of it might have a free passage through the whole kingdom, together with the administration of the sacraments. And that they, considering the misbehaviour of the French among them, and the intolerable oppression of the poor by their soldiers, maintained by the queen dowager under colour of authority, together with the tyranny of their captains, and the manifest danger of becoming their conquest, to which they were then reduced by fortifications on the sea-coast, and other attempts, do promise to join with the queen of England's army, then come in to their assistance, for driving out those their oppressors, and for recovering their ancient liberty; that so they may be ruled by the laws and customs of their country, and by the natives of the kingdom under the obedience of the king and queen their sovereign. And they promise, that they shall hold no private intelligence with their enemies but by the advice of the rest, or at the least of five of their number. And that they shall prosecute this cause as if it were the cause of every one of them in particular, and hold all who withstand it as their enemies; and that they will prosecute them as such, according to the orders of the council, to whom they refer the direction of the whole matter, promising in all things to submit to their arbitration."

This was first subscribed at Edinburgh on the 27th of April, in the year 1560; and is signed by the duke of Chatelherault, the earls of Arran, Huntley, Argyle, Morton, and some others, whose hands are not legible; and by the lords Salton, Ruthven, Boyd, Ogilby, Ochiltre; the abbot of Kinloss; and the commendator of Kilwinning. About one hundred and forty more subscribed it. This was the bond that was signed by those who were at that time at Edinburgh: and it is probable that many other bonds of the same nature were signed about the same time in other parts of the kingdom; but they have not been so carefully preserved as this has been. The earl of Huntley, though he continued still a papist, signing it, shows that either the ill usage he had met with from the queen dowager had shaken him in his religion, or that provocation and interests were then stronger in him than his principles. But I leave my conjectures, to go on with the history.

On the 2nd of November, Jewel, being returned from the circuit which he was ordered to make, wrote (in a letter to Peter Martyr, to be found in the Collection), "that the people were much better disposed to the gospel than it was apprehended they could be." But he adds, "that superstition had made a most extraordinary progress in queen Mary's short reign. The people were made believe they had, in many places, pieces of the true cross, and of the nails, with which Christ was crucified; so that the cathedral churches were dens of robbers; and none were more violent and obstinate than those who had been before of their body; as if by that they would justify their falling off from them. They had turned them all out. Harding went away, and would not change again: Smith, who had been a violent opposer of Peter Martyr in Oxford, fled towards Scotland, but was taken on the borders and brought back, and had abjured a fifth time, and was then become a violent enemy to the papists." In another letter he tells him, "Smith was married; and that being hated and despised by all sides, he was forced to keep a public house." Jewel wrote, "that if they had more hands, matters would go well; but it was hard to make a cart go without horses. He was glad to hear Peter Martyr was sent for; but he owns he had his fears still, that, though things were begun well, they would not end so well. He adds, 'we are islanders in all respects.' Oxford wanted him extremely. The queen was then courted both by the king of Sweden and by Charles of Austria." It was then given out that Sweden was full of mines of gold, and only wanted skill and industry to work them. But he writes, "perhaps the queen meant to marry one nearer at hand:" (he gives no other hint in that letter, to let it be understood of whom he meant; probably it was Pickering, as appears in another letter). He concludes, "that though religion did make a quick progress in Scotland, yet that the French did not despair of bringing that kingdom back to their obedience, and of restoring their religion in it."

On the same day he wrote to Simler, who had congratulated him upon the news they had of his being to be promoted to a bishopric. He wrote, "that there was yet

nothing but a nomination of him." He adds, "we hope our bishops shall be pastors, labourers, and watchmen; and that they may be better fitted for this, the great riches of bishoprics are to be diminished, and to be reduced to a certain mediocrity: that so being delivered from that king-like pomp, and the noisiness of a courtly family, they may live in greater tranquillity, and may have more leisure to take care of Christ's flock with due attention."

On the 5th of November, he wrote, "that he found debates raised concerning the vestments, which he calls the habit of the stage, and wishes they could be freed from it. He says, they were not wanting to so good a cause; but others seemed to love those things, and to follow the ignorance of some priests, who were stupid as logs of wood, having neither spirit, learning, nor good life to commend them; but studied to recommend themselves by that comical habit, while no care was taken of learning, or of breeding up of youth. They hoped to strike the eyes of the people with those ridiculous trifles: these are the relics of the Amorites; that cannot be denied. He wishes that, at some time or other, all these may be taken away, and extirpated to the very deepest roots. He complains of a feebleness in the councils: they still talked of bringing Martyr over; but he feared that we looked too much toward Saxony to expect that. Some among them, he says, were so much set on the matter of the habits, as if the Christian religion consisted in garments. But we (says he) are not called to the consultations concerning that scenical apparel: he could set no value on those fopperies. Some were crying up a golden mediocrity; he was afraid it would prove a leaden one."

On the 16th of November, he wrote, in a letter to be found in the Collection, "that the doctrine was everywhere purely preached. There was in many places too much folly, concerning ceremonies and masks. The crucifix continued still in the queen's chapel: they all spake freely against it, but, till then, without effect. There was a secret piece of worldly policy in this which he did not like. He complains of the uncertain and island-like state of their affairs: all was loose at present. He did not see in what they would settle; and did not know but he should be obliged to return back to Zurich again."

In December and January the consecration of the bishops came on. But here a stop lies in my way: for some months the thread of the letters to Zurich, by which I have been hitherto guided, is discontinued. At this time an ambassador came over from Ferdinand the emperor, with letters dated the 11th of February, 1560, proposing a match between his son, archduke Charles, and the queen. He had writ of it to her before, but thought fit to follow these letters with a formal embassy: the originals are yet extant. The queen wrote an answer in form, and signed it; but it seems that was, on some considerations, not thought fit to be sent, for the original is in the Paper-Office. It will be found in the Collection.

The queen wrote, "that, examining her own sentiments in that matter very carefully, she did not perceive any inclination to change her solitary life, but found herself more fixed to continue still in it. She hoped the emperor would favourably receive and rightly understand what she wrote to him. It might, indeed, seem strange, considering her age and her circumstances; but this was no new resolution, nor taken up on the sudden, but was the adhering to an old settled purpose. There had been a time in which her accepting some honourable propositions might have delivered her out of very great dangers and troubles; on which she would make no other reflections, but that neither the fear of danger, nor the desire of liberty, could then move her to bring her mind to hearken to them. She will not, by a plain refusal, seem to offend him; yet she cannot give occasion, by any of her words, to make him think that she accepts of that to which she cannot bring her mind and will." Dated the 5th of January, 1559. Signed, "Your majesty's good sister and cousin, Elizabeth." Countersigned, "Rog. Ascham."

The first letter of Jewel's, after his consecration, is on the 4th of February, 1560: it is in

the Collection. He tells Peter Martyr "they were then engaged in the question about the lawfulness of having images in churches," (which he calls *lis crucularia*). "It could scarce be believed to what a degree of folly some men, who were thought to have a right judgment of things, were carried in that matter. There was not one of all those whom he knew that was drawn to be of that mind besides Cox. There was to be a conference concerning it the day following. Parker and Cox, on the one hand, and Grindal and he, on the other hand, were to debate it in the hearing of some of the council. He could not but laugh within himself when he thought what grave and solid reasonings would be brought out on this occasion. He was told, that it was resolved on to have crucifixes of silver or tin set up in all churches, and that such as would not obey this would be turned out of their bishoprics. If that was true, he would be no longer a bishop." White, bishop of Winchester, Oglethorp, of Carlisle, Bain, of Coventry and Litchfield, and Tonstal, of Durham, were lately dead. In another, he writes, "that Bonner was sent to the Tower; and that he went to see some criminals that were kept there, and called them his friends and neighbours: but one of them answered, 'Go, you beast, into hell, and find your friends there, for we are none of them! I killed but one man upon a provocation, and do truly repent of it; but you have killed many holy persons, of all sorts, without any provocation from them, and are hardened in your impenitence.'"

On the 5th of March, he writes, "that a change appeared now more visibly among the people. Nothing promoted it more than the inviting the people to sing psalms. That was begun in one church in London, and did quickly spread itself not only through that city, but in the neighbouring places: sometimes at Paul's Cross there will be six thousand people singing together. This was very grievous to the papists. The children began to laugh at the priests as they passed in the streets, and the bishops were called hangmen to their faces. It was said White died of rage. He commends Cecil much."

Sands, bishop of Worcester, wrote, in a letter on the 1st of April, 1560, which will be found in the Collection, "that after he returned from executing the injunctions and preaching in the North, he was pressed to accept of the bishopric of Worcester. He saw, if he absolutely refused it, the queen would have been highly offended. He found it more truly a burden than an honour. The doctrine of the sacrament was pure, to which he and his brethren were resolved to adhere firmly as long as they lived. There was yet a question concerning images: the queen thought that was not contrary to the word of God; and it seemed convenient to have a crucifix, with the Blessed Virgin, and Saint John, still in her chapel. Some of them could not bear this. 'We had,' says he, 'according to our injunctions, taken away all the images that we found in churches, and burned them. We see superstitious people plainly worship this idol.' Upon this he had spoken freely to the queen: with that she was so displeased as to threaten to deprive him. She was since that time more softened, and the images were removed. But the popish vestments were still used; yet he hoped that should not last long. He laments much that Peter Martyr was not sent for. It was easy to guess what it was that hindered it; it was the pretence of unity that gave occasion to the greatest divisions."

Parkhurst came into England in the end of the year 1559. He went to his church of Cleve, in Gloucestershire, and kept out of the way of the court. He writes, that many bishops would be glad to change conditions with him. He heard he had been named to a bishopric, but he had dealt earnestly with some great men to spare him in that. When he came through London, both Parker and a privy-councillor had pressed him to accept of one, but he could not resolve on being miserable.

Sampson had been with the other divines at Zurich, and was reckoned by them both a learned and a pious man. While he was coming to England with the rest, he was informed that a bishopric was designed for him; so he wrote, while he was on his journey, to Peter Martyr for his advice, as will be found in the Collection, "in this, whether it was lawful to swear to the queen as supreme head of the church under Christ. He thought Christ was the sole head of the church, and

Col. Num. 60.
A Conference
concerning
the Queen's
Crucifix.

The zeal
in singing
Psalms.

Col. Num. 61.
Sands, Bishop
of Worcester,
much offend-
ed at the
Image in the
Queen's Cha-
pel.

Sampson's
exceptions at
his being made
a Bishop.
Col. Num. 62.

no such expression of an inferior head was found in the Scripture. He thought, likewise, that the want of discipline made that a bishop could not do his duty. Many temporal pressures lay upon bishops, such as first-fruits and tenths, beside the expense of their equipage and attendance at court; so that little was left for the breeding up of youth, for the relief of the poor, and other more necessary occasions to make their ministry acceptable. The whole method of electing bishops was totally different from the primitive institution: the consent either of the clergy or people was not so much as asked: their superstitious dress seemed likewise unbecoming. He wrote all this only to him,—not that he expected that a bishopric should be offered him,—he prayed God that it might never happen. He was resolved to apply himself to preach, but to avoid having any share in the government till he saw a full reformation made in all ecclesiastical functions, both as to doctrine and discipline, and with relation to the goods of the church. He desires his answer as soon as was possible."

Peter Martyr answered his letter on the 1st of November; but what it was can only be gathered from Sampson's reply to it. He received it on the 3rd of January, and answered it on the 6th, 1560. It is in the Collection. "They were then under sad apprehensions, for which he desires their prayers in a very solemn manner. They were afraid lest the truth of religion should either be overturned or very much darkened in England. The bishops of Canterbury, London, Ely, and Worcester, were consecrated; Pilkington was designed for Winchester; Bentham, for Coventry and Litchfield; and Peter Martyr's Jewel, for Salisbury.

"Things still stuck with him; he could neither have ingress nor egress. God knew how glad he would be to find an egress; let others be bishops, he desired only to be a preacher, but no bishop. There was yet a general prohibition of all preaching; and there was a crucifix on the altar still at court, with lights burning before it; and though, by the queen's order, images were removed out of churches all the kingdom over, yet the people rejoiced to see this was still kept in the queen's chapel. Three bishops officiated at this altar; one as priest, another as deacon, and a third as sub-deacon, all before this idol, in rich copes; and there was a sacrament without any sermon. He adds, that injunctions were sent to preachers not to use freedom in the reproof of vice; so he asks what both Martyr, Bullinger, and Bernardin thought of this: whether they looked on it as a thing indifferent, and what they would advise him to do, if injunctions should be sent out requiring the like to be done in all churches; whether they ought to be obeyed, or, if the clergy ought not to suffer deprivation rather than obey? Some among themselves thought that all this was indifferent, and so might be obeyed. He understood that the queen had a great regard to Bernardin Ochino; so he desires that he would write to her, to carry on the work of God diligently. He solemnly assures them, that she was truly a child of God; but princes had not so many friends to their souls as they had to their other concerns. He wishes they would all write to her, for she understood both Italian, Latin, and Greek well; so they might write in any language to her; but if they wrote, they must write as of their own motion, and not as if any complaints had been writ over to them."

On the 13th of May he wrote again, that "a bishopric had been offered to him, but that he had refused it; and he desires Peter Martyr, to whom he wrote, not to censure this till he knew the whole state of the matter. But he rejoices that Parkhurst was made bishop of Norwich;" and, by his letter, it seems Norwich was the bishopric that was offered to him. Parkhurst wrote, soon after his promotion, to Martyr, and assured him there was no danger of setting up Lutheranism in England; only he writes, "we are fighting about ceremonies, vestments, and matters of no moment."

Jewel wrote to Peter Martyr on the 22nd of May, "That the church of Salisbury was so struck with thunder, that there was a clift all down for sixty foot: he was not got thither, so he could not tell whether foolish people made judgments upon this, with relation to him, or not. He writes that Bonner, Feckenham, Pole, Scory, and Watson, were all put in prison for railing at the changes that were made. The queen expressed great firmness and courage in maintaining the establishment she had made in matters of religion. He tells him that not only Cecil and Knolls desired to be remembered to him, but Petre likewise, which, perhaps, he did not look for."

On the 17th of July he writes to him, "That there was a peace made in Scotland, and that the French were sent away. Scotland was to be governed by a council of twelve persons; only all greater matters were to be referred to a parliament. A Peace made in Scotland.

He writes that the duke of Holstein was come over to see the queen, and was nobly treated by her, and made a knight of the garter: the king of Sweden's coming over was still talked of." After Jewel had been some time in his diocese, he wrote to Gualter, on the 2nd of November 1560, "That he now felt what a load government was to him who had led his life in the shade and at study: and had never turned his thoughts to government; but he would make up in his diligence what might be otherwise wanting: the opposition he met with from the rage of the papists was incredible."

On the 6th of November he wrote that May, dean of Saint Paul's, who was designed to be archbishop of York, was dead: it does not appear on what views that see was so long kept void after the rest were filled. Parker was much troubled at this, and wrote very earnestly about it to Cecil. The letter will be found in the Collection. There were great complaints in the north: the people there were offended to see no more care had of them; and for want of instruction they were become rude: this was like to have an ill influence on the quiet and order of the country. It was perhaps so long delayed for the advantage the queen's exchequer made by the vacancy: but if, for want of good instruction, the people should grow savage like the Irish, it might run to a far greater charge to reduce them. Why should any person hinder the queen's zeal to have her people taught to know and to fear God. If those hitherto named for the north were not liked, or not willing to go thither, he proposed that some of those already placed might be removed thither. And he named Young, bishop of St. David's, for York, and the bishop of Rochester, Guest, for Durham: and if any suspicions were had of any of their practising to the prejudice of their successors, there were precedents used in former times to take bishops bound to leave their churches in no worse case than they found them: he had pressed them formerly with relation to those vacant sees: he saw the matter was still delayed: he would never give over his importunity till the thing was done, which he hoped he would instantly promote, out of the zeal he bore to souls so dear to Christ."

Collection, Number 64. Parker's care in the Northern Sees.

This he wrote on the 16th of October, so it does not appear if the design for May was then so well fixed as Jewel apprehended. The hint in this letter of the practices of bishops was occasioned by the ruinous leases that the popish bishops had made; for seeing the change that was designed, they had by the law at that time so absolute a power over their estates, having no restraints laid on them but those of their canons, that their leases, how mischievous soever to their successors, were good in law. The new bishops in many places had scarce necessary subsistence or houses left them, and were to be supported by dignities given them *in commendam*: and it was perhaps suggested, that they, to procure a little better subsistence to themselves, might be prevailed on to prolong or confirm such leases.

The Popish Bishops made great Alienations.

The archbishop's importunity had its effect: for in February thereafter, Young was removed to York, and Pilkington, a learned and zealous man, was made bishop of Durham. And thus the sees of England were filled. Jewel, in a letter soon after to Peter Martyr, in February 1560, which will be found in the Collection, "Wishes that all the remnants of former errors, with all the rubbish, and even the dust that might yet remain, might be taken away: he wishes they could have obtained it." It seems by this, that their wishes had not prevailed. "The council of Trent was then to be opened again, but the queen was resolved to take no notice of it." He gives an account of his Apology that was then set out. This has been so often printed, and is so well known, that it is not necessary to enlarge more upon it: as it was one of the first books published in this reign, so it was written with that strength and clearness, that it, together with the defence of it, is still to this day reckoned one of our best books. In that letter he writes of the countess of Lenox, the mother to the lord Darnley, "that she was a more violent papist than even queen Mary herself. Her son was gone to Scotland, and it was believed he might marry the queen of

See more of this in the Annals of the Reformation, chap. 12.

Collection, Number 65. Jewel's Apology published.

Scotland: the earl of Hartford had a son by the lady Catharine Gray; some called him a bastard, but others affirmed that they were married. If that was true, then according to king Henry's will, he must be the heir of the crown. But he adds, 'Ah! unhappy we, that cannot know under what prince we are to live.' He complains that schools are forsaken, and that they were under a great want of preachers. The few they had were every where well received." He writes in another letter, that "in queen Mary's time, for want of good instruction, the Anabaptists and Arians did much increase; but now they disappeared everywhere."

The popish clergy, when they saw no appearance of any new change, did generally comply with the laws then made, but in so untoward a manner, that they made it very visible that what they did was against both their heart and their conscience. This put the bishops on receiving many into orders, that were not thoroughly well qualified, which exposed them to much censure. They thought that in that necessity, men of good hearts, that loved the gospel, though not so learned as might be wished for, were to be brought into the service of the church: but pains were taken, and methods were laid down, to breed up a more knowing race of men as soon as was possible.

I turn now to show how the affairs of religion went on, particularly with relation to Scotland, of which mention was made in some of Jewel's letters.

But before I open this, I will give an account of two instruments sent me from Scotland, that came not to my hands, but since the pages 280 and 281 * were printed off; Collection, yet they are so important, that as I have put them in the Collection, so I will Number 66. give a short account of them here. On the 19th of April, fifteen days after the queen of Scotland had passed that secret fraudulent protestation, formerly mentioned, when the articles of the marriage were mutually signed, it was not only provided that the crown of Scotland, in case she should die without children, should descend to the duke of Chatelherault and his heirs; the instrument itself being published in the French Collection; but the dauphin did, on the same day, set his seal to a charter still preserved at Hamilton, setting forth the faith and engagements that the king his father had formerly made, to secure to the earl of Arran the succession to the crown of Scotland, in case the queen should die without children; to which he promises he will pay all obedience. He confirms and ratifies that promise for himself and his successors; promising in good faith (*bonâ fide*), that in that case, he will not only suffer that lord to enjoy that crown, but that he will assist and maintain him in it.

The promise made by his father, king Henry, to which this refers, bears date the 17th day of June, anno 1549, and was sent over to Scotland, in order to the getting of queen Mary to be sent to France. By it the king promised, on the word of a king, that in case the queen should die without children, he would assist the earl of Arran in the succession to the crown against all that should oppose him. These instruments I have put in the Collection, as lasting memorials of the fidelity and sincerity of that court, to give a just precaution to posterity in future ages; by which it will appear, how little contracts, promises, and public stipulations are to be depended on: where a secret protestation, lodged in a clandestine manner, is set up to make all this void; which, I hope, will not be soon forgotten or neglected.

But to return from this digression, which, though a little out of its place, seemed too important to be omitted.

The distraction that France was in, made it not easy to them to carry on the war of Scotland, by reason of the charge, that the sending forces to so great a distance put them to: whereas it was but a short march to the English, to go to the assistance of the lords of Scotland; so they were willing to make up matters the best they could by treaty. Commissioners were appointed to treat on both sides. In the mean while the queen-regent of Scotland died: so Cecil and Wotton, who were employed by the queen in that treaty, apprehending the French might, upon this emergent, study to gain more time, wrote to the queen for positive orders.

A letter was written to them on the 15th of June, signed by five privy-councillors;

The French grew weary of carrying on the War in Scotland.

which is in the Collection, taken from the original. By it it appears, that this treaty was then a secret, which they saw must soon break out; so the persons employed in Scotland, advised the acquainting king Philip with it, because they looked on it as brought very near a total agreement. To this the queen's council agreed. Those in Scotland apprehended, that perhaps the French would, upon the regent's death, go away and leave the kingdom, without coming to any agreement. If they should do so, they did order them to advise with the duke of Norfolk and the lords of Scotland in league with them, how the French may be forthwith expelled the kingdom without any loss of time. For by all the advertisements they had, they understood that the French intended to gain time as much as was possible. If the French desired to have some of their colleagues in the town, to assist them in managing the treaty, that was by no means to be granted: but if they desired the assistance of such Scottish men as were of their faction, and if their friends in Scotland consented to it, that seemed reasonable. The rest of the letter relates to one Parrys an Irishman.

The treaty, by reason of the weakness of the French force, was soon brought to a conclusion. The French were to be sent away in three weeks. An assembly of the states was to meet, and to settle the affairs of the kingdom: it was to be governed by a council of twelve persons, of whom the king and queen were to name seven, and the states to choose five: and by these, all affairs were to be governed, they being made accountable to the parliament. The last article was, "that the king and queen should not use the title or arms of England and Ireland any more."

When matters were brought to a settlement in Scotland, the Scots sent up the earls of Morton and Glencairn to the queen. Their message will best appear from the Collection, instructions which will be found in the Collection, copied from the original, that is still preserved, and in the possession of the duchess of Hamilton: by which "the estates of parliament, considering how the two kingdoms lay joined together; and reflecting on the inconveniences that they and their ancestors had suffered by continual wars, and on the advantages of a perpetual friendship between them; therefore they did order a proposition of marriage to be made to the queen of England with the earl of Arran, who, after his father, in default of succession of the queen's body, was the next heir of the crown of Scotland. And they resolved that an embassy should be appointed to make the proposition in the honourablest manner that could be devised. They also order thanks to be given to the queen for the good-will she has on all occasions expressed for their kingdom; which she had particularly declared of late by the support she had given them for their relief; by the means of which they enjoyed their present quiet. And they were also ordered to move the queen to send strict commands to her wardens and other officers on the borders, to suppress all broken men, and to restrain all thefts." These instructions were appointed to be sealed and subscribed by six of every estate; and that was to be held as valid as if all the estates had sealed and subscribed them.

This order of parliament is signed by the archbishop of St. Andrew's, the bishops of Dunkeld, Galloway, Dumblane, Argyle, and the elect bishop of the Isles: and by as many abbots and priors; the prior of St. Andrew's, afterwards earl of Murray; the abbot of Arbroath, afterwards marquis of Hamilton; the abbots of Newbottle and Culross; the commendator of Kilwinning, and the prior of Lochleven. So many of the ecclesiastical state of both ranks concurring, shows, that they rejoiced in the deliverance that they had from the servitude under which the French had almost brought them.

These instructions are also signed by the duke of Chatelherault, who subscribed only James; and by the earls of Argyle, Athol, Morton, Crawford, and Sutherland; and by the lords Erskine, Gordon, Salton, Hay, Ochiltre, Innesmeth, Boyd, Lindsay, Gray, and some others, whose names cannot be read; and by eight provosts of boroughs. But no seals are in this noble instrument; so probably it was an authentic duplicate that was deposited in that family, to remain as an undoubted proof of the right of succeeding to the crown of Scotland, if the queen had left no issue of her own body.

To this an answer was given, which I have put in the Collection, from the draught of it in

Cecil's hand. "The queen received the hearty thanks that the three estates sent her very kindly; and was glad the assistance she had given then was so well accepted Collection, Number 69. by them. She was so well satisfied with the effects it had, that if the like The Queen of cause should happen, in which they might need aid from her, she assures them England's it shall not be wanting. The queen did perceive the difference between the Answer to it. benefits bestowed by her father on many of the nobility of that nation, which were supposed to be to the prejudice of the kingdom, and so had not the success expected, and those they had received from her, which were directed to the safety of the realm: so the diversity in the bestowing them, had made this diversity in the acceptance of them.

"She received that proposition of marriage as a mark of the good intention of the estates for knitting the kingdoms in amity; in offering to her the best and choicest person that they had, though not without danger of the displeasure of the French king. But the queen was not disposed presently to marry; though the necessity of the kingdom might, perhaps, constrain her afterwards to it. Yet she desired that the earl of Arran might not forbear to marry on her account: but that the amity between the two kingdoms might remain firm; since it was so necessary to their preservation, though no marriage were made upon it. The queen had heard a very good report of the earl of Arran, and thought him a noble gentleman of great worth, and did not doubt but he would prove to be such. In the last place, the queen desired the states would reflect on former practices among them, and would continue in a good agreement among themselves, and not fall into factions. And she concluded with a promise, that on her part, no reasonable thing should be neglected that might tend to the common defence of both the realms, against the common enemy."

Things went on pursuant to this treaty, to which it was not thought the French would The death of have any regard when their affairs should be in a better condition. The appre- Francis the hensions of that were soon at an end. In December 1560, the union which that Second. kingdom had with France was totally broke by the death of Francis the Second; so that Mary, queen of Scotland, had nothing left but her own strength to depend upon. The treaty of Leith being in all other points executed, the queen ordered both Throckmorton, her ordinary, ambassador in France, and the earl of Bedford, whom she had sent over extraordinary, to demand queen Mary's ratification of that treaty; which I shall open more particularly, because upon this occasion that jealousy was raised between the two queens, that ended so fatally to the one. The queen of Scots used many shifts to excuse her not doing it.

In a letter of Throckmorton's of the 16th of April, which is in the Collection, he tells the queen, "That having pressed the queen of Scots to it, she said she had not Collection, Number 70. her council about her, particularly the cardinal of Lorraine, her uncle, by whom she was advised in all her affairs: nor had she heard from her council in Scotland. She promised, that when she heard from them, and had advised with her council about her, she would give an answer that should satisfy the queen. But her natural brother, the lord James, being come over to her, the queen had commanded Throckmorton to demand again the confirmation of the treaty. Upon which the ambassador sent a gentleman to know her pleasure, when he should wait on her, to receive it from her hand. This, as he wrote to her, was desired by the queen, as a mean to make them live hereafter in all love, peace, and amity together. And nothing could so demonstrate that queen's intention to entertain this, as the establishing that knot of friendship between them, for both their quiet and comfort, which was at that time the only refuge of them both." Of this he sent the queen, his mistress, a copy.

On the 1st of May, Mr. Somer, whom the ambassador had sent to Nancy, where the queen of Scotland was at that time, came back with her answer, which is in the Collection, Number 71. Collection; it being the only original paper that ever I saw in her hand. Dated from Nancy, the 22nd of April 1561.

She writes, "she was then leaving that place, so she could give no answer till she came to Rhoims, where she intended to be at the king's coronation: and she says that lord James was only come to do his duty about her as his sovereign lady, without any charge or commission whatsoever." This Throckmorton sent to the queen, together with a letter from the cardinal of Lorraine to the same purpose, which he The Queen of Scotland did not ratify the Peace.

also sent her in a letter, which will be found in the Collection; in which he writes, “that though Col.Num.72. Somer had used the best means he could to put the Scottish queen in mind of the promise she had made to the earl of Bedford and to Throckmorton himself, yet he could get no other answer from her.” The ambassador was ordered by the queen not to be present at the coronation, so he did not know when or where he should see her; for it was said she did not intend for some time to come into the neighbourhood of Paris: he therefore proposed to the queen to send a letter of credit by Mr. Somer to that queen; and with it to order him to go and demand her answer. By that queen’s discourse with lord James, it seemed she did not intend to give a plain answer, but still to shift it off; but he thought the queen insisting on it by a person sent express to stay for an answer, she would be able to judge from thence what measures she ought to take. The queen of Scotland had said to the ambassador, that she intended to give lord James a commission, with a charge to look to the affairs of Scotland during her absence, and he, when he took leave of her, left one to bring that after him; but that person was come with letters from that queen, but with no commission; and he understood by him that she had changed her mind, and would give no such commission till she should come to Scotland herself; nor would she dispose of anything till then. This was easily seen to be on design to let all people understand on what terms they might expect benefices, grants, or other favours from her.

The true reason why she would not employ lord James was, because she found she could not draw him from his devotion to the queen; nor from his resolution to observe the late treaty and league between England and Scotland: and it is added, that the cardinal of Lorrain saw he could not draw him from his religion, though he used great persuasions to prevail on him. Upon these accounts the ambassador wrote over, “That he saw he might be much depended on: so he advises the queen to consider him as one that may serve her good purpose, and to use him liberally and honourably. He had made great acknowledgments of the good reception he met with as he came through London; so he on many accounts deserved to be both well used and much trusted. The queen of Scotland had many great expectations from the popish party, and from the earl of Huntley in particular. He gives in that letter an account of a great tumult that had then happened at Paris, upon occasion of an assembly of protestants for worship in a private house in the suburbs. The rabble met about the house, threatening violence, upon which those within, seeing persuasions had no effect, fired and killed seven or eight of them. The court of parliament sent an order to suppress the tumult, and disperse the multitude. This was plainly contrary to the edict lately made: but the ambassador apprehended that greater disorders would follow.” And

The Duke of Guise studied to divert the Queen from assisting the Prince of Condé;

Collection, Number 73.

that I may end all this matter at once, I find in a letter of Jewel’s, that is in the Collection, that the duke of Guise sent to the princes of Germany to divert them from assisting the prince of Condé, assuring them that he himself was very moderate in the points of religion, and had very favourable thoughts of the Augsburg Confession: he studied also to persuade the queen that the war which was then breaking out in France was not for religion, but was a conspiracy against the government; which he hoped she as queen would not assist. At the same time the queen of Scotland sent the queen a present of a diamond of value, with some very fine verses made by Buchanan, then in her court. She also in her letters vowed a perpetual friendship with her, and wrote that she would pass through England. Yet the queen saw through all this, and was not diverted by it from assisting the prince of Condé. Upon this the duke of Guise did openly charge all the disorders in France on her as the principal author of them: by this the mask was thrown away, and these jealousies broke out into an open war. Jewel wishes the queen had begun it sooner, and that the princes of Germany would follow her example, now that she was engaged, and had sent one to engage them likewise.

By that time the queen of Scotland had got by sea into her kingdom: she alone had her mass, which was put down all the kingdom over.

There was this year an extraordinary bad season through every quarter of the year, and perpetual rains. There was also much talk of many monstrous births both by women and beasts, hogs, mares, cows, and hens: some births were without heads, or heads of a strange

form; and some without arms or legs: very probably things of that sort were magnified by those who reported them; and, no doubt, they were made the presages of some dismal events to be looked for; it being ordinary in all great changes to enlarge, and even to forge stories of that sort, on design to alarm people with the apprehensions of some signal judgments to follow after such unusual warnings. This last letter being written some time after the great convocation that settled our Reformation, is mentioned here out of its place, to finish a matter to which I have nothing here to add.

But now to return to give an account of that famous meeting of the clergy. I must first lament that here there is another total stop in the correspondence with Zurich, that has hitherto furnished me with so many particulars. I cannot think but that there were copious accounts of the progress of matters in it given to them, if not during the convocation, in which the bishops were no doubt much employed, yet at least soon after the prorogation, which was in the beginning of April: but in all the volume of letters that is sent me, I find not one either during their sitting or after it was ended, till that I mentioned last, which is of the 14th of August. Being then destitute of those authentic vouchers, I must gather up what remains I could find to give a clear account of the great transactions then on foot.

The imperfect abstract which I have often vouched, gives us but a very defective account of their proceedings. The first session was on the 13th of January; Day, provost of Eaton, preached. Parker told them they had now in their hands an opportunity of reforming all things in the church: the queen did earnestly desire it, and so did many of the nobility. He sent them to choose a prolocutor, and recommended Nowel, dean of St. Paul's, to them. They choose him upon that; and on the 16th of January, Parker exhorted them to consider against the next session what things wanted a reformation. On the 19th he sent for the prolocutor, who came up with six of the clergy. He said they had before them some sheets of matters to be offered for a reformation, which were then referred to be considered by a committee. He also said that the articles set forth in a synod at London in king Edward's time, were likewise before a committee to be considered, and if need was, to be corrected by them. On the 20th, the archbishop and bishops were for the space of three hours consulting secretly about those articles. On the 22nd, they were again for three hours considering the same matter. On the 25th, they were two hours. And on the 27th, they were for three hours more upon the same matter. And on the 29th of January, all in the upper house agreed unanimously in settling the articles of religion, and they subscribed them.

The differences between these articles and those set forth by king Edward are very particularly marked in the Collections added to my second volume. The most material is, the leaving out that express declaration that was made against the corporal presence of Christ in the sacrament, which I then thought was done in compliance with the opinion prevalent among the people of the popish persuasion, who were strangely possessed with the belief of such a presence; but I am convinced, by the letters sent me from Zurich, that, in this, great regard was likewise had to the Lutheran churches, with whom a conjunction was much endeavoured by some. So that, perhaps, this was one consideration that made it be thought convenient to suppress the definition then made in this matter by the convocation. But it does no way appear to me, whether these words were suppressed by the consent of the convocation, or whether the queen ordered it to be done, either by a direct command, or by denying to give her assent to that part of the article.

I must also add, that the homily "against wilful rebellion," for that is its true title, was not drawn up till some years after this convocation had settled those articles, in which the titles of the homilies are set forth, though it is added in the manuscript to the rest, with the title "against rebellion." It is plain, both by the body of the homily, and by the prayer at the end of it, that it was penned after the rebellion that was raised by the earls of Northumberland and Westmorland many years after this, and while there were wars abroad on the account of religion. This I do not write as disagreeing in any part from the doctrine delivered in that homily, but only as a historian, in order to the setting matters of fact in a true light.

But now I go on as the minutes, or rather the abstracts, lead me. When the great matter of the articles was settled, the bishops of London, Winchester, Lincoln, and Hereford, were appointed to draw articles of discipline. On the 3rd of February, the archbishop and bishops were in a secret conference for the space of three hours. On the 5th of February, a committee was appointed to examine the catechism. Then the prolocutor, with six of the clergy, brought up the articles of religion that had been sent by the archbishop to the lower house. Many had already subscribed them; but he proposed that such as had not yet done it might be required either to subscribe them in the lower house, or to do it in the presence of the bishops. Upon this the upper house ordered that the names of those who had not subscribed them might be laid before them next session. On the 10th, the prolocutor, with eight of the clergy, came up and told the bishops that many had subscribed since their last meeting. Upon that the bishops renewed their former order.

On the 13th, there was some treaty concerning the subsidy; but on that day, and it seems on some days following, there were very warm debates in the lower house, of which I shall give a particular account from a copy taken from the minutes of the proceedings of the lower house, which will be found in the Collection. On the 13th day, six articles were offered to the house, which follow: first, "That all holidays, except Sundays, and the feasts that related to Christ, should be abrogated. Second, That in the common prayer, the minister should always turn his face towards the people, so as to be heard by the people, that they might be edified. Third, That the ceremony of the cross in baptism may be omitted, as tending to superstition. Fourth, That forasmuch as divers communicants were not able to kneel during the time of communion, for age, sickness, and other infirmities, and some also do superstitiously both kneel and knock*, that the order of kneeling may be left to the discretion of the ordinary within his jurisdiction. Fifth, That it be sufficient for the minister, in time of saying divine service and ministering the sacraments, to use a surplice; and that no minister say service, or minister the sacraments, but in a comely garment or habit. The sixth and last is, That the use of organs be removed." The words are strictly as I took them from the copy of the Journal; but the sense of the fifth is not clear, except we suppose the word *once* to have come after the minister; so that it was proposed that it should be sufficient once to use the surplice†.

There arose great disputes concerning these propositions, some approving and others rejecting them; and it was proposed by some to refer the matter to the archbishop and bishops. Many protested that they could in no manner consent to any one of them, since they were contrary to the book of Common Prayer that was ratified by an act of parliament; nor would they admit of any alteration of the orders, rules, rites, or regulations already settled by that book. There were public disputations between learned men, some approving and others condemning the propositions. Thirteen persons were named as the disputants. In conclusion, the house was divided and counted; forty-three voted for the propositions, and thirty-five voted against them; and that no change should be made in the book of Common Prayer then established. But when the proxies were counted, those who were for the propositions were in all fifty-eight; and those who were against them were fifty-nine: so that they were agreed to by a majority of eight of those who were present, and who had heard the disputations; yet those were out-voted by a majority of one vote by the proxy of an absent person. All their names are set down in the paper. One thing observable is, that in this minute it is added, that those who rejected the articles seemed to go chiefly on this ground,—that they were contrary to the authorised book of Common Prayer; as if this had been the assuming an authority to alter what was settled by the legislature. It is not to be imagined, but if the affirmative vote had prevailed, that it could not be intended to have any other effect but to make an address to the parliament to alter the book in those particulars. I have represented

But by one Proxy it was carried that none should be made.

* A practice common among papists, of knocking on their breasts, saying "Culpa mea," at the elevation.

† Query, does not this article rather refer to the use of copes and embroidered vestments, in addition to the surplices, as customary in the church of Rome? It would

appear a strange regulation for the minister to perform one part of the service in official costume and discard it in another. See further as to disputes concerning ecclesiastical vestments, pages 830, 831.—ED.

this matter as I found it, and will not make any judgment upon it, either on the one side or the other, but will leave that to the reader, and go on with what remains in the abstract.

This debate in the lower house put a stop to the business of the convocation for six days, in which they only treated of the subsidy. On the 19th of February, some articles were communicated to the lower house; and they were ordered to bring them back, with their observations on them. These seem to relate to benefices and dilapidations; and they were ordered to inquire how many benefices were then vacant. On the 22nd, the subsidy was agreed to; on the 24th, the prolocutor being absent, his surrogate, with the clergy, were called up; and the engrossed bill of subsidy was read to them, and they all unanimously agreed to it.

On the 26th, a Book of Discipline was brought to the upper house by the prolocutor, with ten of the clergy; to which, as it was then said, the whole clergy did unanimously consent. This was referred to the archbishop, with the bishops of London, Winchester, Chichester, Hereford, and Ely. On the 1st of March, the prolocutor brought up some additional articles, which they desired might be added to the Book of Discipline that they had formerly brought up. The archbishop gave them the book back again, and ordered them to bring it back, together with the additions they had made to it.

On the 3rd of March, the prolocutor brought up the Catechism, to which he said the house did unanimously agree. The considering of it was committed to the bishops of Winchester, Hereford, Lincoln, and Coventry. (This seems to be the catechism drawn by Nowel, dean of St. Paul's.) After that, there was a conference among the bishops for the space of two hours. On the 5th of March, the prolocutor brought up the Book of Discipline, with some additional chapters: one only is named, Of Adultery, with an &c. On the 10th, there was a conference among the bishops for two hours; and on the 12th, for two hours more; and on the 16th, for other two hours; and on the 19th, for two hours more. After that nothing is marked, but several prorogations, till the 10th of April, that the royal writ came for the prorogation. And this is all that remains of this great convocation.

It does not appear what that Book of Discipline was. In one of the Zurich letters, as shall be told afterwards, it is said, that some things agreed to in this synod were afterwards suppressed. This, I suppose, relates to that Book of Discipline: but whether this was the reformation of the ecclesiastical laws, prepared by Cranmer and others, or whether it was modelled in any other manner, cannot now be certainly known.

But to this account that I have given, I will add some other particulars, that the diligent Mr. Strype has laid together, referring my reader for a more copious account of them to his Annals.

"It was designed to have Jewel's Apology joined to the Articles, which archbishop Parker intended should be in all cathedral and collegiate churches, and also in private houses.

"Degrees of punishment were proposed for all those who should preach, write, or speak in derogation or contempt of this book, for the first, second, and third offence.

"It was proposed, that all vestments, copes, and surplices should be taken away; that none but ministers should baptize; that the table for the sacrament should not stand altar-wise; that organs and curious singing should be removed.

"That godfathers and godmothers should not answer in the child's name; but should recite the Creed, and desire that the child may be baptized in that faith. Here, on the margin, Parker writes, 'Let this be considered.'

"That none should be married but after the banns have been asked for three Sundays or holidays. On the margin Parker writes, 'Priests solemnising matrimony without testimonial of banns, to suffer grievous punishment.'

"That the queen and parliament be prayed to renew the act for empowering thirty-two persons to gather ecclesiastical laws, and to review those appointed in king Edward's time.

"That all peculiar jurisdictions should be extinguished, so that the whole diocese be put under the jurisdiction of the bishop, that no appeal shall lie in cases of correction. On the margin Parker writes, 'Let this be thought on.'

"That in every cathedral a divinity-lecture should be read thrice a week.

"That the apparel of the clergy should be uniform. That no person, not in priest's orders, shall hold any ecclesiastical dignity above a year, if he does not take priest's orders. Parker writes, 'Too much; and let it be thought on.'

"That none be capable of a dispensation for a plurality of benefices with cure of souls, if he is not at least a master of arts, and they not beyond twelve miles' distance. Parker writes, 'Let it be considered, whether this ought to be restrained to degrees.'

"That if any has two cures, he shall reside constantly on one, unless at some times to go and preach in the other, under the pain of losing the greater benefice. Parker adds, 'Let this be thought on.'

"That no patron sell or assign the next advowson; and that no grant be made of any benefice till it is void.

"That all incumbents or curates shall, on Sundays, in the afternoon, offer to teach the children of the parish the catechism."

The next paper is, of Remedies for the Poverty of Ministers' Livings: but the remedies, how good soever, were not found practicable, so all this matter was let fall.

With this convocation, my design of continuing the History of the Reformation is now concluded. And here I once intended to have ended my work; but the letters sent me from Zurich give me such a full and particular account of the first unhappy breach that was made in our church, with so many curious incidents, that I am by these invited to set that matter out in a clear light, since I have it before me in the letters of the most eminent of our bishops.

A further
Continuation
of the History
beyond my
former Work.

There was a great variety of sentiments among our reformers on this point: "Whether it was fit to retain an external face of things, near to what had been practised in the times of popery, or not?" The doing that made the people come easily in to the more real changes that were made in the doctrines, when they saw the outward appearances so little altered. So this method seemed the safer and the readier way to wean the people from the fondness they had for a splendid face of things, by that which was still kept up. But, on the other hand, it was said, that this kept up still the inclination in the people to the former practices: they were by these made to think that the reformed state of the church did not differ much from them, and that they imitated them. And they apprehended that this outward resemblance made the old root of popery to live still in their thoughts; so that if it made them conform at present more easily to the change that was now made, it would make it still much the easier for them to fall back to popery. So, for this very reason, they stood upon it; and thought it better to put matters in as great an opposition to the practices of popery as was possible or convenient.

A Controversy
about the
use of things
indifferent.

The queen had, in her first injunctions, ordered the clergy to wear seemly garments and square caps; adding, that this was only for decency, and not to ascribe any worthiness to the garments. But when the Act of Uniformity was settled,—whereas in the liturgy, passed in the second year of king Edward, copes and other garments were ordered to be used, but in the second book, passed in the sixth year of that king, all was laid aside except the surplice, yet the queen, who loved magnificence in everything, returned back to the rules in king Edward's first book, till other order should be taken therein by the queen. There was likewise a clause put in the Act of Uniformity, empowering the queen to "ordain and publish such further ceremonies and rites as might be for the advancement of God's glory, the edifying of his church, and the due reverence of Christ's holy mysteries and sacraments."

The matter being thus settled, there followed a great diversity in practice; many conforming themselves in all points to the law, while others did not use either the surplice or the square caps and hoods, according to their degree. This visible difference began to give great offence, and to state two parties in the church. The people observed it, and run into parties upon it. Many forsook their churches of both sides: some because those habits were used, and some because they were not used. It is likewise suggested, that the papists insulted upon this division among the protestants; and said it was impossible it should be otherwise, till all returned to come under one absolute obedience.

Great diver-
sity in Prac-
tice.

Upon this the queen, in January 1564, wrote to the archbishop of Canterbury, “reflecting (not without some acrimony of style) on these diversities, as if they were the effect of some remissness in him and in the other bishops; requiring him, that, with the assistance of other bishops, commissioned by her for causes ecclesiastical, he should give strict orders that all diversities and varieties, both among the clergy and people, might be reformed and repressed; and that all should be brought to one manner of uniformity through the whole kingdom, that so the people might quietly honour and serve God.”

The Queen wrote to the Archbishop of Canterbury to bring all to an uniformity.

Upon that some of the bishops met; six in all. Of these, four were upon the ecclesiastical commission,—the archbishop of Canterbury, the bishops of London, Ely, and Rochester; and with these joined the bishops of Winchester and Lincoln. They agreed on some rules and orders meet to be observed, not as equivalent to the word of God, nor as laws that did bind the conscience from the nature of the things considered in themselves, or as that they did add any efficacy or more holiness to the public prayers and sacraments, but as temporary orders, merely ecclesiastical, and as rules concerning decency, distinction, and order for the time.

They begun with articles of doctrine and preaching. “That all preachers should study to preach to edification, and handle matters of controversy with sobriety and discretion; exhorting people to receive the sacrament frequently, and to continue in all obedience to the laws, and to the queen’s injunctions. All former licences are declared void, but are to be renewed to such as the bishop thought meet for the office, they paying only a groat for the writing. If any should preach unsound doctrine, they were to be denounced to the bishop, but not to be contradicted in the church. All were to be required to preach once in three months, either in person or by one in their stead. Such as were not licensed to preach were to read the homilies, or such other necessary doctrine as should be prescribed. In the sacrament the principal minister was to wear a cope, but at all other prayers only surplices. That deans and prebendaries should wear a hood in the choir, and preach with their hood. All communicants were to receive the sacrament kneeling. Then follow rules about tolling the bell when people die; about the altar; the font; and who may be godfathers in baptism. That no shops be opened on Sundays. That bishops shall give notice against the day of giving orders, that all men may except against such as are unworthy: that none be ordained but within their own diocese, except those who have degrees in the university. Rules follow for licences; for archdeacons to appoint curates to get some texts of the New Testament by heart, and at the next synod to hear them rehearse them. Ordinaries were to guard against simoniacal practices; and none were to marry within the Levitical degrees. Then follow rules of their wearing apparel, gowns, and caps: they were to wear no hats but in travelling; but those who were deprived might not wear them. To this they added a form of subscription, to be required of all that were to be admitted to any office or cure in the church, to this effect: that they should not preach but by the bishop’s special licence; that they should read the service distinctly and audibly; that they should keep a register-book, and use such apparel, specially at prayers, as was appointed; that they should endeavour to keep peace and quiet in their parishes; that they should every day read a chapter in the Old and New Testament, considering it well, to the increase of their knowledge; and in conclusion, that they should exercise their office to the honour of God and the quiet of the queen’s subjects; and observe an uniformity in all laws and orders already established; and that they should use no sort of trade, if their living amounted to twenty nobles, or upwards.”

The proceedings here in England are fully collected by Mr. Strype; so, as to these, I refer my reader to the account given by him, which is both full and impartial. I shall

only give the abstracts of the letters that passed in this matter between our bishops and Bullinger, Gualter, and the other divines in Zurich. These foreign divines did not officiously, nor of their own motion, intermeddle in this matter. It began in January 1565, for then the queen wrote to the archbishop; and in March the order was settled by the archbishop and bishops. But when the bishops saw the opposition that many were making to this, Sampson and Humphreys being the most eminent of those who opposed it, who were in

great reputation, particularly in the university of Oxford, where the one was dean of Christ's church, and the other was president of Magdalen's, and divinity professor; and they were much distinguished for their learning, piety, and zeal in religion: upon this Ilorn, bishop of Winchester, wrote, on the 16th of July, to Gualter, and stated the matter clearly to him. I have put his letter in the Collection, though it is already printed; but I thought it convenient to insert it, since the letters that are to follow depend upon it.

Horn, Bishop of Winchester, writes to Zurich upon these diversities in Practice.

Col. Num. 75.

After he had mentioned some of Gualter's works, he commends those of Zurich for not being imposed on by the artifices of the French; in which he hopes those of Berne would follow the example that they had set them. He comes to the affairs of England, "where they were still in fear of the snares of the papists, who took great advantage from a question lately raised about vestments, to say protestants could never agree together. The act of parliament was made before they were in office, so that they had no hand in making it. By it the vestments were enacted, but without any superstitious conceit about them, the contrary being expressly declared. What was once enacted in parliament could not be altered but by the same authority. The bishops had obeyed the law, thinking the matter to be of its nature indifferent; and they had reason to apprehend that if they had deserted their stations upon that account, their enemies might have come into their places. Yet upon this there was a division formed among them: some thought they ought to suffer themselves to be put from their ministry rather than obey the law; others were of a different mind. He desires that he would write his opinion of this matter as soon as was possible. They were in hope to procure an alteration of the act in the next parliament; but he apprehended there would be a great difficulty in obtaining it, by reason of the opposition the papists would give them; for they hoped that if many should leave their stations, they might find occasions to insinuate themselves again into the queen's favour."

It seems he wrote a letter in the same strain to Bullinger, as will appear by his answer of the 3rd of November, which will be found in the Collection. "He writes, that he had heard of the division among them from others; but not knowing the whole state of the question, he was not forward to give his opinion till he had his letter. He laments this unhappy breach among them: he approves their zeal who wished to have the church purged from all the dregs of popery. On the other hand, he commends their prudence who would not have the church to be forsaken because of the vestments. The great end of the ministry was edification; and that was not to be abandoned but upon very good grounds, especially when the deserting their stations was like to make way for much worse things; and that they saw either papists or Lutherans would be put in their places, and then ceremonies would be out of measure increased. No doubt, they had brought many persons of all sorts to love the purity of doctrine; but what a prejudice would it be to these to open such a door, by which swarms of abuses might creep in among them! this they ought carefully to prevent. As for those who first made those laws, or were zealous maintainers of them, he confesses he is not pleased with them; they acted unwisely, if they were truly of the reformed side; but if they were only disguised enemies, they were laying snares with ill designs. Yet he thinks everything of that sort ought to be submitted to rather than that they should forsake their ministry: and since it was declared that those vestments were to be used without any superstitious conceit, he thinks that ought to satisfy men's consciences. But in the mean while he proposes to them to press the queen and the nobility to go on and complete a reformation that was so gloriously begun. He knew that in many places questions were at that time moved concerning the extent of the magistrates' authority: he wishes these might be everywhere let alone. Certainly matters of that nature ought not to be meddled with in sermons. There may be an occasion to debate about them in parliament; and it may be proper to speak to the queen and to her counsellors in private about them. Upon the whole matter, he concludes, that as, on the one hand, he would be tender in dealing with men of weak consciences, so, on the other hand, he proposes St. Paul's rule in such cases, of 'becoming all things to all men.' He circumcised Timothy that he might not give offence to the Jews, though at the same time he condemns

Col. Num. 76. Answers from thence justifying those who obeyed the Laws.

those who were imposing the yoke of the Judaical law as necessary in the beginnings of Christianity."

When Sampson and Humphreys understood in what a strain Bullinger and Gualter had written concerning the vestments, they wrote on the 16th of February, a copious account of the grounds on which they founded their refusal to obey these orders. Their letters came to Bullinger on the 26th of April; and he answered them on the 1st of May. This will be found in the Collection. "He puts them in mind of Peter Martyr's opinion in a like matter when he was at Oxford, to which he could add nothing. He could not approve of any persons officiating at an altar on which there was a crucifix; and in a cope, on the back of which there was a crucifix. He tells them how both he and Gualter had answered Horn's letter on the subject; and he sent them copies of these letters. He would be extreme sorry if these did not give them satisfaction. He prayed earnestly to God for them. He had a great dislike to all controversies of that sort, and did not willingly meddle in them: he did think that laws might be made prescribing decent habits to the clergy, which may be reduced to that branch of St. Paul's character of a bishop, that he ought to be *κοσμίος*, which may be rendered decent, as well as we have it of 'good behaviour.' Nor was this the reviving the Levitical law. Everything is not to be called Levitical, because it was practised by the Jews. The apostles commanded the converts to Christianity, to abstain from things strangled, and from blood. The maintaining the clergy by the tithes, came from laws given to Jews; and from them we have the singing of psalms among us: so things are not to be rejected because of some conformity to the Mosaical institution. Nor can this be called a conformity to popery: nor is everything practised among them to be rejected on that account; otherwise we must not use their churches, nor pronounce the Creed; nor use the Lord's Prayer; since all these are used by them. It was in this case expressed in the orders set out lately by them that the habits were not enjoined on the superstitious conceits of the papists; they were only to be used in obedience to the law. It savours too much of a Jewish or of a monastic temper, to put religion in such matters: if it is pretended that the obeying laws in matters indifferent was the giving up our Christian liberty, that would go a great way to the denying all obedience, and might provoke the magistrate to lay yet heavier loads on them. Habits peculiar to the clergy was an ancient practice than popery itself. St. John is said to have carried on his head somewhat like a mitre: and mention is made of St. Cyprian's having a peculiar garment called a dalmatica. St. Chrysostom speaks of their white garments. Tertullian tells us that the heathens converted to Christianity quitted their toga, the Roman upper garment, and used the pallium, or cloak. He wishes there were no impositions on the clergy in such matters: yet since this was an ancient habit, and was now enjoined, without making it a matter of religion, he wishes they would not set too great a value upon it, but yield somewhat to the present time; and that they would consider it as a thing indifferent, and not affect to dispute too subtly about it; but to behave themselves modestly. They had put a question to him, whether anything may be prescribed that is not expressed in Scripture? He did not approve of laying on a load of such things on people's necks; but some things might be appointed for order and discipline. Christ kept the feast of the dedication, though appointed by no law of God. If it is said the things commanded are not necessary, and are of no use, yet they are not for that to be condemned, nor are schisms to be raised on that account." Many things are again repeated in this letter that were in his letter to Horn.

A copy of this was sent to Horn, and both Grindal and he apprehending the good effect that the printing it might have in settling the minds of many that were much shaken by the opposition that was made to the orders that had been set out, printed it here. So that it was not necessary for me to put it in the Collection, if I did not intend to lay the chief papers relating to this matter so together, as to set it all in a clear light.

Upon this Sampson and Humphreys wrote over to Zurich, complaining of the printing of their letter, and carrying their complaints against the constitution of the church much further than to the matter of the vestments: they complain of the music and organs; of

making sponsors in baptism answer in the child's name; of the cross in baptism; of the court of faculties; and the paying for dispensations; all which will appear fully in a letter of theirs in the Collection, which they wrote to them in July: "They acknowledge their letter had not fully satisfied them: they do not think the prescribing habits to the clergy merely a civil thing; they think St. Paul's *κοσμός* belongs to the ornaments of the mind. And add, how can that habit be thought decent that was brought in to dress up the theatrical pomp of popery? The papists gloried in this our imitation of them. They do approve of setting rules concerning order, but that ought not to be applied to this, that overturns the peace and quiet of the church in things that are not either necessary or useful; that do not tend to any edification, but serve to recommend those forms which all do now abhor. The papists themselves glory in this, that these habits were brought in by them; for which they vouch Otho's constitution and the Roman pontifical. They were not against the retaining anything that was good, because it had been abused in popery.

"They affirm that in king Edward's time the surplice was not universally used nor pressed; and the copes then taken away are now to be restored. This is not to extirpate popery, but to plant it again; and instead of going forward, is to go back. It was known how much virtue and religion the papists put in the surplice; and at this day it is held in as great esteem as the monks' habits were wont to be. The use of it may, by degrees, bring back the same superstition. They did not put religion in habits, they only opposed those that did; and they thought that it gave some authority to servitude to depart from their liberty. They hated contention, and were ready to enter into friendly conferences about this matter. They do not desert their churches, and leave them exposed to wolves; but to their great grief they are driven from them. They leave their brethren to stand and fall to their own masters; and desire the same favourable forbearance from them, though in vain hitherto. It was by other men's persuasion that the queen was irritated against them: and now, to support these orders, all that is pretended is, that they are not unlawful: it is not pretended that there is anything good or expedient in the habits. The habits of the clergy are visible marks of their profession; and these ought not to be taken from their enemies. The ancient fathers had their habits; but not peculiar to bishops, nor distinct from the laity. The instances of St. John and Cyprian are singular. In Tertullian's time the pallium was the common habit of all Christians. Chrysostom speaks of 'white garments,' but with no approbation: he rather finds fault with them. They had cited Bucer; but he thought that the orders concerning habits, by reason of the abuse of them in the church of England, ought to be taken away, for a fuller declaration of their abhorrence of Antichrist, for asserting the Christian liberty, and for removing all occasions of contention. They were far from any design of making a schism, or of quarrelling. They will not condemn things indifferent as unlawful: they wish the occasion of the contention were removed, that the remembrance of it might be for ever buried. They who condemned the papal pride, could not like a tyranny in a free church. They wish there might be a free synod to settle this matter; in which things should not be carried according to the mind of one or two persons. The matter now in debate had never been settled by any general decree of a council, or of any reformed church. They acknowledge the doctrine of this church was now pure; and why should there be any defect in any part of our worship? Why should we borrow anything from popery? Why should they not agree in rites as well as in doctrine with the other reformed churches? They had a good opinion of their bishops, and bore with their state and pomp: they once bore the same cross with them, and preached the same Christ with them: why are they now turned out of their benefices, and some put in prison, only for habits? Why are they publicly defamed? The bishops had printed the private letter that they had written to them without their knowledge or consent. The bishops do now stand upon it, as if the cause were their own. But to let them see that the dispute was not only about a cap, they sent them an abstract of some other things, to which

Collection,
Number 79.

they wish some remedy could be found (which is in the Collection); and conclude with some prayers to God to quiet those dissensions, and to send forth labourers into his vineyard."

To this I have joined the answer that Bullinger and Gualter wrote to them. In it they tell them, "that they did not expect that their letters should fully satisfy them: they only wrote their opinion to them because they desired it. They were heartily sorry to find that they could not acquiesce in it. They would engage no further in that matter: they could answer their arguments, but they would give no occasion to endless disputations. They thought it would be more expedient to submit to those habits, and to continue in the church, than by refusing to use them to be forced to leave their churches. They went no further, and did not approve of any popish defilements or superstitions. Nor did they in any sort enter into those other matters, of which they do now complain, and of which they knew nothing before. These were matters of much greater consequence than either the surplices or the copes; so that it was to be hoped that the letter they had written about the habits, could not be stretched to these matters. There was nothing left to them but to commend them to God, and to pray that he would quiet this unhappy dissension among them, and give his church the blessings of peace. They only desire them to remember that the ministers of the gospel ought not only to hold fast the truth, but likewise to be prudent stewards, having a due regard to the times, bearing many things with patience and charity, and so maintain the peace of the church: and not to prejudice it by an over-eager or morose temper; nor think it enough that they had a good design; but they must pursue it by prudent methods."

Bullinger and Gualter, seeing the division like to be carried much further than the matter of the vestments, thought the best office that they could do their friends was, to write to the earl of Bedford, being well assured of his zeal in the matters of religion. They wrote to him on the 11th of September that year. The Collection, letter will be found in the Collection. They tell him "that when they first Number 81. heard of the contention raised about the vestments, they were afraid it might have a further progress. They being desired, did give their opinion freely in the matter; and thought, that for things of so little importance, it was not fit for the clergy to desert their stations, and to leave them to be filled, perhaps, by wolves and deceivers. They were sorry to find that their fears of the mischief that might follow on this contention, were but too well grounded. They hear that not only the vestments are complained of, but that many other things are excepted to, that plainly savour of popery. They are also sorry that the private letter which they wrote should have been printed; and that their judgment of the vestments was extended to other things, of which they could in no sort approve: so that their opinion in one particular is made use of, to cast a load on persons for whom they should rather have compassion in their sufferings, than study to aggravate them. It gave them a very sensible grief to see the church of England, scarce got out of the hands of their bloody enemies, now like to be pulled down by their intestine broils. So, having an entire confidence in his good affection to the gospel, they pray him to intercede with the queen and the nobility, in the parliament that was soon to meet, for their brethren that were then suffering; who deserved that great regard should be had to them, and that their faults should be forgiven them. It had appeared what true zeal they had for religion; since the only thing about which they were so solicitous was, that religion should be purged from all the dregs of popery. This cause in general was such, that those who promoted it proved themselves to be worthy of the highest dignity. Princes were to be nursing fathers to the church: then they perform that office truly, when they not only rescue her out of the hands of her enemies, but take care that the spouse of Christ be not any way stained with the false paint of superstition, or render herself suspected by having any rites unbecoming the Christian simplicity. They do therefore earnestly pray him, that as he has hitherto showed his zeal in the cause of the gospel, so he will at this time exert himself, and employ all the interest he has in the queen, and in the nobility, that the church of England, so happily reformed, to the admiration of the whole world, may not be stained with any of the defilements or remnants of popery. This will look like a giddiness in them: it will offend the weak among them, and give great scandal to their neighbours, both in France and in Scotland, who are yet under the cross. The very papists will justify their tyrannical impositions by what is done now among them. They lay all this before him with the more confidence,

knowing his zeal as they do." They also wrote in the same strain to Grindal and Horn, Col. Num. 82. as will be found in the Collection.

When Grindal and Horn understood that those of Zurich were not pleased with the printing of their letter; of which they wrote to them, and sent with it the paper in which were put the heads of those other things in the constitution of this church, to which they excepted; they both, jointly, wrote answer to them, in one letter to Collection, Bullinger and Gualter, on the 6th of February; which will be found in the Number 83. Collection.

"They tell them they had printed their letter, but had suppressed the names of those to whom it was directed. It had the good effect that they expected from it: for Grindall and Horn's Letter showing their Uneasiness in many things. it had satisfied and settled the minds of many who were upon the point of leaving their churches: and even the most troublesome were so far wrought on by it that they were silent, and less violent in their opposition than they had formerly been. Some few were turned out, but they were not of the more learned sort, except Sampson, who, they acknowledge, was both pious and learned. Humphreys, and other learned men, were still continued in their stations. The letter that they had printed, related only to that particular upon which it was written, and could not be applied to anything else; nor was there any other question then on foot: so that it was a calumny to say, that their opinion was asked about any other matter. The noise and the complaints that some had made, had very much provoked the queen and many of the nobility against them. The papists triumphed upon it, and hoped to come in again, and to fill the places which were made void upon their deserting their stations. They do solemnly attest the great God, that this dissension was not raised by any fault of theirs; and that it did not lie at their door that those vestments were not quite taken away. They may take their oaths upon it, that they had used all possible means in that matter; and had, with the utmost earnestness, and the most sincere diligence, laboured to obtain that which their brethren desired, and which they themselves wished for. But since they could not do what willingly they would do, they must be content with doing what they could do."

As to the other particulars complained of, they plainly write, "they did not approve of that figured music, together with the use of organs, that was continued in cathedrals. They enlarge on many other particulars, and set forth the method of convocations. They did in no sort approve of women's baptising. They gave way till God should send better times, to the form of making the sponsors in baptism answer in the child's name; for which St. Austin's authority was pretended; but they did openly declare, that they thought it was not convenient. Nor did they approve of using the cross in baptism; though the words spoken when it was made did plainly show there was no superstitious conceit kept up by the use of it. They also suffered the posture of kneeling in the sacrament, with the due caution with which it was enjoined, that was set down in king Edward's book, declaring the reason for which that posture was still continued. For the abuses of their courts, though they cannot correct them entirely, yet they did openly inveigh against them; which they would continue still to do, till they should be sent back to hell from whence they came. Every man had full freedom to declare his mind as to all these abuses: they had laboured in the last parliament all they could to purge out all errors and abuses; which, though it had not then the desired effect, yet they would not give over their endeavours to bring it to a happy conclusion: and this they would do, as they desired the continuance of their friendship and brotherly love."

The others still insisted, and Sampson in a letter from Oxford, the 9th of February, 1565, to Bullinger, reduces the questions concerning the habits to seven heads. 1st, If a habit different in form and colour from the laity, ought to be enjoined to the clergy? 2ndly, If the Mosaical ceremonies may be brought into the Christian church? 3dly, If it is lawful to conform to papists in habits and outward rites, and if it is fitting to borrow ceremonies from that corrupt church? 4thly, If the using a peculiar priestly habit is merely a civil matter, and if it does not savour of monkery, popery, and Judaism? 5thly, If those who have hitherto used their liberty may with a good conscience, upon the account of the queen's mandate, involve themselves and the church again in a yoke of bondage? 6thly, If the

popish clerical habit can be called a thing that is indifferent? And the 7th is, If they ought to use these habits rather than desert their stations? To these he begs him to send as soon as may be a full and copious answer.

Collection, A few days after this, Jewel wrote to Bullinger (in the letter that is in the Number 84. Collection), "that he was so attacked by many different hands, that it took him Jewel's Sense wholly up to prepare answers to them. He was not in the house of lords during of those mat- the last parliament, in which there was great heat for a whole month concerning ters. the succession to the crown. But the queen would suffer no declaration to be made in that matter, though it was most vehemently pressed, there appearing on both sides a great deal of earnestness. The queen thought any such declaration would turn the eyes of the nation too much towards the rising sun. He says the controversy about the vestments had raised great heats. The queen was fixed, and could not be wrought on to let any change be made. Some of their brethren were so eager in disputing about that matter, as if the whole business of religion was concerned in it. They leave their stations and churches, rather than yield a little. Nor were they at all moved from their stiffness by the most learned letters that he and Gualter had written to them on that subject; nor by all the advices of their friends. He thanks God that they had no other nor more important debates then among them. Cheyney, bishop of Gloucester, did indeed in parliament profess himself openly to be a Lutheran; but he was not like to have many followers."

Collection, In a letter of his, that is also in the Collection, written to Bullinger on the Number 85. 1st of March, 1565, he writes "that he was overwhelmed with the books that the papists had written against him, and was by that means engaged in a profound course of study. He tells him how cardinal Granville had intended to cut off the intercourse between England and the Netherlands; hoping by that means to provoke the English to break out into tumults; but the design turned upon himself; for the English resolving to settle their trade and staple at Embden, the people of Flanders could not bear that. The pope had sent one to Ireland to raise a flame in that island. But the pope's agent, who was an Irishman, was taken and sent over a prisoner to England. In Scotland the queen only had her mass, all the nation being averse to it."

Reflections on By Grindal and Horn's letters, it appears that they had no other zeal in this this matter. matter but to preserve the church in the queen's favour, and in obedience to the laws; yet in letters that were upon this occasion written to Zurich (a part of Collection, laws; yet in letters that were upon this occasion written to Zurich (a part of Number 86. one is in the Collection) by some others that adhered to Sampson, they let them know, that both Parker the archbishop and Grindal and Horn were too much sharpened in this matter: therefore they pray them to use their endeavours to soften them more towards their brethren. But they acknowledge that Pilkington of Durham, Sands of Worcester, and Parkhurst of Norwich, had by their moderation made good all their promises; so they deserved that thanks should be given them. They desire further, that they would write to them all to proceed more mildly, and to endeavour to get those dregs of popery to be removed; and that they would tolerate, at least connive at, those who did not approve them.

Other Letters I find Pilkington complains in a letter to Gualter, "that the disputes which written to began about the vestments were carried much farther, even to the whole consti- Zurich by tution. Pious persons lamented this; atheists laughed at it; and the papists some Bishops. blew the coals, and were full of hopes upon it. The blame of all was cast on the bishops. He adds, I confess we suffer many things against our hearts, groaning under them. We cannot take them away, though we were ever so much set on it. We are under authority, and can innovate nothing without the queen; nor can we alter the laws. The only thing that is left to our choice is, whether we will bear these things, or break the peace of the church."

Parkhurst in one letter writes, "Many good people are pleased with all that is done; but there are some things that do not please me." And in another he writes, "Matters of religion go on well: there are but a very few things that I dare find fault with. That which grieved him most was, that the lives of those who professed the gospel were so very contrary to it. The gospel was never preached among them more faithfully, and with more zeal. He prays, God grant us his Spirit that we may walk in the Spirit, and mortify

the works of the flesh." The last letter that those of Zurich wrote on this subject was on the 26th of August, 1567, directed to the bishops of London, Winchester, and Col. Num. 87. Norwich. "They express their grief that some learned men were deprived: they hear daily that some of those that had given good proofs of themselves in the Marian persecution were now not only turned out, but imprisoned. They hear that in Ireland many that have the same scruples are yet kept out of all trouble by the queen's order, upon the intercession of their bishops; which makes it probable that the like favour might be obtained in England, if the bishops would intercede with her majesty for it; which may the rather be expected, since the bishops themselves acknowledge that it were better for the church that these ceremonies were all laid aside; and affirm that they had often moved in parliament that they might be taken away, that so the church might be more pure and less burdened. Therefore they do not doubt but that they, out of their piety, will endeavour to procure favour to their brethren, to which they do very earnestly, but yet decently and modestly, press them." Cox, bishop of Ely, who I do not find meddled much in these controversies, has in a letter to Gualter some very sad expressions, for which there is too much occasion at all times. "When I consider the sins that do everywhere abound, and the neglect and contempt of the word of God, I am struck with horror, and tremble to think what God will do with us. We have some discipline among us with relation to men's lives, such as it is; but if any man would go about to persuade our nobility to submit their necks to that yoke, he may as well venture to pull the hairs out of a lion's beard."

Contenditur
aliquantulum
de vestibus
papistis
utendis vel
non utendis
dabit Deus
hic quoque
finem.

Sands was of the same mind: he lamented the occasion of this dispute, and hoped to see an end put to it. In a letter to Bullinger from Worcester, dated the 3d of January, 1566, he writes thus: "The true religion of Christ is now settled among us, which is the most valuable of all things. The gospel is no more shut up, but is freely preached; and for other things, we need not be much concerned about them. There is some small dispute concerning the popish vestments, whether they ought to be used or not. But God will put an end to these things."

A few days after that, Jewel, in a letter dated the 8th of February, 1566, to Bullinger, Of the Affairs (a part of it is in the Collection, the rest of it relates to the books he was then writing in defence of his Apology,) tells him, "that the queen seemed fixed in her resolution not to marry: he expresses his great concern that the heat raised Collection, Number 88. on the account of the surplice was not extinguished; he writes that the affairs of Scotland were not in a quiet state; some of the chief of the nobility had retired into England; others fortified themselves in their castles, and were as in a state of war with the papists. The queen, though an obstinate papist, yet does not seem resolved what course she had best take; for in matters of religion the greatest part both of the nobility and people were against her; and their number did daily increase. The king of Spain sent lately an Italian abbot thither with Spanish gold. He was a subtle and crafty man, and did so far gain not only on the queen but on the king, that though he had hitherto gone to sermons, and had no mass, yet upon the assurance of a rich ship that was expected within a day, he presently ordered mass to be said in his church; while Knox in the very next church was preaching against idolatry, and the whole papal tyranny, with greater zeal than ordinary. But the Spanish ship was furiously shattered by a storm and was cast on the coast of England, so that weak king would find what he had gained by his going to mass." Sampson and Humphreys wrote a long and particular answer to the letter that Grindal and Horn wrote to Bullinger; but that runs into a tedious controversy, with which the divines of Zurich wrote that they would meddle no more in those matters, so I do not think fit to insert it.

"They complain that the archbishop had contributed to buy an organ for Canterbury, which was no sign of his disliking it. They complain that many were put in prison because they would not provide godfathers and godmothers for baptising their children. They say the convocation signified little: for many things were agreed to in the convocation in the year 1562, that would have tended to the great good of the church, but were suppressed, for nothing was of force but as the queen and the archbishop consented. And in the last convocation, a very learned man that belonged to the bishop of Norwich proposed somewhat

relating to the vestments; to whom a bishop said, What have you to do in those matters? we began them and we will end them. He answered the bishop, This matter has been hitherto laid wholly on the queen, but now you take it on yourselves." They also in another paper set forth, "that in queen Mary's days, when the church of England was broken and dispersed, a body of protestants formed themselves into a church at London, and had their ministers and deacons, and continued through all her reign, though many of them were burned: but that after queen Mary's death, the exiles were recalled, and the prisoners were set at liberty; only this church that had continued all the while in the midst of the flame was now extinguished." In another letter he assures Simler, "there was no danger of Lutheranism, only we are now fighting among ourselves about ceremonies, vestments, and matters of no importance. That matter has somewhat shaken men of weak minds: I wish that all, even the smallest, remnants of popery could be wholly put not only out of our churches, but chiefly out of the minds of all people; but the queen at this time cannot bear any alteration in religion."

I shall carry this matter no farther, having gone beyond what I had at first proposed by the importance of these papers, that give so clear and so true an account of the beginnings of those unhappy disputes of which we have seen and do still feel the unhappy consequences. In these we clearly see what was the sense of the most eminent and the most learned of our reformers in those matters. They continued their correspondence with Zurich as long as those great men lived with whom they had lodged in their great distress, and to whom they had been so singularly obliged that they were ready always to acknowledge it, and were often sending presents to them.

The Queen of Scots marries the Lord Darnley. In Scotland, things were running into great disorder. The queen, as she liked the person of the Lord Darnley, and perhaps the better because he seemed to be of a soft and gentle temper, and easy to be governed, so her faithfullest counsellors concurred in advising the marriage. He was the next heir to the crown of England after the queen. For though the queen dowager of Scotland, that was Henry the Eighth's sister, having married the earl of Angus, after king James the Fourth was killed, but falling to be in ill terms with him, either found or suborned witnesses (as it was given out) to prove upon him a pre-contract in words of the present time, by which she obtained a sentence dissolving that marriage; yet the daughter she had borne to him was declared legitimate, in the bull that confirmed the sentence declaring that marriage dissolved, the original of which I saw. The reason given is, because she was born of the mother's part *bonâ fide*. Lord Darnley being thus descended, and born within the kingdom of England, might have been a dangerous competitor for that crown, especially if he should fortify himself by a prudent marriage, and a good conduct in England: so it was certainly good advice given the queen, since she liked his person, to secure her right to that succession by this marriage. When she married him, she declared him king, and put his name on the coin after her own. The qualities of his mind did not answer the gracefulness of his person; for sometimes he was in all things compliant to the queen, but that lasted not long. She had such an affable and obliging air, which her education in the court of France had much improved, that it was not easy to resist it. At first she seemed so indifferent as to the matters of religion, that the minds of the nation were much quieted, when they concluded that she continued to be a papist more from principles of honour and interest than from her own persuasion.

But they came to have other thoughts of her when she began to express more zeal in those matters. Her kindred by her mother pushed her on; and she was animated both from the court of France and from Rome to restore the popish religion. On these hopes she set her gates open to all that desired to come to her mass, and had many masses every day in her chapel. The body of the Scottish nation did not easily bear with the mass which the queen had at first privately in her court for herself, and for a very small number of servants who were of her own religion. In the parliament, in the year 1563, a petition was offered by the noblemen, and the superintendents, and ministers of the reformed religion, which will be found in the Collection, setting forth, that "whereas in the last convention of the kirk that was held at Edinburgh in June last, some

She shows more zeal in her Religion.

Col. Num. 89.

were sent to the queen with certain articles to which they desired answer; and though the queen had answered them in part, yet she referred the farther answer to the present parliament: so a full answer was now prayed. And whereas in the parliament held in July 1560, it was enacted, that the mass and all papistry should be put out of the realm, and Christ's religion should be universally received; and that the queen, by divers proclamations, has approved Christ's religion, which she found publicly received at her arrival, in particular at Dundee, on the 15th of September last, in which the king and queen did, both by act of council and by proclamation, promise, that in this present parliament she would establish the religion of Christ, and abolish all laws and constitutions contrary to the same: upon which they desired that the premises might be considered; and so they laid before the parliament the articles which they had laid before the queen and her council, together with her answer and the reply made to it by the kirk."

In the articles they demand, first, that "the papistical mass, with all idolatry, and the pope's jurisdiction, might be abolished not only in the subject's, but in the queen's own person; and that the true religion might be ratified through the whole kingdom as well in the queen's person as in the subject's; and that the people might be required to resort on Sundays to prayers and preaching, as they were before to the idolatrous mass. Secondly, that provision may be made for the ministers' maintenance; and that such as are admitted into the ministry may have their livings assigned them where they labour, or in parts adjacent, and that they may not be put to crave them of others. And that the benefices then vacant, or that have been vacant since March, anno 1558, or that shall become vacant, be given to learned persons, able to preach God's word, upon their trial and admission by the superintendents. And that no bishopric, abbey, or other ecclesiastical benefice, having many churches annexed to it, be given to any one man; but that the churches may be severally disposed of, so that every man may serve at his own church; and that glebes and manors be assigned to them, that they may reside at their churches, and discharge their consciences in them; and that the churches may be kept in due repair. Thirdly, that none may have charge of souls, or be put in colleges or universities, or publicly instruct the youth, but such as are tried by the superintendents and the visitors of the churches, and are admitted by them. Fourthly, that lands founded for hospitals may be restored to the use of the poor; and that all rents and profits belonging to any order of friars be applied to the poor, and for schools in towns. Fifthly, that horrid crimes, blasphemy, sorcery, adultery, incest, and murder, with many other crimes that are reckoned up, may be severely punished; and that some order may be taken for the ease of the labourers of the ground, concerning the reasonable payment of their titles, and in the letting of them."

To this the queen answered, "that as she did not think that there was any impiety in the mass, so she hoped her subjects would not press her to receive any religion against her own conscience, which would throw her into a perpetual uneasiness by the remorse of her conscience. She would never leave the religion in which she had been brought up; and it would be further a great prejudice to her, in that, by her so doing, she should lose the friendship of the king of France, the ancient ally of this kingdom, and of other princes, from whom she may find great supports; so she will not in an instant put herself in hazard of losing all her friends. And since she has not yet pressed, nor means she hereafter to press, the conscience of any man, but leaves them to worship God according to their persuasion, she hopes they will not press her to offend her own conscience. But when the parliament meets, her majesty will consent to everything that the three estates shall agree upon; and she renews the assurance she had given, that men's lives or estates shall be in no hazard for any cause of religion."

As to the second article, "the queen thought it not reasonable that she should deprive herself of so great a part of the patrimony of the crown, by putting the patronage of benefices out of her hands; for her own necessity required the keeping them in her own hands; yet she was contented to assign what might serve for the reasonable sustentation of the ministers. She referred the other articles to the parliament."

To this answer the kirk replied, "that the firmness she expressed to the mass gave no small grief to her good subjects. Their religion was no other than that which Christ

revealed, and his apostles preached ; which differed from the impiety of the Turks, the blasphemy of the Jews, and the vain superstition of the papists." And upon that, as they run out into a high commendation of their religion, so " they require the queen, in the name of God, to embrace the means by which she may be persuaded to the truth, which they offered presently to her by the preaching of God's word, and by public disputation against the adversaries of it whensoever she thought it expedient. And as for the mass, they undertook to prove it to be a mass of impiety from the beginning to the end. As for the prejudice that the queen thinks would follow on her changing her religion, by dissolving the alliance she is in with the king of France and other foreign princes, they answer, that the true religion is the undoubted means to keep up a perfect confederacy with him who is the King of kings, and who has the hearts of all princes in his hands, which ought to be more valued than all other confederacies whatsoever."

As to the second article, " they did not intend to defraud her of the patronages, but only that persons presented to benefices should be tried and examined by the learned men of the kirk, or the superintendents appointed for that end. But as the presentations belong to her, so collation upon them belongs to the church, and the patrons may not present without trial and examination ; which, if they might do, must bring great ignorance and disorder into the church ; and it was far against all good conscience for the queen to retain a good part of the benefices in her own hands. This was so contrary both to all divine and human laws, that they were unwilling to open up that whole matter to her ; and therefore they beg she would consider, that though the patronage of benefices belonged to her, yet the retention of them in her own hands, and the not giving them to qualified persons, is ungodly, and contrary to all order, and ruinous to the souls of the people. They were desirous to have her necessities relieved ; but they add, that the tithes are the patrimony of the church, out of which, in the first place, those who serve in the ministry ought to be relieved, the churches ought to be repaired, and the youth instructed. They concluded with thanks for her willingness to have the ministers provided for ; and they pray that a special condescending on particulars may be thought on."

But all these petitions were still put off ; and the queen, by her practice among the nobility, began to divide them into factions ; and plainly said, when these petitions were read to her, that " she would do nothing in prejudice of the religion that she professed ;" and in wrath told them, " she hoped, before a year was expired, to have the mass, and the catholic religion professed through the whole kingdom." And she managed the parliament so dexterously, that neither was the treaty of Leith, nor the settlement of religion made in the parliament 1560, so much as named, much less confirmed. In this parliament some small provision was made for the ministers ; and acts were made against sorcery and adultery, that they should be punished by death. There was, indeed, an act of oblivion passed for all that was done from the 6th of March, 1558, to the 1st of September, 1561 ; but the parliament of the year 1560 came to be looked on as an illegal assembly. So that upon this a great alarm was given to the whole body of the reformed in that kingdom ; and the jealousy was increased by the queen's marrying the lord Darnley. He had been bred up a strict papist, but now pretended to be a protestant ; yet as he was all the while suspected of favouring the religion he was bred up in, so he quickly returned to the open profession of it. This gave occasion to another petition in a bolder strain, in which the body of the reformed set forth, " that the true religion was established in that nation ; that the mass, and all the idolatry and tyrannical usurpations of the pope, were suppressed ; and that they were going on to a perfect reformation ; but that all had been stopped now for the space of four years. That upon her arrival, that idol the mass was again set up, and men were put in offices to which they had no right. From such beginnings they saw what they might look for ; yet, in hope that God would mollify the queen's heart, and out of their desire to maintain the public peace, they had long expected to see what answer would be made to their petitions ; but they saw things grew daily worse and worse. The queen's gates were then set open in contempt of proclamations set out by herself to the contrary. The patrimony of the church was bestowed on unworthy persons ; their ministers were reduced to great poverty, and put to much trouble ; vices of all sorts abounded universally ;

they therefore prayed the queen to think of redressing these matters, and to answer their other petitions, assuring her of all due obedience to her laws and authority. They also pray that she would give them no occasion to think that she intended the subversion of the true religion, and the destruction of those who professed it; for they assure her they would never be subject to that Roman Antichrist, nor suffer (as far as it lay in their power to hinder it)

any branches of his usurped authority to have place within the realm." This, Col.Num.90. which is in the Collection, prevailed no more than their other petitions had done.

I will add to this a few particulars relating to the affairs of Scotland, as they are set forth in some of these letters that were sent me from Zurich. Parkhurst, bishop of Norwich, in

a letter to Bullinger (which is in the Collection), writes, in the year 1566, "that, Col.Num.91. in March last, an Italian, called Signior David (whom he charges as skilled in necromancy), who was in great favour with the queen, was dragged out of her room, and stabbed by many hands; and adds, that an abbot was then so wounded, that though he escaped, yet he died of his wounds soon after; and that one Black, a Dominican, in great esteem among the papists, was also killed in the court. And upon all that disorder, while the privy-council was sitting, the lords escaped with their lives. Since that time the queen had brought forth a prince. She was reconciled to her husband, and had called home her brother and the lords that were of the reformed side. But though the queen had borne her son ten weeks before he wrote, yet all that while he was not baptised; for she intended to do it with pomp, and many masses in the great church, though the inhabitants of Edinburgh were resolved to hinder that. They apprehended she would bring over a force from France." He concludes with a prayer, not very evangelical, "that God would either convert or confound her." There are circumstances in this letter of some others killed with seignior David that I have found nowhere else.

About the same time, Grindal wrote likewise a letter to Bullinger, which is also in the Collection; in which he thanks him for the letters he had written over concerning the controversy about the habits: he writes, "that it was not credible Collection, Number 92. that a question about things of no moment should have raised so great a disturbance as this had done: many, both of the ministers and the people, were designing to withdraw from them, and to set up separate meetings; but most of them were now come to a better mind. He acknowledges their wise and good letters had contributed much towards that: yet some continued still in their former resolutions. It were an easy thing to reconcile them to the queen, if they could be brought to change their mind: but till that was done, it was not in their power to effect it. The bishops, upon their return, and before they were consecrated, had endeavoured all they could to get those things removed that gave occasion to the present dispute: but in that they could not prevail, neither with the queen nor with the parliament. So they upon consulting among themselves came to a resolution not to desert their churches for the sake of a few rites that were not unlawful, since the doctrine was entire and pure, in which they agreed in all things with them of Zurich. They saw the good effects of these their resolutions: and those unseasonable contentions about things indifferent did not edify, but tear the churches."

From their own affairs he turns to those of Scotland; where he writes, "things were in no good state. They still retained the profession of the truth; but the queen endeavoured by all means to extirpate it: she had lately ordered six or seven masses to be said every day in her chapel, and admitted all that pleased to come to them: whereas at first she was contented with one private mass, to which no Scotchman was admitted: and whereas it was provided that the ministers should be maintained out of the revenues of the church, she had now for three years stopped all payments: there were no public changes yet made; both the nobility and the people continued very firm: of whom he reckons the earl of Murray the chief: he understood that the queen was in very ill terms with her husband on this account: there was one David, an Italian, recommended to her by the cardinal of Lorraine, who governed all the councils there, and was secretary of state. The king, finding he had no regard to him, grew uneasy at it; and being young and rash, he entered into a conspiracy with some of the nobility and some of his court; so the Italian was dragged out of the queen's presence, notwithstanding her earnest intreaties to save him; and he was no

sooner out than many ran their daggers into him ; so he was murdered without any cause declared. This horrid crime stuck deep in the queen's heart ; so that, though she had borne a son to him, she could never forgive him."

The dismal fate of that unfortunate queen is so tender a point, that I will say nothing of it but in the words of others. There is a letter of Grindal's to Bullinger, dated the 21st of June, 1567. All in that letter which relates to this matter, is in the Collection, Number 93.

Collection ; in which these words will be found :—" Scotland is fallen into new troubles : for their late king Henry, on the 10th of February, was found dead in a garden near his lodgings. It is not yet agreed how he died. Some say that a few barrels of gunpowder, being on design laid under the chamber in which he lay ; these being kindled, the house was blown up, and so he was thrown out into that garden. Others say, that in the night he was dragged out of his chamber and strangled, and that then the house was blown up. The earl of Bothwell was generally thought the author of this murder : he also procured, by the authority of the archbishop of St. Andrew's, a divorce from his lawful wife : and on the 15th of May last, the queen had married him, and created him duke of Orkney. Almost all the nobility had left the court before this marriage, when they saw that no inquiry was made into the king's murder : they had a meeting at Stirling, where it appeared by clear evidences, that the murder was committed by Bothwell : so an army was brought together on design to seize on him, but he made his escape ; and it was not then known whither he was gone. Some say the queen was besieged in a certain castle ; and others say she was made a prisoner in the castle of Edinburgh, as having been conscious to the murder of her husband. But whatsoever may be in this, that infamous marriage must end tragically." With this he concludes that matter, promising him a more particular account, when the certainty of it was better understood.

To this I will add another relation that may be more certainly depended on. Cardinal Laurea, whom the pope had sent to be his nuncio in Scotland, may be supposed to have had the best information that he could procure from those of her party, and of her religion, and he would certainly have put the best face possible on that matter ; especially after her tragical fate, which raised a universal disposition in all people to think as well of her as was possible ; but chiefly among those of that religion, so that I know no relation of that affair that can be so certainly depended on (making still some allowances for the softenings of a partial writer), as that which we find in that cardinal's life, which was written by the abbot of Pignerol, and was printed at Bologna in the year 1599, in which he gives this account of this whole matter.

Pope Pius the Fifth sent Laurea to be his nuncio in Scotland, to assist and encourage the queen in her zeal : he sent by him 20,000 crowns to her as an earnest of further supplies ; and wrote to her with his own hand, recommending his nuncio to her. The nuncio came to Paris in the dog-days, and brought him who writes his life along with him to be his secretary. He received letters from the queen of Scots by the hands of the archbishop of Glasgow, who was then her ambassador in France : by these she expressed her desires that he might come to Scotland as soon as might be ; but wished him to delay coming till he should hear from her once more, that she might have all things prepared for his reception. He upon that wrote to her in a very vehement style, pressing her to zeal and fortitude of mind, in carrying on the restoring the catholic religion in her kingdom : with that he sent her over 4000 crowns, and sent one Edmund Hay, a jesuit, and a man of a cunning and penetrating temper, to be a secret assistant to her : in particular, he pressed her either to punish, or at least to disgrace, Lethington, who he believed set on all the tumults, and was a determined heretic, and a favourer of the earl of Murray.

Con has printed these letters. Pius the Fifth's letter bears date the 16th of June, 1566.

In it " he recommends his nuncio to her confidence, who was then bishop of Mondovi (*Montis Regalis*), and promises all possible assistance to her in her design of bringing back her kingdom to the obedience of the holy see." Queen Mary's answer bears date the 9th of October that year, from Edinburgh : " She

Life of Queen Mary, printed at Rome, An. 1624.

in it acknowledges the pope's favour and bounty to her : she adds some high expressions of her sense of the pope's zeal and piety, and promises to treat his nuncio with all respect and

confidence. She tells him that she had borne a son ; and that she had brought her nobility, though not without much difficulty, to consent that he should be publicly baptised after the manner of the catholic church. She promises to bring him up in that religion : and she hoped this should prove a good beginning of restoring the right use of the sacraments in her dominions." The pope seemed much pleased with this beginning of his pontificate ; and in his answer on the 22nd of January following, "he congratulates the birth and baptism of her son, and prays that it may have a good effect."

Three months passed before Laurea had any intimation from the queen concerning his coming over : upon which he sent the bishop of Dumblane, who was then at Paris, with copious advices to that queen, and continued to press her very earnestly by his letters, to admit of his coming over : the substance of all which is set forth in his life : he tells us further, "That the queen held a convention of the estates, and had obtained two things of them, not without difficulty : the one was, that her child should be baptised according to the rites of the Roman church ; and the other was, that the pope's nuncio should be admitted with due respect." Upon this the nuncio designed to go to Antwerp, thinking that the navigation would be safer from thence than from Calais. But then he adds, "that such a barbarous and impious crime was committed in Scotland, that it gave a horror to think of it, much more to write of it." Of what follows in that life I will add a verbal translation.

"The king, as was said, had the small-pox, upon which, that the contagion might not endanger the queen, he retired to a house at some distance from the palace : as he began to recover, he was often visited by her : one day they supped together, and after much discourse, and that they had diverted themselves till it was late, the queen pretended she could not stay with him all night, for one of her maids of honour being married that day, she must, according to the custom of former queens, see the bride put to bed. She was scarce gone, when some gunpowder that was secretly laid under the house, was fired, so that the whole house was blown up, and the king killed : though some said that he was not blown up, but that hearing some noise of armed men, he had got out by a back door into a neighbouring garden ; and that he and one of his servants were strangled before the house was blown up. It is certain that the king's dead body was found in that garden, with no other hurt but that about his neck a blackness appeared all round it. When this base murder was known, all people were struck with horror : some spoke severely of the queen herself ; libels were published upon it ; and some having discovered that Bothwell was the author of this horrid murder, they charged him, as being not only an assassinate, but a cruel hangman : it being on such occasions ordinary for people to search into and to discover such things.

"Bothwell, though a heretic, had been always zealous for the queen, and faithful to her ; and he had lately with great courage rescued her out of a danger she was in, from a very great sedition : besides, that the queen loved him desperately ; therefore, he in hope to be married to the queen, first divorced his wife, as if upon adultery that might be so done, that he might marry another wife, and then he cruelly contrived the murdering the king. The queen, after she had borne down some very wicked reports concerning herself, and Bothwell being afraid of some tumult that might have been fatal to them, thought fit to leave Edinburgh. So she carried her son with her to Stirling, a place of defence : having laid (as is probable) a design with Bothwell how matters were to be managed. A few days after she pretended to go out a hunting ; then Bothwell with two hundred horse seemed to surprise her, and to seize her by force. But the queen coming back with him to the castle, presently made him duke of Orkney, and declared him her husband. That marriage did neither prove happy nor lasting : it being a conjunction that had nothing of the matrimonial dignity in it, but had sprung from a partnership in an unworthy crime. Murray was then out of Scotland, but he had left Lethington among others behind him, who were to raise new quarrels and tumults upon every occasion. It was easy to Lethington to work up the minds of the people, who were universally enraged against the queen and Bothwell to a great flame : therefore a tumultuary army being in haste brought together at Edinburgh, they marched towards Stirling. But when the queen heard that, she, with a few women,

and some of her court, went to them. They received her with due respect: and being asked why they came thither armed, they answered, they came only to punish Bothwell for the crimes committed by him, both in the base and cruel murder of the king, and in the force he had put on her person. The queen justified Bothwell, and said, he had done nothing but by her consent: this did provoke them to such a degree of indignation, that they cried all out with one voice, 'Then, madam, you shall be our prisoner: ' and without more delay, they imprisoned her in a castle within an island in Lochleven; appointing only one footman and two ordinary women to attend upon her."

Thus the pope's nuncio understood this matter. There are some inconsiderable circumstances in this relation wrong told; yet the main of the story, agreeing with other relations, shows how falsely this matter has been since that time represented, not only by writers in the church of Rome, but by many among ourselves, to put better colours on this odious business. To this (that I may end all this unhappy matter at once, without adding any reflections on it, or telling what were the censures that passed on this occasion,—of which I have a great variety on both sides by me, in books printed very near that time,) I shall only

p. 72. add another very important passage that is in the Life of that cardinal, relating to the testament which that queen wrote with her own hand in French the day before she was beheaded. In it "she expressed her constant zeal for the catholic religion; and provided, that if the prince, her son, did not renounce the false and heretical persuasion which he had drunk in, the inheritance of the crown of England should never descend to him, but should devolve from him to Philip, king of Spain. When this original will was brought to the cardinal, he examined it with great care, that so it might appear that it was truly her last will, and that it ought to be acknowledged as such. He compared it with the letters he had formerly received from that queen; and not only he himself, but one Lewis Owen, an Englishman (bishop of Casana), then at Rome, whom the writer calls a pious and a most honest man, signed and attested it. The will being thus confirmed, and as it were fortified by a public authority, he delivered it to the count of Olivares, the king of Spain's ambassador, that it might be faithfully transmitted to that king himself." I have put the

Col.Num.94. words of the author of that Life in the language in which he wrote it in the Collection, so that the reader may compare the translation I have given with the original. I leave this dismal relation as I found it in these vouchers, without any further canvassing of that black affair, which was followed by a train of very extraordinary transactions.

The Scottish nation, both papists and protestants, concurred in the new settlement, of which I shall give a particular account from an authentic proof lately found in Scotland, and now kept in the library of the college of Glasgow. It is the first bond of association that was entered into, upon the resignation of the crown, which the queen was prevailed on to make (by force, as she afterwards declared, when she made her escape out of the prison with which she was threatened). She sent it by the lord Lindsay (ancestor to the earl of Crawford) and the lord Ruthven, afterwards made earl of Gowrie. This bears date, at Edinburgh, the 24th of July, 1567. By it she resigned the crown to her son; and, during his infancy, she named the earl of Murray to be regent, who was then in France, and did not come to Scotland,—at least he did not sign this bond before the 22nd of August. But in the council-book, on the 25th of July, the bond itself is entered on record. And the council removing to Stirling on the 29th of July, the queen's resignation was presented, and received by the earls of Morton, Athol, Glencairn, Mar, Montcith, the master of Graham, the lord Home, and the bishop of Orkney, in the name of the three estates. And the earl of Morton taking the coronation-oath in the name of the prince, he was anointed and crowned by the bishop of Orkney, who did indeed little honour to this ceremony; for he, a few days before, had performed the nuptial ceremonies between the queen and the earl of Bothwell. Upon all this,

Col.Num.95. the bond (which is in the Collection) was made to this purpose: "That whereas the queen being weary of the pains and travail of government, and desiring that in her lifetime her son might be placed in the kingdom, and be obeyed by all her subjects, had resigned the crown in favour of her son; they therefore promised, and bound themselves, to assist their king in setting him on the throne, and putting the crown on his head; and

that they should give their oaths of homage, with all dutiful obedience to him, as became true subjects ; and should concur in establishing him in his kingdom, and resist all such as should oppose it."

This was made up in some sheets of vellum ; and there are above two hundred hands of the most eminent families of that kingdom set to that bond. Twenty-five of these were then earls and lords ; and there are fifteen others, whose families are since that time advanced to be of the nobility. The noblemen are, the earl of Murray (who signs James, regent), the earls of Huntley, Argyle, Athol, Morton, Mar, Glencairn, Errol, Buchan ; the lords Graham, Home, Ruthven, Sanquhar, Glamis, Lindsay, Carlisle, Borthwick, Innermaith, Ochiltry, Sempil, Methven, Cathcart, Grey, Ross, Lovat, and the master of Montrose ; for earls' sons were then so designed. The noble families whose ancestors signed this bond are, Buccleugh, Queensberry, Athol, Roxburgh, Annandale, Galloway, Findlater, Panmure, Dalhousie, Leven, Stair, Kenmore, Jedburgh, Cranston, Kircudbright.

Besides those who subscribed the first bond, there was a second bond (that is likewise in the Collection) entered into in April 1569, "by which they did not only acknowledge the king's authority, but likewise (during the king's minority) the authority of the earl of Murray as regent, renouncing all other authority. And they swear to observe this bond ; in which if they failed, they are contented to be counted false, perjured, and defamed for ever." This, besides many of those who signed the former bond, was signed by the earls of Crawford and Cassilis, and the lords Salton, Ogilby, Oliphant, and the ancestors of the earls of Seaforth and Southesk, and of the lord Duffus. And in a subsequent bond, signed by the earl of Morton when he was regent, there are five other lords who signed it : the earl of Angus, ancestor to the duke of Douglas ; the lords Levingston, Drummond, Boyd, and Hoy of Yester, the ancestors of the earls of Linlithgow, Perth, and Kilmarnock, and of the marquis of Tweeddale.

These were for the greatest part protestants ; but there were many papists that joined with them. The earl of Huntley, ancestor to the present duke of Gordon, was the head of the popish party. The earl of Athol, whose name was Stuart, and whose family is since extinct in the male line, protested against the Reformation in parliament, and had assisted at the baptism of the young king in the popish manner. And besides these, the lords Oliphant, Gray, Sempil, Maxwell, and Borthwick, were still papists. Thus, as the war against the queen-regent (eight years before) was engaged in on national grounds, this great revolution of that kingdom seems to have proceeded, as to the civil part, upon the same principles. So that whatsoever was done in this matter, was done, not upon the grounds of the Reformation, but upon national grounds, and pretended precedents, and laws : in all which the queen of England had secretly a great hand, how much soever it was disguised or denied.

The interest of state was clearly of her side ; for the house of Guise, that began to form great projects in France, laid a main part of their scheme in the design of advancing the unfortunate queen of Scotland to the crown of England ; and in the view of that succession, many plots were formed to destroy that glorious queen. They also practised upon the king, her son, as soon as he was capable of being wrought on, by the duke of Lennox and others, whom they employed about him to keep him in a dependence on them. They assured him he should still be king of Scotland ; their design being, that if their practices against queen Elizabeth had succeeded, his mother should have left Scotland to him when she was advanced to the crown of England. They did likewise engage him to continue unmarried ; though he, being the only person of his family, it was otherwise very reasonable to marry him soon : yet they durst not venture on a popish match till their great design on the crown of France had succeeded ; and they would by no means suffer him to marry into a protestant family.

They kept him so much in their management, that the queen of England, and her wise council, understanding all this practice, raised those jealousies of his religion, and made such discoveries of that secret correspondence he was in with the house of Guise, that to this all the troubles that the kirk gave him were chiefly owing. The leaders among them knew, from the intelligence sent them by the court of England, more than

The Reasons
that moved
Queen Eliza-
beth to be
jealous of the
King of Scot-
land.

The effects
that this had.

they thought fit to own, or than could be well proved. This was the true cause of all that peevish opposition that he met with from the ministers there, which is copiously set forth by archbishop Spotswood ; but either he knew not, or did not think fit to set that out as the effect of the jealousy raised by the court of England, on the account of the confidence in which he was engaged with the house of Guise.

But as these practices had a fatal conclusion with relation to the unfortunate queen Mary after her long imprisonment, so when upon the murder of the duke of Guise, and the successes in the beginning of Henry the Fourth of France's reign, all those projects of that ambitious and persecuting house were at an end, the king of Scotland married to a daughter of Denmark, and continued still after that in a confidence with the queen of England, which secured to him the succession to that crown.

In giving this short view, which I thought important, and in which I was instructed by many papers that I have seen, I have run a great way beyond my design, which was only to open the first settlement of the Reformation in the isle of Great Britain, now happily by her late majesty united into one kingdom : so that nothing remains to be written in pursuance of that. Only, since upon some public occasions, I have referred to a declaration of queen Elizabeth's (by which she owned and justified the assistance that she gave to the subjects, both of Scotland and in the Netherlands, in the necessary defence to which the illegal cruelty of their governors forced them), and since I have been challenged to publish it, not without insinuations that it was a forgery, I have thought it proper to conclude my collection of records with that declaration, that so a paper of such importance may be preserved, and may be more generally read.

I now conclude this work, in which, as I have faithfully set out everything according to the materials and vouchers with which I was furnished, so I have used all proper means to procure the best information that I could. It remains, that I leave this to posterity, as the authentic history of a series of great transactions, honestly (though often feebly) conducted, with good intentions and happy beginnings, though not carried on to the perfection that was designed and wished for.

The proviso that had passed in king Henry the Eighth's time, that continued all the canon law then received in England, till a code of ecclesiastical laws was prepared, which though attempted and well composed, was never settled, has fixed among us many gross abuses, besides the dilatory forms of those courts, which make all proceedings in them both slow and chargeable. This has in a great measure enervated all church discipline. A faint wish, that is read on Ash-Wednesday, intimates a desire of reviving the ancient discipline ; yet no progress has been made to render that more effectual.

The exemptions settled by the papal authority do put many parts of this church in a very disjointed state ; while in some places the laity, and in many others presbyters, exercise episcopal jurisdiction independent on their bishops, in contradiction to their principles, while they assert a divine right for settling the government of the church in bishops, and yet practise episcopal authority in the virtue of an act of parliament, that provisionally confirmed those papal invasions of the episcopal power, which is plainly that which by a modern name is called Erastianism, and is so severely censured by some who yet practise it ; since whatsoever is done under the pretence of law against the divine appointment, can go under no better name than the highest and worst degree of Erastianism.

The abbots, with the devouring monasteries, had swallowed up a great part of that which was the true patrimony of the church : these houses being suppressed, unlimited grants were made of their lands, without reserved provisions for the subsistence of those who were to serve at the altar ; this has put a great part of our clergy under crying necessities ; and though the noble bounty of the late queen has settled funds for their relief, the good effect of that comes on but slowly : yet it is some comfort to think that within an age there will be an ample provision for all that serve in the church ; and upon that prospect we may hope that many abuses will be then quite abolished.

But with all these defects, we must rejoice in this, that our doctrine is pure and uncorrupted ; that our worship is truly a reasonable service, freed from idolatry and superstition ; and that the main lines of our church government agree to the first constitution of the

churches by the apostles: so that upon the grounds laid down by St. John, all may hold fellowship with us, since we hold fellowship with the Father, and with the Son, Jesus Christ.

May we all adhere firmly to the doctrine of the apostles, and continue in their fellowship, in sacraments and prayers, suitably to the rules laid down by them: contending earnestly for the faith delivered by them to the saints, the first Christians: and may all “who believe in God, be careful to maintain good works for necessary uses, which are both good and profitable unto men; avoiding foolish questions and contentions, for they are unprofitable and vain.”

May we all continue to recommend our doctrine and church by a holy and exemplary deportment, “shining as lights, and walking worthy of God, who has called us to his kingdom and glory;” improving all the advantages that we have, and bearing with all the defects that we labour under, using our best endeavours to have them redressed; yet still keeping the “unity of the Spirit in the bond of peace;” waiting for such a glorious conjunction as may restore everything among us to a primitive purity and splendour: which God may perhaps grant to the prayers of those who call on him night and day for it.

But if we never see so happy a time upon earth, we know if we continue watchful and “faithful to the death,” we shall arrive at last at a blessed society, of “innumerable companies of angels, and the spirits of just men made perfect; of whom is composed the general assembly and church of the first born, who are written in heaven, who see and enjoy God for ever.” In the view of directing myself and others thither, I have written, and now I do conclude this work.

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AD LIBRUM PRIMUM.

I.—*The Record of Cardinal Adrian's Oath of Fidelity to Henry VII. for the Bishopric of Bath and Wells.*

[Tre. Rolls.]

HENRICUS Rex, &c. Reverend. in Christo Patri Domino Sylvestro Episcop. Wigorn. venerabili viro Domino Roberto Sherbourn Ecclesie Sancti Pauli London. decano, nostris in Romana curia oratoribus, ac Magistro Hugoni Yowng Sacre Theologie Professori, salutem. Cum omnes et singuli Archiepiscopi et Episcopi hujus nostri Inclyti Regni, quorum omnium nominationes, et promotiones, ad ipsas supremas dignitates, nobis attinent ex regali et peculiari quadam Prærogativa, jureq; municipali, ac inveterata consuetudine, hactenus in hoc nostro Regno inconcusse et inviolabiliter observata, teneantur et astringantur, statim et immediate post impetratas Bullas Apostolicas, super eorundem promotione ad ipsam nostram nominationem, coram nobis et in præsentia nostra, si in hoc Regno nostro fuerunt, vel coram Commissariis nostris, ad hoc sufficienter et legitime deputatis, si alibi moram traxerunt, non solum palam, publice, et expresse, totaliter cedere, et in manus nostras renunciare omnibus, et quibuscunq; verbis, clausulis, et sententiis in ipsis Bullis Apostolicis contentis, et descriptis, quæ sunt, vel quovis modo in futurum esse poterunt, præjudicialia, sive damnosa, nobis, hæredibusq; de corpore nostro legitime procreatis Angliæ regibus, Coronæ aut Regno nostro, juribus vel consuetudinibus aut Prærogativis ejusdem Regni nostri, et quoad hoc totaliter seipsos submittere et ponere in nostra bona venia et gratia; sed etiam juramentum fidelitatis et homagii ad Sancta Dei Evangelia, per eosdem respective corporaliter tacta, nobis facere et præstare: Cumq; nos ob præclara merita eximiasq; virtutes quibus Reverendissimum in Christo Patrem, Dominum Adrianum tituli Sancti Chrisogoni Presbyterum Cardinalem, abunde refertum conspiciamus, obq; diuturnum et fidele obsequium per ipsum Cardinalem nobis factum et impensum, eundem ad Ecclesias Bathon. et Wellen. invicem unitas nominavimus et promovimus, qui idcirco et ob id quod in curia Romana continui moram trahit, non potest commode hujusmodi renunciationem et juramentum coram nobis personaliter facere et præstare: Hinc est quod nos de fidelitatibus vestris et provida circumspectione, ad plenum confidentes, dedimus, et concessimus, ac per præsentem damus et concedimus, vobis, tribus aut duobus vestrum, quorum præfatum Episcopum Wigorn. unicum esse volumus, plenam potestatem et auctoritatem, vices et nomine nostris, hujusmodi renunciationem

in manus vestras, et juramentum ad Sancta Dei Evangelia corporaliter tacta, juxta formam et verum tenorem, de verbo in verbum inferius descriptum, ab eodem Reverendissimo Domino Cardinali recipiendi, exigendi, et cum effectu præstari videndi; ipsumq; Cardinalem, ut hujusmodi renunciationem et juramentum per ipsum sic ut permittatis fiendum, et præstandum, manu et subscriptione suis signet, et muniat, requirendi, et ut ita fiat cum effectu videndi, literas quoq; et instrumenta publica super hujusmodi renunciatione, et juramento fieri petendi, et notarium sive notarios publicos, unum vel plures, ut ipsa instrumenta conficiant; Necnon testes qui tunc præsentem erunt, ut veritati testimonium perhibeant rogandi et requirendi, ipsaq; juramentum vel instrumenta taliter fienda, verum ordinem rei gerendæ, et renunciationis ac juramenti tenores in se continens vel continentia, nobis destinandi et transmittendi; Et generaliter omnia et singula faciendi, gerendi, et exercendi, quæ in prædictis et quolibet prædictorum necessaria fuerint, seu quomodolibet opportuna, ac quæ rei qualitas exigit et requirit, et quæ nos ipsi facere et exercere possemus si præsens et personaliter interessemus, etiam si talia forent quæ de se mandatum exigant magis speciale. Tenor Renunciationis sequitur et est talis: Ego Adrianus miseratione divina tituli Sancti Chrisogoni Presbyt. Cardinalis Episcopus Bathon. et Wellen. coram vobis Reverendo Patre Episcopo Wigorn. Domino Roberto Sherborno decano Sancti Pauli London. et Hugone Yowng in Theologia Professore, Commissariis ad hoc a serenissimo atq; excellentissimo Principe Domino Henrico Dei Gratia Rege Angliæ, et Franciæ, et Domino Hiberniæ, ejus nominis septimo, Domino meo supremo, sufficienter et legitime deputatis, expresse renuncio, et in his scriptis manu et sigillo meis in præsentia notariorum et testium subscriptorum munitis, totaliter cedo omnibus et quibuscunq; verbis, clausulis et sententiis, in bullis Apostolicis mihi factis de prædict. Episcopat. Bathon. et Wellen. contentis et descriptis, quæ sunt vel quovismodo in futurum esse poterint præjudicialia sive damnosa præfato serenissimo Regi, Domino meo supremo, et hæredibus suis de corpore suo legitime procreatis Angl. Regibus, Coronæ aut Regno, sive Majestatis Juribus vel consuetudinibus, aut Prærogativis ejusdem Regni: et quoad hoc me integraliter submitto et pono in gratia suæ Celsitudinis, humillime supplicans suam Majestatem, dignetur mihi concedere temporalia dicti Episcopatus Bathon. et Wellen. quæ recognosco tenere a sua Majestate tanquam a Domino meo Supremo. Tenor Juramenti sequitur et est talis: Et ego idem Adrianus Cardinalis prædictus Juro ad hæc Sancta Dei Evangelia per me corporaliter tacta, quod ab hac

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die et in antea, vita mea naturali durante, ero fidelis et verus ligens, ac fidelitatem in ligencia mea pure et sincere servabo, fidelegi; et verum obsequium secundum optimum posse meum faciam et impendam serenissimo Principi Henrico ejus nominis septimo, Dei Gratia Angl. et Fran. Regi ac Domino Hiber. Domino meo supremo, et hæredibus suis de corpore suo legitime procreatis Angl. Regibus, contra quascunq; personas, cujuscunq; status, gradus, præminentie aut conditionis extiterint: nec quicquam faciam aut attemptabo fieri, ne aut attemptari consentiam, quod in damnum, incommodum, aut præjudicium, ipsius serenissimi Regis aut hæredum suorum prædictorum, jurium, libertatum, Prærogativarum, privilegiorum et consuetudinum sui incliti Regni, quovis modo cedere poterit; sed omne id quod jam scio, vel in posterum cognoscam inhonorabile, damnosum aut præjudiciale, suæ Serenitati, aut Regno suo, seu contrarium honori aut Serenitati suæ Majestatis, aut hæredum suorum prædictorum, non solum impediam ad extremum potentie meæ, sed etiam cum omni possibili diligentia id ostendam et significabo, ostendive aut significari faciam eidem serenissimo Regi, omni favore, metu, promisso aut Jurjurando cuicunq; persone aut quibuscunq; personis cujuscunq; status, gradus, ordinis præminentie conditionisve extiterint, quod antehac per me factū aut interpositū seu in posterum fiendū aut interponendū, penitus sublato et non obstantibus. Honorem insuper suæ Majestati ad extremum potentie meæ servabo, Parliamentis quoq; et aliis Consiliis suæ Celsitudinis cum in ejus Regno fuero diligenter attendam; Consilium quod sua Serenitas per se seu literas aut nuncium suum mihi manifestabit, nemini pandam, nisi iis quibus ipse jusserit: et si consilium meum super aliquo facto Majestas sua postulaverit, fideliter sibi consulam, et quod magis suæ Serenitati videbitur expedire, et conducere juxta opinionem et scire meum, dicam et aperiam, atque id si sua Serenitas mandaverit pro posse meo diligenter faciam. Causas insuper et negotia omnia suæ Serenitatis mihi commissa, seu in posterum committenda, in Curia Romana prosequenda, pertractanda et sollicitanda, fideliter, accurate et diligenter, cum omnimoda dexteritate prosequar, pertractabo et sollicitabo: Bullasq; et alias Literas Apostolicas validas et efficaces, in debita Juris forma, super eisdem causis et negotiis impetrare et obtinere absq; fraude, dolo aut sinistra quavis machinatione quantum in me erit, cum omni effectu enitar, operam dabo et conabor: ac easdem taliter expeditas, cum ea quam res expostulat diligentia, suæ Serenitati, transmittam aut per alios transmitti, tradi et liberari curabo, et faciam. Servitia quoq; et homagia pro temporalibus dicti Episcopatus, quæ recognosco tenere a sua Celsitudine tanquam a Domino meo supremo, fideliter faciam et implebo. Ita me Deus adjuvet et hæc Sancta Dei Evangelia. In cujus, &c. T. R. apud Westm. 13 die Octob.

Per ipsum Regem.

II.—*Pope Julius's Letter to Archbishop Warham for giving K. Henry VIII. the Golden Rose.*

[Registrum Warhami Fol. 26.]

Julius Secundus Papa venerabili Fratri Guilielmo Archiepiscopo. Cantuarien.

VENERABILIS Frater, salutem et Apostolicam Benedictionem. Charissimum in Christo Filium nostrum Henricum Angliæ Regem Illustrissimum, quem peculiari charitate complectimur, aliquo insigni Apostolico munere in hoc Regni sui primordio, decorandum putantes, mittimus nunc ad eum Rosam Auream, Sancto Chrismate delibutam, et odorifero Musco

aspersam, nostrisq; manibus de more Romanorum Pontificum benedictam, quam ei a tua Fraternitate inter Missarum solemnias per te celebranda, cum cæremoniis in notula alligata contentis, dari volumus nostra et Apostolica benedictione. Datum Romæ apud Sanctum Petrum sub Annulo Piscatoris 5 April, 1510. Pontificatus nostri Anno septimo.

Sigismundus.

The Note of the Ceremonies of delivering the Rose, referred to in the Letter, was not thought worthy to be put in the Register.

III.—*A Writ for Summoning Convocations.*

[Toust. Regist. Fol. 33.]

REX, &c. Reverendissimo in Christo Patri Cantuarien. Archiepis. totius Angliæ Primati et Apostolicæ sedis Legato, salutem. Quibusdam arduis et urgentibus negotiis, Nos, defensionem et securitatem Ecclesiæ Anglicanæ, ac pacem, tranquillitatem, et bonum publicum, et defensionem Regni nostri et subditorum nostrorum ejusdem concernentibus, vobis in fide et dilectione quibus nobis tenemini rogando mandamus, quatenus præmissis debito intuitu attentis et ponderatis, universos et singulos Episcopos vestræ Provinciæ, ac Decanos et Priores Ecclesiarum Cathedralium, Abbates, Priores et alios Electivos, exemptos et non exemptos, necnon Archidiaconos, Conventus, Capitula, et Collegia, totumq; Clerum, cujuslibet Dioceseos ejusdem Provinciæ, ad conveniendum coram vobis in Ecclesia Sancti Pauli London. vel alibi prout melius expedire videritis, cum omni celeritate accommoda, modo debito convocari faciatis ad tractandum, consentiendum, et concludendum super præmissis, et aliis quæ sibi clarius proponentur, tunc et ibidem ex parte nostra. Et hoc, sicut Nos et statum Regni nostri, et honorem et utilitatem Ecclesiæ prædictæ diligitis, nullatenus omittatis. Teste meipso, &c. apud Westminst., 6 Feb., Anno Regni 14.

Warham in his Writ of executing this Summons, prefixes the 20th of April for the day of their meeting.

IV.—*A Writ for a Convocation summoned by Warham on an Ecclesiastical account.*

[Regist. Fitz-Williams.]

WILLIELMUS permissione divina Cantuar. Archiepiscopus, totius Angliæ Primas et Apostolicæ sedis Legatus, venerabili confratri nostro Domino Ricardo Dei Gratia London. Episcopo, salutem et fraternam in Domino caritatem. Cum nuper Ecclesia Anglicana, quæ majorum nostrorum temporibus, multis ac magnis libertatibus et immunitatibus gaudere solebat, quorundam iniquorum hominum malitiis, et nequitis fortiter fuerit inquietata et perturbata, qui omnia quæ a majoribus nostris sancte et pie, ob tranquillitatem dictæ Ecclesiæ, fuerunt ordinata ac sancita, vel prava et sinistra interpretatione prope subvertentes, vel personas Ecclesiasticas male tractantes, ac eas contemptui habentes, dictam Ecclesiam pene prostraverunt ac pedibus conculcarunt: Ne igitur dicta Ecclesia Anglicana ad calamitatem insignem seu ruinam ac jacturam, et quod absit, desolationem perveniat, quas diu eadem Ecclesia Anglicana per diversas personas, ut præfertur præ oculis suis Deum non habentes, nec censuras Sanctæ Matris Ecclesiæ timentes, sustinuit et sustinebat, prout de verisimili Reformatione non habita in futurum sustinere debeat; Nos prout tenemur, congruum remedium in hac parte providere cupientes, et ob id ipsum Prælatos et Clerum nostræ Cantuar. Provinciæ convocare volentes; Fraternitati vestræ igitur committimus et mandamus, quatenus omnes et singulos

dictæ nostræ Cant. Ecclesiæ Suffraganeos infra nostram Provinciam constitutos, et absentium Episcoporum si qui fuerunt Viarios in Spiritualibus generales, ac Diocesim vacantium Custodes Spiritualitatis, et Officiales citetis seu citari faciatis, preemptorie, et per eos Decanos et Priores Ecclesiarum Cath. ac singula Capitula eorundum, Archidiaconos, Abbates et Priores, Conventus sub se habentes, et alios Ecclesiarum Prælatos exemptos, et non exemptos, Clerumq; cuiuslibet Dioceseos Provinciæ nostræ antedictæ, citari preemptorie et præmoneri volumus et mandamus, Quod iidem Episcopi Suffraganei, nostri Vicarii Generales, Decani et Custodes sive Officiales, Abbates, Priores, Archidiaconi ac cæteri Ecclesiarum Prælati, exempti et non exempti, personaliter, et quodlibet Capitulum Ecclesiarum Cath. per unum de Capitulo graduatum, vel magis idoneum, dictiq; singuli Abbates, sive Priores, Conventus sub se habentes, nullo obstante impedimento legitimo, per unam Religiosam personam de Conventu graduatam si quæ sit, seu alias per unam magis idoneam de eodem Conventu, Clerusq; cuiuslibet Dioc. Provinciæ antedictæ per duos procuratores graduatos ejusdem Dioc. seu alias si non fuerint, per duos sufficientiores et habiliores Dioc. in eorum Beneficiis realiter residentes, compareant coram nobis aut nostris in hac parte locumtenentibus, vel Commissariis si nos tunc (quod absit) impediri contigerit in Ecclesia Cathed. Sancti Pauli London. die Sabbat. viz. 26 mensis Januarii, &c. Dat. in Manerio nostro de Lambeth. primo die mensis Novembris Anno Domini millesimo quingentesimo nono, et nostræ Translat. Anno sexto.

V.—*The Preamble of the Act of Subsidy granted by the Clergy.*

[Anno Dom. 1523. Regist. Cuthberti Tonstall. Fol. 40.]

QUUM Illustrissimus et Potentissimus Dominus noster Rex Angliæ et Franciæ, Defensor Fidei et Dominus Hibern. semper extitit constantissimus Ecclesiæ Protector et Patronus optime meritis, atq; superioribus annis, in diebus felicis recordationis Julii ejus nominis Papæ secundi, grave schisma in Ecclesia Romana exortum pacavit et extinxit; et postea ipsam Ecclesiam Romanam contra vim et potentiam Gallorum, qui tunc Italiam et Urbem Romanam in servitutem redigere moliebantur, validissimo exercitu et bello longe omnium sumptuosissimo feliciter defendit, et securam reddidit: Ac præterea postremis his diebus Lutheranas, Hæreses, in Ecclesiæ Sacramenta Ecclesiæq; statum furiose debaccantes doctissimo et nunquam satis laudato libello contudit et superavit; vicissim tam gladio quam calamo hostes Ecclesiæ strenuissime profligans, quibus meritis suam clarissimam famam immortalis gloriæ pariter consecravit, tales laudes et gratias sua incomparabili bonitate ab Ecclesia promeruit, quales nunquam satis dignas quisquam mortalitū referre poterit sed Deus affatim persolvat præmia digna. Quumq; idem Rex noster et Protector illustrissimus a Rege Gallorum per Mare et per Terras, incolas hujus Regni contra percussum fœdus, promissam fidem, et suum ipsius saluum conductum assidue infestante, et Scotos contra Regnum hoc instigante ac suis stipendiis conducente, atq; duces Albanæ in perniciem principis Scottorum nostri Regis ex sorore Nepotis impellente, aliasq; injurias multas et graves contra Regiam Majestatem suosq; amicos et subditos quotidie multiplicante, provocatur, irritatur atq; urgetur ut bellum suscipiat, suumq; Regnum tam contra Gallos quam contra Scotos ut decet invictissimum Principem potenter defendat; non enim ultra pacem colere vel pacem longius expectare convenit postquam Rex Gallorum summum Pontificem bene moventem,

et quæ pacis sunt suadentem, audire recusat, exercitum instruens et bellum apparatus, fortassis in multos annos duraturum: dignissimum est ob præfata tam præclara facinora, ut sicut Rex noster illustrissimus plus cæteris Regibus antecessoribus suis pro Ecclesiæ defensione, utilitate et honore insudavit, et plus expensarum sustinuit; ita ad sustinenda bellorum onera imminetia, pro Ecclesiæ et totius Regni hujus defensione, per Ecclesiam tali subsidio adjuvetur quale anterioribus Regibus nunquam antehac concessum est, nec fortassis posterioribus Regibus unquam simile, nisi ob talia benefacta vel extremam bellorum necessitatem postea concedetur. Quocirca ut Regia Majestas ad fovendam et protegendam Ecclesiam, et Clerum Angliæ, magis indies animetur, et ut jura, libertates et privilegia Ecclesiæ concessa benigne Ecclesiæ servet, et ab aliis servari faciat, et ne præfata benefacta in ingratos contulisse videatur:

Nos Prælati et Clerus Cant. Provinciæ in hac Sacra Synodo Provinciali sive Prælatorum et Cleri ejusdem Convocatione, in Ecclesia Cathed. Divi Pauli London. vicesimo die mensis Aprilis Anno Dom. millesimo quingentesimo vicesimo tertio inchoata, ac usq; ad et in decimum quartum diem mensis Augusti proxime ex tunc sequentis diebus in dies continuata, congregati, Illustrissimo Domino Regi perpetuo et potentissimo Fidei et Ecclesiæ defensori, subsidium dare et concedere Decrevimus, quam nostram Benevolentiam ut gratam et acceptam habeat humillime deprecamur, protestantes expresse, quod per præsentem concessionem, quam tanquam novam et ante insolitam pro nostra singulari et personali in Regiam Majestatem observantia sine exemplo donamus, omnino nolumus Ecclesiæ Anglicanæ aut successoribus nostris in aliquo prejudicium generari, nec casum hunc singularem ad sequen. trahi: Quod si præsentem Concessionem pro exemplo et (ut vocant) pro Præsidente ad similes unquam Concessionem exigendas accipiendam fore præsentiremus, certe in eam omnino consentire recusassemus; quandoquidem subsidium sub modis, formis, conditionibus, exceptionibus ac provisionibus, et protestatione super et infrascriptis, et non aliter, neq; alio modo, Damus et Concedimus, viz. Subsidium se extendens ad Medietatem sive mediam partem valoris omnium fructuum reddituum, et proventuum, possessionum, unius anni, omnium et singulorum Episcopatum, Ecclesiarum Cathed. et Collegiarum, Dignitatum, Hospitalium, Monast. Abbaciarum, Prioratuum aliarumq; domorum Religiosarum, necnon quorumcunq; beneficiorum et Possessionum Ecclesiasticarum, &c.

VI.—*Bishop Tonstall's Licence to Sir Thomas More for reading Heretical Books.*

[Regist. Tonst. Fol. 138.]

CUTHBERTUS permissione Divina London. Episcopus Clarissimo et Egregio viro Domino Thomæ More fratri et amico Charissimo Salutem in Domino et benedict. Quia nuper, postquam Ecclesia Dei per Germaniam ab hæreticis infestata est, juncti sunt nonnulli iniquitatis Filii, qui veterem et damnatam hæresim Wyckliffianam et Lutheranam, etiam hæresis Wyckliffianæ alumni transferendis in nostratam vernaculam linguam corruptissimis quibuscunq; eorum opusculis, atque illis ipsis magna copia impressis, in hanc nostram Regionem inducere conantur; quam sane pestilentissimis dogmatibus Catholicæ fidei veritatis repugnantibus maculare atq; inficere magnis conatibus moluntur. Magnopere igitur verendum est ne Catholica veritas in totum periclitetur nisi boni et eruditi viri malignitatem tam prædictorum hominum strenue occurrant, id quod

nulla ratione melius et aptius fieri poterit, quam si in lingua Catholica veritas in totum expugnans hæc insana dogmata simul etiam ipsissima prodeat in lucem. Quo fiet ut Sacrarum Literarum imperiti homines in manus amentes novos istos Hæreticos Libros, atq; una etiam Catholicos ipsos refellentes, vel ipsi per se verum discernere, vel ab aliis quorum perspicacius est iudicium recte admoneri et doceri possint. Et quia tu, Frater Clarissime, in lingua nostra vernacula, sicut etiam in Latina, Demosthenem quendam præstare potes, et Catholicæ veritatis assertor acerrimus in omni congressu esse soles, melius subcisivas horas, si quas tuis occupationibus suffurari potes, collocare nunquam poteris, quam in nostrate lingua aliqua edas que simplicibus et ideotis hominibus subdolum hæreticorum malignitatem aperiant, ac contra tam impios Ecclesiæ supplantatores reddant eos instructiores: habes ad id exemplum quod imiteris præclarissimum, illustrissimum Domini nostri Regis Henrici octavi, qui Sacramenta Ecclesiæ contra Lutherum totis viribus ea subvertentē asserere aggressus, immortale nomen Defensoris Ecclesiæ in omne ævum promeruit. Et ne Andabatarum more cum ejusmodi larvis lucteris, ignorans ipse quod oppugnes, mitto ad te insanas in nostrate lingua istorū nēnias, atque una etiam nonnullos Lutheri Libros ex quibus hæc opinioſa monstra prodierunt. Quibus abs te diligenter perlectis, facilius intelligas quibus latibulis tortuosi serpentes sese condant, quibusq; anfractibus elabi deprehensi studeant. Magni enim ad victoriam momenti est hostium Consilia explorata habere, et quid sentiant quove tendant penitus nosse: nam si convellere pares que isti se non sensisse dicent, in totum perdas operam. Macte igitur virtute, tam sanctum opus aggredere, quo et Dei Ecclesiæ prosis, et tibi immortale nomen atq; æternam in Coelis gloriam pares: quod ut facias atque Dei Ecclesiam tuo patrocinio munias, magnopere in Domino obsecramus, atq; ad illum finem ejusmodi libros et retinendi et legendi facultatem atq; licentiam impertimur et concedimus. Dat. 7 die Martii, Anno 1527 et nostræ Cons. sexto.

AD LIBRUM SECUNDUM.

I.—*The Bull for the King's Marriage with Queen Katherine.*

[Cott. Libr. Vitel. B. 12.]

JULIUS Episcopus servus servorum Dei, dilecto Filio Henrico carissimi in Christo Filii Henrici Angliæ Regis illustriss. Nato, et dilectæ in Christo Filie Catharinæ, Carissimæ in Christo Filii nostri Ferdinandi Regis, ac Carissimæ in Christo Filie nostræ Elizabeth. Reginæ Hispaniarum et Siciliæ Catholicorum nate, illustribus, salutem et Apostolicam Benedictionem. Romani Pontificis præcellens Autoritas concessa sibi desuper utitur potestate, prout personarum, negotiorum et temporum qualitate pensata, id in Domino conspicit salubriter expedire. Oblatæ nobis nuper pro parte vestra petitionis series continebat, Quod cum alias tu Filia Catharina, et tunc in humanis agens quondam Arthurus, Carissimi in Christo Filii nostri Henrici Angliæ Regis illustrissimi primogenitus, pro conservandis pacis et amicitie nexibus et fœderibus inter carissimum in Christo Filium nostrum Ferdinandum, et Carissimam in Christo Filiam nostram Elizabeth. Hispaniarum et Siciliæ Catholicos, ac præfatum Angliæ Reges et Reginam, matrimonium per verba legitime de præsentī contraxissetis, illudq; Carnali Copula forsā consummavissetis, Dominus Arthurus prole ex hujusmodi Matrimonio non suscepta decessit; Cum autem, sicut eadem petitio sub-

jungebat, ad hoc ut hujusmodi vinculum Pacis et Amicitie inter præfatos Reges et Reginam diutius permaneat, cupiatis Matrimonium inter vos per verba legitime de præsentī contrahere, supplicari nobis fecistis, ut vobis in præmissis de opportune Dispensationis gratia providere de benigne Apostolica dignaremur: Nos igitur, qui inter singulos Christi fideles, præsertim Catholicos Reges et Principes, Pacis et Concordiæ amēnitatem vigere intensis desideriis affectamus, vosque et quemlibet vestrum a quibuscunque Excommunicationis, Suspensionis et Interdict. aliisque Ecclesiasticis Sententiis, Censuris, Pœnis, a jure vel ab homine, quavis occasione vel causa latis, si quibus quomodolibet innodati existitis, ad effectum præsentium duntaxat consequendum, harum serie absolventes, et absolutos fore censentes hujusmodi supplicationibus inclinati, vobiscum, ut impedimento affinitatis hujusmodi ex præmissis proveniente, ac Constitutionibus et Ordinationibus Apostolicis ceterisq; contrariis nequaquam obstantibus, Matrimonium per verba legitime de præsentī inter vos contrahere, et in eo, postquam Contractum fuerit, etiamsi jam forsā hactenus de facto publice vel clandestine contraxeritis, ac illud Carnali Copula consummaveritis, licite remanere valeatis, Auctoritate Apostolica tenore præsentium de specialis dono Gratie Dispensamus; ac vos et quemlibet vestrorum si contraxeritis (ut præfertur) ab excessu hujusmodi, ac Excommunicationis Sententia quam propterea incurristis, eadem Auctoritate Absolvimus, Prolem ex hujusmodi Matrimonio, sive contracto, sive contrahendo, susceptam forsā vel suscipiendam legitimam decernendo. Proviso quod tu (Filia Catharina) propter hoc rapta non fueris; volumus autem quod si hujusmodi Matrimonium de facto contraxistis, Confessor, per vos et quemlibet vestrum eligendus, pœnitentiam salutarem propterea vobis injungat, quam adimplere teneamini. Nulli ergo omnino hominum liceat hanc paginam nostræ Absolutionis, Dispensationis et voluntatis infringere, vel ei ausu temerario contrarie; si quis autem hoc attemptare præsumpsit, indignationem Omnipotentis Dei ac Beatorum Petri et Pauli Apostolorum ejus se noverit incursum. Dat. Romæ apud Sanctum Petrum, Anno Incarnationis Dominicæ millesimo quingentesimo tertio, septimo Cal. Januarii, Pontificatus nostri Anno primo.

II.—*The King's Protestation against the Marriage.*

[Cotton. Libr. Vitel. B. 12.]

IN Dei Nomine, Amen. Coram vobis Reverendo in Christo Patre et Domino, Domino Richardo Dei et Apostolicæ sedis gratia Episcopo Wintoniensi, Ego Henricus Walliæ Princeps, Dux Cornubiæ et Comes Cestriæ, dico, allego et in his Scriptis propono, Quod licet ego minorem ætatem agens, et intra annos pubertatis notorie existens, cum Serenissima Domina Catharina Hispaniarum Regis Filia, Matrimonium de facto contraxerim, qui quidem Contractus, quamvis obstante ipsa minore ætate mea de se jam invalidus, imperfectus, nullus efficaciæ aut vigoris extiterit; quia tamen annis pubertatis et matura ætate jam superveniente, Contractus ipse per tacitum Consensum, mutuam cohabitationem, munerum aut intersignificationem seu receptionem, vel alium quemcunque modum jure declaratum, forsā existimari seu videri poterit apparenter validatus aut confirmatus; Ea propter, Ego Henricus Walliæ Princeps prædictus, jam proximus pubertati existens, et annos pubertatis attingens, Protestor, quod non intendo eundem præsentium contractum per quecunque; per me dicta seu dicenda, facta aut facienda, in aliquo approbare, vali-

dare, seu ratum habere, sed nunc in præsentī, non vi, dolo, nec prece inductus, sed sponte et libere, nullo modo coactus, contra hujusmodi Contractum reclamo, et eidem dissentio, volo; et omnino intendo ab eodem contractu Matrimoniali prætenso, melioribus modo et forma, quibus de jure melius, validius, aut efficacius potero vel possim, penitus resilire, et eidem expresse dissentire, prout in præsentī contra eundem reclamo, et eidem dissentio. Protestor; quod per nullum dictum, factum, actum, aut gestum per me, aut nomine meo per alium quemcunque, quandocunque; aut qualemcunque, imposterum faciendum, agendum, gerendum, aut explicandum, volo aut intendo in præfatum contractum Matrimoniale, aut in dictam Dominam Catharinam tanquam Sponsam aut Uxorem meam consentire. Super quibus vos omnes testimonium perhibere volo, requiro, rogo, atque obtestor.

Per me Henricum Walliæ Principem.

LECTA fuit et facta suprascripta Protestatio, per præfatum Serenissimum Principem Dominum Henricum, coram Reverendo in Christo Patre et Domino, Domino Richardo permissione Divina Winton. Episcopo, Judicialiter pro tribunali sedent. et me Notarium infra scriptum ad tunc præsentem in ejus Actorum Scribam in hac parte assumentem, et Testium infra scriptorum præsentis. Anno Dom. 1505. Indictione octava, Pontificatus Sanctissimi in Christo Patris et Domini nostri Julii, Divina Providentia eo nomine Papæ secundi Anno secundo, Mensis vero Junii die 27; quo die Dominus Serenissimus Princeps proximus pubertati, et annos pubertatis attingens erat, ut tunc ibidem assererat, in quadam bassa Camera infra Palatium Regium Richemondiae, in parte occidentali ejusdem Palatii situat. Super quibus omnibus et singulis, præfatus Serenissimus Princeps me Notarium præmemoratum Instrumentum conficere, et testes infra nominatos testimonium perhibere requisivit instanter, et rogavit. In quorum omnium et singulorum fidem et testimonium, præfatus Serenissimus Princeps supra, et testes, ut præmittitur, rogati et requisiti, sua nomina propriis manibus infra scripserunt. Ita est ut supra, quod ego Johannes Raed manu et signo meo manuali Attestor.

GILES DAUBNEY, C. SOMERSET.
THOMAS ROWTHALE.
NICHOLAS WEST.
HENRY MARNY.

III.—*Cardinal Wolsey's first Letter to Sir Gregory Cassali, about the Divorce. — Taken from the Original.*

[Cotton. Libr. Vitol. B. 9.]

DOMINE GREGORI, Post meam cordatissimam Commendationem, post ultimum vestrum a me discessum ex compendio ad vos scripsi, ut ob nonnullas maximi momenti causas procurare differetis quod de Regiæ Majestatis negotio in quibusdam nobis traditis Commissionibus continebatur, quoad rursus vobis significarem quid ea in re fieri vellemus. Ubi vero ad Regiam Majestatem redissem, variis crebrisque cum ea habitis sermonibus, adeo abunde ac distincte illi aperui quam ex animo ac diligenter, et quam sincere et ex fide, diu noctuque exoptetis eidem Regiæ Majestati inservire; neque ullum unquam laborem, periculum aut molestiam vos velle recusare, ut omni studio ac viribus id fideliter præstare possitis quod illi gratum aut acceptum quoquo modo esse posse cognoveritis, omnemque industriam vos esse adhibituros quo vestræ fidei curæque commissæ optatum finem consequantur; quæ vestrum animum propensissima voluntate sic sub mea fide Regiæ Majestati insinuavi, ut meam hanc

relationem atque sponsonem pectori suo constantissime adfixerit, certissimamque fiduciam concepit, omnino futurum ut nostræ tunc expectationi quacunque in re et occasione respondeatis: Ex quo fit ut vestræ operæ, curæ atque prudentiæ ea nunc tractanda et procuranda committat, quibus nihil magis cordi habeat, nihil ardentius exoptet, aut majoris sit momenti vel gravioris successus, nec ullum habet Consiliarium, utcunque intimum, cui graviora possit committere. Quum itaque, me intercedente et procurante, nunc vos Regia Majestas præ cæteris ad hoc fidei adsciverit et elegerit, ut in re tam gravi fidelissima vestra opera ac ministerio utatur, fidemque illi meam de vobis jam ei adstrinxerim, nihil ambigens quin postquam ejus animus ac voluntatem cognoveritis, fueritisque abunde instructi quam maximi hæc quæ nunc expono sunt momenti, utpote quæ potissimum concernunt Regiæ conscientiæ exonerationem animæque suæ salutem, vitæ conservationem et incolomitatem, Regii Stemmatum continuationem, publicumque commodum et quietem subditorum omnium, eorum pariter qui sub ejus imperio nunc vivunt vel qui postea unquam in hoc suo Regno vivent; quumque perspiciam sedulum vestrum Ministerium hoc in negotio impendendum omnino redundaturum esse in præcipuum vestram exaltationem et utilitatem, postquam infelices istos jam passos successus occasionem se obtulisse videtis, qua vestra familia hujusmodi operam huic Serenissimo Principi navare possit, quod statum omnem vestrum in longe meliorem quam antea sit haud dubie restitutus et adancturus, certissimum competissimumque habeo, quod ob has tam urgentes causas et tam graves successuros effectus, adeo toto pectore vires omnes vestras industria ac studio tantæ conficiendæ rei addicetis, ut omnia queatis ad optatum exitum perducere; atque ita promissum fidemque meam præstabit, tam optimum Regiæ Majestatis institutum juvabit, ejus desiderio et expectationi omni ex parte satisficiet, et præter bene peractæ rei honorem et laudem comparandam, mercedem quoque reportabit tanti Principis liberalitate dignam, quæ certissime cedet in perpetuum vestrum totiusque vestræ familiæ commodum et incrementum: Et quum jam mihi persuadeam futurum omnino ut officiis actionibusque vestris sitis promissis sponsonibusque meis omnino satisfacturi, ad id pluribus verbis nequitum adhortor, proinde ad rem nunc ipsam venio. Ante hoc tempus vobis aperui, quemadmodum Regia Majestas, partim assiduo suo studio et eruditione, partim relatu ac judicio multorum Theologorum, et in omni Doctrinæ genere doctorum virorum asseveratione, existans conscientiam suam non esse sufficienter exoneratam, quod in conjugio existeret cum Regina, Deumque primo et ante omnia ac animæ suæ quietem et salutem respiciens, mox vero suæ Successionis securitatem, perpendensque accurate quam gravia hinc mala provenirent, aperte sentit quam maxime futurum sit Deo molestum, inhonorificum sibi, et ingratum apud homines, suisque subditis periculosum, ex hoc non sufficienti conjugio, si deprehendatur dicta Majestas sciens ac volens in eo perstare, et vivere præter modum debitum, juxtaque ritum et legitimam Ecclesiæ Statuta: quibus igitur ex causis longo jam tempore, intimo suæ conscientiæ remorsu, summique Dei rationem habens, existimat animam suam læsam et offensam, adeo quod, quum in suis conatibus actionibusque quibuscunque Deum potissimum sibi semper proponat, ingenti cum molestia cordisque perturbatione in hoc Matrimonio degit; super qua rematurum sanumque judicium consulit clarissimum celeberrimorumque Doctorum aliorumque complurium in omni eruditionis genere excellentiorum virorum ac Prælatorum, partim Theologorum, partim Jurisperitorum, tum in suo Regno, tum alibi existentium, ut

aperte vereq; cognosceret, an Dispensatio antea concessa pro se et Regina, ex eo quod Regina Fratris sui uterini Uxor antea extiterit, valida et sufficiens foret, necne: demumq; a variis multisq; ex his Doctoribus asseritur, quod Papa non potest dispensare in primo gradu affinitatis, tanquam ex jure Divino, moraliter, naturaliterq; prohibito, ac si potest, omnes affirmant et consentiunt quod hoc non potest, nisi ex urgentissimis et arduis causis, quales non subfuerunt. Bulla præterea Dispensationis fundatur et concessa est sub quibusdam rationibus falso suggestis et enarratis, in ea namq; asseritur, quod hæc Regia Majestas Matrimonium hoc cum Regina percipiebat, pro bono pacis inter Henricum septimum Ferdinandū et Elizabetham, quam revera nulla tunc dissensio aut belli suspicio esset inter dictos Principes, vel Regiam Majestatem prædictam, quæ in teneris adhuc annis, nec in discretionem aut judicio constitutis agebat; nunquam deinde assensit, aut quicquam cognovit de hujusmodi bullæ Impe- tratione, nec unquam hoc Matrimonium optavit, aut aliquid de eo accepit ante bullæ Impetrationem. Quocirca ab his omnibus Doctoribus atq; Prælati- bus judicatur hujusmodi Dispensationem non adeo validam et idoneam esse ac efficacem, ut prædictum Matrimo- nium manifeste justum legitimūq; sit: sed potius quod multa possunt objici, magnis probabilibusq; fun- data et corroborata rationibus, in non leve periculum Regiæ prolis, totiusq; Regni ac subditorum gravem perturbationem. Adhæc, postquam Regia Majestas, qui Walliæ Princeps tunc erat, decimum quartum annum attigisset, contractus Revocatio subsequuta est, Regne Patre expresse nolente quod hujusmodi Matrimo- nium ullo pacto sortiretur effectum. His causis Rex hic Serenissimus, tanquam bonus et Catholicus Princeps, timens ne ob tam diuturnam cum Regina continuationem, indignatus et iratus Deus citius ex humanis evocaverit Masculam e Regina susceptam prolem, graviusq; a Deo supplicium expavescit si in Matrimonio hoc non-legitimo perseveraverit; ex hac ideo occasione, intimis præcordiis hunc Conscientiæ scrupulum concepit, in animo nihilominus habens, pro animi conscientięq; suæ quiete et salute, proliq; secu- ritate, ad Sanctam Domini nostri sedemq; Apostolicam fugere, tantæ rei remedium impetraturum confidens, quod ob complura sua erga eam merita et officia tum calamo ingeniiq; viribus, tum armis præstita, subsidia in Ecclesiæ calamitatibus prompte subministrata, sanctis- simus Dominus noster non gravabitur sua benig- nitate, Autoritate ac facultate, intimum hunc Regiæ Majestatis cordi in hærentem dolorem amovere, eumq; modum ac rationem inire qua Regia Majestas prædicta Uxorem aliam ducere, et, Deo volente, masculam prolem in suæ successionis securitatem queat ex ea suscipere, et tam certam quietem in suo Regno con- stituere: Quumq; ejus Sanctitas ab his nunc captiva detineatur, qui pro virili sua forsitan conabuntur im- pedire, turbareq; hoc Regiæ Majestatis desiderium et Statutum, ipsa præterea cogitur vias omnes excogitare, quibus dicta Sanctitas de hac re dexterius et commo- dius instrui, et facilius adduci queat ad ea concedenda, præsertim medio et vigore Regiæ Majestatis animus et desiderium queat optatum sortiri effectum: Proinde ipsa Regia Majestas de fide, industria, dexteritate prudentiaq; vestra plenissime confidens, vult ut statim his literis acceptis, rebus aliis omnibus quibuscunq; ab eo vel a quovis alio vobis commissis omnino post- habitis, vias modosq; omnes possibiles excogitetis quibus potestis secretissime, mutato habitu et tanquam alicujus Minister, vel tanquam Commissionem habens a Duce Ferrariæ pro nonnullis inter Pontificem et eum componendis controversiis, vel alia qua licuerit securi- oriori via, ad Pontificis præsentiam et colloquium accedendi, omnibus arbitris semotis, si fieri possit, pro

vestris obeundis mandatis; quorum obtinendorum gratia, si ita expedire judicaveritis, eam mercedem ac pecuniarum summam promittetis ac tradetis, his qui revera volent atq; poterunt hoc negotium ad effectum pertrahere, quam summam, et ejus limitationem, judi- cio, prudentięque vestræ integram Regia Majestas remittit; etiam si his danda foret qui Pontificem asservant, vel cuiuscunq; alio qui vos tuto ad secretum cum sua Sanctitate Sermonem adducere, in locumq; tutum reducere posset: Cujus rei gratia, aliisq; ad hunc finem consequendum sustinendis oneribus neces- sariis, pecuniæ ad summam decem mille ducatorum, per Mensarios Venetias transmittentur, qui illic in promptu aderunt, persolvendæ et consignandæ Protho- notario Fratri vestro, Regio illic existenti Oratori; per eumq; de tempore in tempus ad vos transmitti eā summa poterit quam huic obtinendo negotio conducere posse existimaveritis, nihilq; ambigo quin dictam pecuniam fideliter collocetis, ex Regiæ Majestatis utili- tate, expectatione atq; sententia. Atq; ubi ad Sanctum Dominum nostrum accesseritis, post filiales et cordatissimas Regiæ Majestatis measq; devotas et humillimas commendationes, et post exhibitas a Rege Credentiæ literas, in quibus in negotii adjumentum clausula vellemeus est propria ejus manu conscripta, ut ex earum exemplo cognoscetis, ejus Sanctitati exponetis quam grave, molestumq; Regiæ Majestati et mihi sit, audire infelicissimos eventus, calamitatesq; miserandam, in qua nunc ejus Sanctitas cum Rever- endiss. Cardinalib. versatur, cum gravissimo detrimento irreparabili; sedis Apostolicæ illiusq; Patrimonii jactura, ad quæ mala sublevanda et corrigenda nullum in Regia Majestate officium desiderabitur, quod ab ullo erga Sanctam Domini nostri vel sedem Apostoli- cam observantissimo Principe queat excogitari; in eoq; omne meum ministerium ac studium non minus promptum aderit, quam si ex ea re solum possem mihi cælum comparare: quemadmodum experientia, aliqua in parte, jam docuit, et Deo duce posthac uberius comprobabit: quam rem copiosius optimisq; verbis agetis, præsertim, quum sciatis quanto et quam sincero affectu Regia Majestas ejus Sanctitatem prosequatur, et quanta mea sit in ipsam devotio, in hisque sermoni- bus insistetis prout loci, temporis, negociique ratio videbitur judicio vestro postulare.

Secundo, Sanctissimo Domino nostro solita vestra dexteritate aperietis id quod in his ipsis literis ad vos scripsi concernens hujus Matrimonii insufficientiam, ab hisq; rationibus et causis fundamentum capietis, quæ superius enarrantur integrumq; discursum ejus Sanctitati declarabitis, non omittentes intrinsicum dolorem, conscientię scrupulum, Dei rationem, Mas- culæ prolis respectum, hujus Regni bonum, et alia omnia ut superius scripta sunt: addentes insuper, nihil vehementius optari a tota Regni Nobilitate, subditisq; omnibus nullo discrimine, quam è Regiæ Majestatis corpore Masculum heredem a Deo sibi dari, in per- petuam consolationem, gaudium, quietem, ac totius Regni securitatem, posteritatisq; firmissimum colu- men: prudentiorumq; opinionem esse, quod Deus omnipotens a tanto bono concedendo divinam suam manum substatrit, ob errorem, culpamq; in dicto Matrimonio hactenus admissam, quæ nisi mature cor- rigatur, graviora ex hac occasione in hoc Regno mala succedent, quam antea unquam fuerunt audita; etenim si hoc negotium in suspenso et indiscussum relinque- retur, hujusmodi possent questiones, controversiæ et contentiones ac factiones post defunctum Regem exoriri, ob Regni hæreditatem, quæ non possent in multorum ævo restingui, ut antea olim ex causa longe leviori accidit, neq; ex re tam ambigua, tam sævæ olim depopulationes, bella, intestinæq; controversiæ exortæ, et ad multum tempus continuatæ sunt, in ex-

tremum et ferme ultimum Regni exordium; quæ quum tam gravia sunt, Sanctissimus Dominus noster veluti pater et gubernator Christianitatis prospicere ex officio debet, et quibuscumque modis potest, pro viribus adniti et conari, ut hæc Regna ac dominia quæ nunc super-
 •sunt in fide et obedientia Ecclesiæ assidue contineat, inter quæ, Deo sit laus, hoc Regnum haud recensendum est inter minima sed tanquam illud quod hactenus juvavit, et posthac pro tuto præsidio semper haberi poterit, adversus ea quæ cedere possent in Ecclesiæ Catholicæ vel sanctæ fidei detrimentum.

Tertio, Sanctissimo Domino nostro proponetis præsentem Ecclesiæ statum, rogabitque; ut in mentem velit redigere, quo nunc in statu suæ Sanctitatis res cum Christianis Principibus versentur, cumque; private contentiones, quæ illi sunt cum magna eorum principum parte, addita et ambitione immoderatoque; regum appetitu et ex arbitrio suo, Temporale jus omne atque Spirituale tractandi, Ecclesiasticamque; Jurisdictionem et Autoritatem invertendi, eo certe animo ut sedis Apostolicæ dignitatem extinguant; his omnibus in unum connexis ac bene consideratis, ejus Sanctitas manifeste cognoscet, Principem nullum, neque; portum, aut refugium tam tutum, cui in omnem eventum queat inhaerere, sibi relictum esse, quam hæc Regia Majestas est quæ nihil sibi vendicat, nil ambit, quod præjudicio esse possit dictæ Sanctitati, sed ejus, Apostolicæque; sedis, semper fuit, est, esseque; decrevit firmissimum acutum, tutissimumque; propugnaculum, ita suas actiones cum cæteris Principibus firmans et connectens, ut semper ex ea occasione in suam hanc optimam sententiam reliquos possit attrahere, adeo quod Regi tam optime in Sanctissimum Dominum nostrum affecto nihil denegari debeat, utcumque; maximum quod possit ab ejus Sanctitate præstari ordinaria vel absoluta sua Autoritate; nam procul dubio, post vias modosque; omnes tentatos, omnino perspicitur omnia alia amicitiae officia, si huic quod petitur comparentur, esse perquam exigua, et hoc amicum officium hujusmodi futurum, ex quo reliqua queant incrementum capere, sine eo futura alioquin parvi ac nullius fere momenti.

Tertio, probe notandum est, quod res nunc aperta et petita, a Regiaque; Majestate tantopere optata, ex tam magno conscientiae scrupulo, cordisque; remorsu oritur, ut unicuique; debita sit, quantumcumque; minori quam Regia Majestas sit de Sanctissimo Domino nostro merito. Quocirca judicat, et pro re comperta sibi persuadet, quod si ulla meritorum vel officiorum ratio habeatur, nunc ipsis Sanctitas huic suo desiderio et petitioni benignissime liberrimeque; adjuvet, nullo prorsus dubio, difficultate, contradictione aut mora injecta. Negotiumque; hujusmodi est, ut cognita Dispensationis insufficientia, quamvis id non requisivisset Rex, ultro proponi offerrique debuisset ab eadem Sanctitate tanquam a Patre Spirituali, in ejus salutis et conscientiae beneficium.

In gratiam igitur et contemplationem præmissorum omnium instantissime vehementissimeque; a Sanctissimo Domino nostro requireritis et contendetis, ut dubio, metuque; omni seposito, respicere velit ad causæ statum. et ad ea quæ subsequutura videantur, rationemque; habere infinitorum commodorum, quæ ex hac re suæ Sanctitati Apostolicæque; sedi inde provenient, rem hanc statim, absque; temporis tractu, et causæ circumstantia, nemini eam aperiens, libere concedere et indulgere nullique; communicare specialem Commissionem ad hunc effectum et finem confectam in forma Brevis concedere, et ad me dirigere, Facultatem addens, ut mihi liceat quoscunque; voluero ad me vocare, mihique; assilacere ad procedendum in hac causa, et inquirendum de dictæ Bullæ ac Dispensationis sufficientia, juxta formam ac tenorem expressum in quodam libello hujus rei gratia confecto; quem cum his ad vos mitto, sic in

debita forma conscriptum et digestum ut non sit futurum opus quo denuo ab ullo alio exercibatur, si forsitan periculosum putaretur eam rem cuique; patefacere vel in dubium aut dilationem protrahere iri negotium, si ulli ex Sanctissimi Domini nostri officiariis committeretur rursus conscribendum; sed quod in hujusmodi periculi eventum possit ejus Sanctitas sine ullo discrimine vel alicujus cognitione eam dicto libello signaturam, sigillumque; apponere, ut aperte inde constet, Pontificis meram voluntatem sic esse, illiusque; Signaturæ ac Sigilli vigore, legitime et sufficienter possim ego procedere ad inquisitionem de dictæ Dispensationis insufficientia, cognitionem et aliarum causarum et rationum, quæ adduci possunt pro dicti Matrimonii invaliditate.

Item cum his ad vos mitto Dispensationem in debita forma confectam et scriptam in modum Brevis, secreto impetrandam et expediendam eidem Signaturam vel Sigillum apponendo, vel alio quovis modo valido: Et quamvis ex hac re multa pendeant, ob quæ ista requiruntur, et quæ, Deo favente, neutiquam timenda sunt; Attamen Regia Majestas exemplo innitens, et recordationi complurium rerum, quæ olim præteritis temporibus fuerunt injuste asserta, vel adducta, in animo habens causas suas omnes absque; ulla controversia aut difficultate ad perfectum finem perducere, et ne ullo quovis prætextu, argumento aut colore, postmodum emergente perturbarentur, hoc a Sanctissimo Domino nostro requirit, veluti rem necessariam, qua nullo pacto carere queat; firmiter confidens, quod Sanctitas sua, benigne atque; amanter isti ejus desiderio assentiet, et concedet sine ullo obstaculo dictam Commissionem, juxta formam quam Regia Majestas petit et eodem tempore, atque; hæc omnia ita benigne ac liberaliter expedire, secretiori et validiori quo fieri possit modo, quo optatus finis subsequi possit in eum effectum, laudabileque; propositum, de quo superius dictum est; Qua ex occasione Sanctissimum Dominum nostrum in perpetuum sibi adstringet, indissolubili; amicitiae vinculo hanc Regiam Majestatem sibi alligabit, quæ nulli labori, periculo, opibus, Regno, subditis, nec ipsi sanguini parcens, ab ejus Sanctitate nunquam divelleretur aut eam deseret, sed totis suis viribus constantissime semper illi adhaerebit, tum in suæ Sanctitatis et Cardinalium liberationem, tum in hostibus persequendis; ad quem finem, magnam jam pecuniarum summam ad Regem Christianissimum misit, pro illo Italie exercitu continuando, et præter ista in animo statutum habet, quod nisi Cæsar de dicta Sanctitate liberanda consentire, et ad pacem devenire voluerit, bellum gerere adversus hæc inferiores Cæsaris Regiones et Dominia, quo vehementius urgeat Sanctissimi Domini nostri liberationem, Ecclesiæque; in pristinam suam dignitatem et auctoritatem restitutionem, eaque; de se indicia exhibebit ut universo orbi manifestum sit futurum, dictam suam Majestatem esse solidum perfectum amicum, filium obsequentissimum et ejus devotissimum; a qua pectoris sui sententia, nullo thesauro, nullis opibus, nullis Regnis, seu Ditionibus, vel occasione quacunque; unquam adducetur, sed ex filiali sua observantia in Christianam Religionem zelo, innatoque; erga sedem Apostolicam studio, et præcipuo quodam affectu, quem Sanctissimo Domino nostro gerit: in compensationem quoque; gratitudinis, quam tam avide in hoc suo negotio ab ejus Sanctitate expectat, decretum prorsus habet in constantissimo hoc et indissolubili amicitie et conjunctionis vinculo sincerissimo perstare, id quod dicta Regia Majestas Sanctissimum Dominum nostrum vehementissime rogat, ut probe velit in omnem partem librare, vicissimque; efficere, ut ex Regiæ petitionis indulgentia palam constet parem benevolentiam et humanitatem a Sanctissimo Domino nostro ex mutuo præstari.

Hac autem causa ipsius Sanctitati a vobis, ut dictum

RECORDS.

undoubtedly follow, with other considerations at length contained in our instructions. We desired his holiness to commit the knowledge of the dispensation that was obtained in time of Julius, of famous memory, for matrimony to be had between the king and the widow, relict late of prince Arthur; and that we might have it in form, as that was that your grace sent hither. His holiness answered, that our sayings had great likelihood of truth, for lacking of issue male of the king's stem, considering the nature of men being prone unto novelties and disposed unto parties and factions, the realm of England would not only enter into their accustomed divisions, but also would owe or do small devotion unto the church; wherefore his holiness was right well content and ready to adhibit all remedy that in him was possible as this time would serve. And because he was not expert in making of commissions, he would consult with the cardinal Sanctorum Quatuor, and use his advice, which we should shortly know.

We, perceiving that the obtaining of our charges after the king's and your grace's pleasure depended much upon the advice of Sanctorum Quatuor, did prevent his going unto the pope and delivering your grace's letters with recommendations accordingly, we desired him to be good and favourable unto our requests in the king's behalf; and for the better obtaining of our desires, we promised to see unto him with a competent reward. And this communication had, we showed unto him the commission, which he said could not pass without perpetual dishonour unto the pope, the king, and your grace; and a great part of such clauses as be omitted, he hath touched and laid reason for the same in a writing, which I do send unto your grace with this. Considering his great experience, wisdom, learning, and the entire affection that he beareth unto the king and your grace; and that it was far from the king's desire, and nothing for your purposes, that I should first have sent the said cardinal's sayings unto your grace, and abide answer, and eft-soons prevent to do the same: considering also that the said king desireth a commission convenient and sufficient, we desired him to make the minute of one, which he gladly did: when it was made, the pope said, that at his being in the castle of St. Angelo, the general of the Observants in Spain required his holiness, in the emperor's name, not to grant unto any act that might be preparative, or otherwise, to divorce to be made between the king and the queen: and, moreover, desired an inhibition, that the said cause should not come in knowledge before any judge within the king's dominions. The pope answered that *Inhibitio non datur nisi post litem motam*. And as unto the first his holiness was content, if any like thing were demanded, to advertise the emperor before, that he did let it pass; and this was in a manner for his holiness being in captivity. But his holiness being yet in captivity, as your grace reports, and esteemeth him to be as long as the Almaines and Spaniards continueth in Italy; he thought, if he should grant this commission, that he should have the emperor his perpetual enemy, without any hope of reconciliation: notwithstanding, he was content rather to put himself in evident ruin, and utter undoing, than the king, or your grace, should suspect any point of ingratitude in him, heartily desiring *cum suspiriis et lacrimis*, that the king and your grace, which have always been fast and good unto him, will not now suddenly precipitate him for ever; which should be done, if immediately upon delivering of the commission your grace should begin process. He intendeth to save all upright thus: if Monsieur de Lautrech would set forwards, which he saith daily that he will do, but yet he doth not, at his coming the pope's holiness may have good colour

to say, he was required by the ambassador of England of a like commission. And denying the same, because of his promise unto the general, he was eft-soons by Monsieur de Lautrech, to grant the said commission, inasmuch as it was but a letter of justice. And by this colour he would cover the matter, so that it might appear unto the emperor, that the pope did it not as he that would gladly do displeasure unto the emperor, but as an indifferent prince that could not nor might deny justice, specially being required by such personages; and immediately he would despatch a commission, bearing date after the time that Monsieur Lautrech had been with him or nigh unto him. The pope most instantly beseecheth your grace to be a mean that the king's highness may accept this in a good part, and that he will take patience for this little time; which, as it is supposed, will be but short, and (*in omnem eventum*) I do bring a commission with me, and a dispensation, which I trust the king and your grace will like well.

We have given unto my lord cardinal Sanctorum Quatuor 4000 crowns, and unto the secretary 30 crowns.

With this your grace shall receive a letter from the pope's holiness, Item, a counsel of Oldrand, that giveth light unto the king's cause. I shall make the most diligence homeward that I can. Our Lord Jesus preserve your grace.

Your most humble servant and chaplain,
W. KNIGHT.

At Orvieto, this first day of January.

Rome, Jan. 1, 1528.

TO THE KING.

PLEASE it your highness to understand, that as soon as the pope was at liberty, and came unto Orvieto, I resorted unto his holiness with all diligence; and at my coming unto him did make congratulation on your highness's behalf; forasmuch as he was restored unto his liberty, which he accepted very joyfully and thankfully, giving unto your highness manifold and high thanks for your great goodness, as well proved in his adversity, as when he was in his most felicity. After this he released my being at Rome, how dangerous it was, inasmuch as when my being there was detected, espial was made, and I was not passed out of Rome by the space of two hours, or two hundred Spaniards invaded and searched the house. He showed also that he had received all such letters as I, at my being in Rome, did send unto his holiness; whereby he did perceive the effect of your highness's desire concerning your dispensation. And albeit he did send me word that I should depart, and his holiness would send unto me the said dispensation fully speed. Nevertheless, he trusted that your highness would be content to tarry for a time: for the general of the Observants in Spain being lately in Rome, had required him, according unto his instructions, that he should suffer nothing to pass that might be prejudicial or against the queen, directly or indirectly, but that the pope should first advertise thereof certain of the Cæsarians here. And forasmuch as this dispensation might encourage your grace to cause my lord legate *Auctoritate Legationis* to hear and decern in the cause that your highness intendeth, and his holiness standeth as yet in manner in captivity and perplexity: his holiness therefore besought your grace to have patience for a time, and it should not be long ere your highness should have, not only that dispensation, but anything else that may lie in his power. I replied unto this, that his holiness had once granted it, and

PART I.—BOOK II.

that I had despatched a post, and made relation thereof, by my writings, unto your highness; so that I could not imagine by what reason I might persuade unto you that he would perform the promise that he had once broken. In conclusion, he was content that your highness should have it, but he would have it delivered with this condition; that the prothonotary Gambora and I, should beseech your highness not to attempt anything in your cause against the queen till such time as the pope were frankly at his liberty; which could not be as long as the Almaynes and Spaniards did thus reign in Italy; and promise made, we should deliver the dispensation: and in my poor judgment, it was best always to be in possession of this dispensation. After this he showed the minute unto the cardinal Sanctorum Quatuor, willing him to reform it according to the style of this court; which done, he showed it unto me, and after said, that he thought good I should depart, because I rode but competent journeys, and the prothonotary Gambora should follow by post and bring the bull with him, which is of the same form and substance that your highness's minute is of. And if there be anything omitted, or to be added, his holiness is always content to reform it, and to put it under the same date that the same dispensation now beareth; the copy whereof I do send unto your highness with this, the commission general and protestation being void, because they were conceived *durante captivitate* only. And here, on my behalf, none other thing being to be done, I took my leave of the pope and departed. At my coming unto Scarperii near unto Bonony, I did meet with Thadeus this courier, which brought certain expeditions triplicate; the one unto the prothonotary Gambora, the other unto Gregory de Cassali, and the third unto me; among which was a general commission triplicate, the one to be committed to my lord legate; and if that could not be obtained, because my lord legate might be thought partial, then the same to be committed unto Staphileius. Item.—There was a copy of a dispensation, where I perceived, by your grace's letter, that your pleasure was to have your dispensation in form, after the minute that Barlow brought, which was then sped, and already passed; so remained nothing to be sped, but the commission your highness pleases. This knowing, I caused my servants to continue their journey, and with one servant and this courier I returned unto Orvieto with post-horses; where Mr. Gregory and I, with much business, have obtained a commission directed unto my lord legate, not in the form that was conceived in England, but after such manner as is sufficient for the cause, and as I trust shall content your highness; wherein the lord cardinal Sanctorum Quatuor hath taken great pains to pen, as well your dispensation as the commission; for which, and that hereafter he may do unto your highness the better service, Mr. Gregory and I have rewarded him with 4000 crowns, of such money as your highness hath caused to be made unto Venice for the furtherance of your causes. But albeit that everything is passed according to your highness's pleasure, I cannot see, but in case the same be put in execution at this time, the pope is utterly undone, and so he saith himself. The Imperialists do daily spoil castles and towns about Rome; Monsieur de Lautrek is yet at Bonony, and small hope is of any great act that he intends. The Cæsarians have taken within these three days, two castles lying within six miles of this: and the pope being in this perplexity, not assured of any one friend but of your highness, that lieth too far off; if he do at this time any displeasure unto the emperor, he thinketh he is undone for ever; wherefore he puts his honour and health wholly into your highness's

power and disposition. This morning I return homewards, and Gregory de Cassali goeth in my company as far as unto Florence; and from thence he goeth unto Monsieur de Lautrek, to solicit him forwards, if it may be. The Holy Ghost send your highness a prosperous new year, and many.

Your most humble subject, servant, and chaplain,
W. KNIGHT.

At Orvieto, the first day of January.

V.—Rome, 10th Jan. 1528.

A part of an Original Letter from the same Person to Cardinal Wolsey, by which it appears that the Dispensation was then granted and sent over.

[Cotton. Libr. Vitel. B. 10.]

YOUR grace commandeth, that I should send the commission and dispensation with diligence, in case they were sped before the receipt of your grace's letters sent at this time. Wherefore the prothonotary Gambora and I being commanded *sub pœna excommunicationis* to deliver the same, with a certain request to be made to the king's highness and his grace, at the time of delivery; I send the same at this time unto Gambora, requiring him in anywise to make diligence towards the king's highness, and not to abide my coming; the request and cause thereof your grace shall perceive by mine other letters adjoined herewith; and supposing that when your grace hath seen my letters, and the dispensations, and considered this time well, it may chance that the king and your grace will be rather well content with that that is past, without suing for any other thing that could not be obtained without long tract, and peradventure not so. Your grace hath committed as much unto Gregory de Cassali at this time as unto me, which being near unto the pope, will without fail do his best diligence: and if it shall be thought good unto the king's highness, and your grace, that I do return unto Orvieto, I shall do as much as my poor carcase may endure, and thereby at Turin I shall abide the knowledge of your grace's pleasure. The datary hath clean forsaken the court, and will serve no longer but only God and his cure. The cardinal Campegius continueth in Rome, sore vexed with the gout; the cardinals Pisane, Trivulcis, Ursine, Gadis, and Cesis, remaineth for hostages. The cardinals Monte, Sanctorum Quatuor, Ridulph, Ravenna, and Perusino, be with the pope,—the rest abides absent. Our Lord Jesus preserve your grace. Your most humble beadsman and servant,

W. KNIGHT.

At Aste, the 10th day of January.

VI.—Orvieto, the 13th of January.

Gregory Cassali's Letter about the method in which the Pope desired the Divorce should be managed. Taken from a copy written by Cardinal Wolsey's Secretary.

[Cotton. Libr. Vitel. B. 10.]

HERI et hodie ad multam diem sum alloquutus Sanctū Dominū nostrū de mittendo legato, insequens ordinem a Reverendissimo Domino Eboracen. suis literis 27 Decemb. mihi præscriptum. Pontifex ostendit se cupidissimum satisfaciendi Regiæ Excellentiæ, cui omnia se debere fatetur, et nunc habuit mecum longum de hac re colloquium, ut inveniat modum omnia bene, firme et secure faciendi, quo facto et tueri possit; ideoq; consulere voluit iudicium Cardinalis Sanctorum Quatuor et Symonettæ, qui excellentior et Doctior

nuandæ, viz. quæ ipsa tum coaluerat, fœderibus percussis firma constiterat, mutuis etiam populorum commerciis aucta, nullum suæ violationis timorem incutiens, qui iustus et non omnino vanus dici posset, nec urgentissima proinde nec evidentissima videretur, qualem prohibitionis relaxatio exigat et requirat; tum quod preces falsæ erant dum narrabatur prædecessori nostro, eundem Carissimum Filium nostrum tum cupere cum dicta charissima Domina Catharina contrahere Matrimonium, ad hoc ut pacis fœdera diutius continuarentur, cum eo tempore, ut asserit, impetrationem prorsus ignoraret, et per ætatis immaturitatem, duodecimum, viz. annum non excedentis, affectum huiusmodi inducere non potuerat; tum quod Protestatione postmodum interveniente et vim Renunciationis habente, Dispensatio tunc per Renunciationem extincta videretur; Deniq; quod principes inter quos fœdera conservarentur, ante mandata executioni Bullam fatis concesserant; Bullam ipsam, tum ex surreptionis et obreptionis vitiis, quam aliis etiam de Causis minus validam et inefficacem esse renunciarent et retulerunt, scrupulum dicti Regis animo conscientięq; gravem injicientes, eamq; illi opinionem inducentes, ut Matrimonium prædictum non consistere, neg; hactenus jure constitisse judicaret. Porro autem cum frequentius apud se, ut asserit, animo volveret ac meditaretur, quales exitus huiusmodi nuptiæ præfate habuerunt, ex quibus, viz. aliquot partus masculi imperfecti parumq; vitales prodire, atq; ideo se omni spe successoris prorsus destitui, quo suam familiam ad paucos redactam conservaret, occurrere simul memoriæ Divina interminatione quæ Fratris sui turpitudinem revelanti, et illius Uxorem contra S. Sancta Dei præcepta accipienti inscribitur, præsertim ubi Dispensatio non interveniat, quæ ex omni sua parte valeat et consistat, nonnullis etiam affirmantibus nostram non eatenus protestatem patere ut in ea specie gratiam faciamus, etiamsi ut scribit de nostræ potestatis plenitudine, non dubitet, juste duntaxat legitimeq; interpositæ, quam summam in terris agnoscit et venerat, ad improbandas illas nuptias tantum undiq; videt consensum ut illas nuptias abhorreat, nec aliorum rationibus posset dissuaderi quin abominandas eas judicet, et Divinæ Majestati odiosas. Deniq; idem Carissimus Filius noster debita cum instantia nos precibus sollicitaverit, quatenus personæ suæ et Regni nobis semper devotissimi rationem habentes, maturo iudicio ab angustiiis liberemus, quibus se usu præsentis Matrimonii per legem conscientię privatum, nec ad aliud per leges publicas ante sententiam admissum, vehementer conqueritur comprehensum esse. Nos igitur considerantes quot, quanta, tum in Sedem Apostolicam, tum in fidem Christianam officia præcæteris exhibuerit, promeritis eo nomine ut nostræ vicissim potestatis gratiam uberrimam et promptissimam referat, aliamq; illius causam atq; privati esse, ex qua nimirum pendeat salus plurimorum, nec posse dictæ causæ decisionem diutius proferri et protelari sine gravi discriminis periculo, dicti vero Principis cruciati maxima quæ nos ex gratitudinis vicissitudine minueret debeamus, qua decet festinatione procedi facientes ut ad finem celerrime perducatur, de Consilio Fratrum nostrorum, quorum in hac causa tam gravi atq; urgenti iudicium adhibuimus, ac etiam eorum quos et Sacræ Theologiæ peritissimos et juris Ecclesiastici callentissimos desuper consulendos audiendosq; putavimus, quoniam vitia et defectus prædictos ejusmodi esse comperimus, quæ pensata præfate Prohibitionis natura, vires ipsius Bullæ merito enervarent; quo magis, viz. attestemur et palam faciamus, quanta animi cura et sollicitudine præfati Carissimi Filii nostri conscientiam huiusmodi scrupulis et difficultatibus im-

pediri, implicari atq; vexari sustineamus, cum alioquin te dilectum Filium nostrorum Cardin. Eboracen. in illa Provincia et Apostolicæ Sedis Legatum, a præclaris animi tui virtutibus, ad justitiam vero et æquitatem propensissimo sincerissimoq; affectu nobis sic commendatum et cognitum habeamus, ut tibi merito soli omnem nostram Autoritatem, cum in hac Causa expedienda, tum etiam in reliquis committendam putaverimus, dignissimus quidem nobis existimamus, qui partes nostras tractes et vices absentis posse supplere: Te tamen Dilectū Filiū — a nobis specialiter istuc destinandum duximus, ut conjunctim in hac causa procedere possitis, ita nihilominus propter incertum casum eventum mandata Autoritatem temperantes, ut ulterio vestrum nolente ut impedito alter omnia exequi et causam sine debito valeat terminare. Vobis ut præfertur conjunctim et ut præfertur divisim, ad cognoscendum et procedendum summarie et de plano, sine strepitu et figura iudicii, ac de et super viribus dictæ Bullæ sive Dispensationis inquirendum, ipsamq; Bullam sive Dispensationem, si de vitiis prædictis aut eorum aliquo tali probatione constiterit, quæ licet aliis minus clara videatur, animo tamen Religioso, conscientięq; vestræ, aut ejus vestrum qui in hac Causa processerit, divisim ut præfertur, satisfecerit, et verisimile apparuerit, vel pacem quæ in Bulla prætenditur sine hujus Matrimonii contractu consistere potuisse et continuari, vel dictum Charissimum Filium nostrum, ut allegabatur, non cupiisse contrahere Matrimonium ad hoc ut pacis fœdera conservarentur, vel deniq; Principes in Bulla nominatos, inter quos fœdera per illud Matrimonium continuatum iri allegabatur, ante mandata executioni Bullam fatis concessisse, ipsam nullam, minus validam, ex surreptione et obreptione inefficacem, irritam et inanem fuisse, semper et esse pronuntiandam et declarandam; Matrimonium autem prædictum, quod ejusdem virtute consistere videtur, nullum simul ac minus legitimum esse, ac pro nullo minusq; legitimo haberi deberi decernendum: ipsos porro contrahentes ab omni contractu Matrimoniali huiusmodi liberos, a consortio conjugali quod hactenus observarunt separari deberi, sentiendum et auctoritate nostra separandum. Deniq; utrumque ad contrahendum cum alio vel alia, novum conjugium ineundi, licentiam et facultatem tribuendum et concedendum, citra omnem recusationem, aut appellationis interpositionem, committimus et demandamus vices nostras; ac vos conjunctim, et altero vestrum nolente ut præfertur aut impedito, divisim, ad præmissa exercenda et expedienda, plenæ finaliq; executioni demandanda, Vicarios nostros et nostrum Vicarium, aut si quo alio nomine uti poterimus, quod demandatum in prædictis Autoritatem ampliaret, cum omni potestatis plenitudine tam absolutæ quam ordinariæ, quatenus vel ad præfati Matrimonii congruam dissolutionem, vel novi contrahendi firmam Constitutionem, expedire videbitur aut pertinere; ita etiam ut Autoritate præsentis Commissionis nostræ, cum omnibus illis Canonibus, ad validiorem efficacioriẽq; processus vestri firmitatem poteritis dispensare, quæcunq; eidem obstare putabuntur, omnemq; defectum quacunq; ex causa contingentem nostræ Autoritatis interpositione, Dispensatione Apostolica supplere possitis et valeatis, tam prolem ex primo Matrimonio susceptam propter bonam fidem Parentum, si ita expedire visum fuerit, legitimam decernendo, pronuntiando et promulgando, quam ex secundo Matrimonio suscipiendam; legitimitatem etiam utriusq; prolis, censuris et penis Ecclesiasticis quibuscunq; per modum decreti aut Sanctionis perpetuè muniendo et vallando, omnibus validioribus et efficacioribus modis et formis quæ de jure concipi et excogitari poterunt, facimus, constituimus et ordinamus per præsentēs: et quicquid per vos conjunctim,

aut divisim procedentes, per cognitionem judicariam et summariam, aut extrajudicariam, processus quoscunq; faciendo, pronuntiando aut promulgando, eisdemve executioni mandando, Dispensationes quascunq; aut gratias in præmissis concedendo et faciendo, et generaliter in aliquibus prædictorum potestatem nostram vel ordinariam vel absolutam exercendo, ut præfertur, actum, gestum, decretum, dispensationem, pronuntiationem, mandatum, aut executum fuerit, id omne et totum, cum primum poterimus, ratum, gratum et firmum habentes, in validissima et efficacissima forma confirmabimus, nec eorum aliqua unquam infirmabimus aut infringemus, aut eorum alicui contraveniemus, nec interim revocabimus; declarantes etiam et protestantes per præsentis, nostræ intentionis esse, ut præsens Commissio, sive Delegatio Autoritatis nostræ, perpetuo effectum gaudeat, et usq; ad finem prædictorum conclusionem extremumq; terminum duret et consistat, non obstantibus quibuscunq; decretis, sententiis, mandatis, rescriptis, literis aut Brevibus in contrarium, deinceps per nos tanquam irritatoriis, derogatoriis aut revocatoriis præsentis Concessionis nostræ, emittendis, destinandis aut promulgandis; quibus omnibus expresse per præsentis derogantes, et illa omnia pro nullis, cassis, irritis et inanis reputantes, ac talia esse et haberi, istiq; omnino anteriora judicari, præsentia vero semper posteriora, et post illa repetita, emissa et destinata, censi ac tanquam ultima et posteriora contrariis sic deinceps emittendis derogare debere, et cæteris contrariis non obstantibus quibuscunq;.

XI.—Rome, Jan. 1528.

The Cardinal's Letter to John Cassali about it; taken from a Duplicate written by his Secretary.

[Cott. Libr. Vitel. B. 10.]

REVERENDE Domine Proto-notari, tanquam Frater Amantissime, cum aliis meis literis copiose ad vos perscripsi Regiæ Majestatis animum, et desiderium super his rebus quas vobis in præsentia commisit, suo nomine S. D. N. declarandas.

Nunc vero ob humillimam sinceramq; meam Devotionem, quæ ex jure et officio non solum ejus Sanctitati, sed miseris Ecclesiæ sublevandis rebus, dignitatiq; Apostolicæ restituendæ adstringor, his literis vos instruam super quibusdam rebus, præcipue et accurate notandis et considerandis, quas post humillimam, reverentissimamq; meam Commendationem dictæ Sanctitati, meo nomine sigillatim, speciatim declarabitis; et cum causam concernant, quam Regia Majestas nunc maxime optat et requirit, eandem Sanctitatem vehementissime rogabit, ut cuncta legere et bene notare non gravetur.

Primo itaq; indolens infelicem adversumq; præsentium rerum successum, in quo S. D. N. Cardinaliumq; Collegium versatur, diuq; ac noctu mente volvens, quo pacto quibusve modis, totis meis viribus, omni sumptu molestiaq; neglecta, et cum proprii sanguinis vitæq; effusione, ministerium aliquod impendere, tantæq; afflictioni solamen afferre, et Ecclesiæ Sanctissimi Domini nostri collapse statui opitulari, in quam rem haud dubie quoadq; vita suppetet incumbam; mihiq; in hac cogitatione versanti, in mentem recordationemq; subiit, mirus quidem et grandis affectus, qui Divina sic disponente Providentia, ex instanti assiduâq; mea opera provenit, ut hunc optimum Dominum meum Regem inducerem, eique persuaderem quod ad artissimam istam intimaq; cordis et animi conjunctionem deveniret erga, S. D. N. Ecclesiæq; et sedis Apostolicæ tutelam ac patrocinium suscipiendum, memorieq; succurrunt innumeræ rationes a me adductæ, ut Regiam

Majestatem, quæ Cæsari tenacissime inhærebat, adducerem, ad S. D. N. defensionem, rerumq; Italicarum tutelam amplectendam, ac inter omnes allegatas rationes, nulla fuit validior aut vehementior, vel quæ Regiæ Majestatis pectus magis permoveret, quam intima securitas, perfectaq; constantia, quam ei assidue indesinenterq; insinuavi de ejus Sanctitatis vera optimaq; et flagranti correspondentia in amore perpetuo indissolubiliq; amicitia, animo et voluntate, petitionibus semper suæ R. Majest. et desideriis concedendis, quoad Ecclesiæ Thesaurus et Autoritas ejus Sanctitati Christi Vicario concessa permittit, vel quoad se extendit, seu possit extendere; super idq; omnia uberime promisi, meam etiam salutem, fidem, honorem animamq; adstringens, quod omnia ex ipsis Regiæ Majestatis votis, in omne tempus præstarentur, absq; ulla prorsus occasione aut scrupulo, ab hujusmodi indulgendis petitionibus digrediendi, adeo quod Regia Majestas, ex hoc meo asseveranti relatu, hunc propensum S. D. N. in se animum perspicies, mihiq; ejus Sanctitatis nomine, veluti Legato, et Sedis Apostolicæ membro loquenti, firmam, certamq; fidem adhibens, periculis omnibus posthabitis, laboribus sumptibusq; spretis, nulla; sui Regni aut subditorum habita ratione, animum adixit, prorsusq; statutum et decretum in omnibus se adjungere, atq; perpetuo et constanter cum S. D. N. in affectu concurrere, in eoq; certum habeo velle decrevisseq; perstare, ad mortem usque, nisi forsitan ex eventibus, longe diversis a meo promisso et ejus expectatione, occasio subministraret suam Regiam Majestatem ab hoc animi sui decreto amovendi. Id si illi accideret (quod avertat Deus) merito mihi posset adscribere perfidiam, levitatem, violationemq; promissionis, quo casu quid mox officii aut ministerii possem Sanctissimo Domino nostro præstare, aut quæ fides in Ecclesiæ rebus mihi haberetur, singulari ejus Sanctitatis prudentiæ judicandum relinquo: nunquam enim meo in arbitrio posthac esset, quicquam alicujus momenti hinc efficere, in ejus Sanctitatis commodum, hac nunc in re Regiæ Majestatis concepta spe, aut expectatione frustrata.

Est secundo accurate considerandum quantopere hoc negotium Regiæ Majestati intersit, et quanti sit momenti, unde namque, præter Conscientiæ Regiæ exonerationem, omnis quoq; Regiæ lineæ, et stemmatis continuatio pendet; huic adnectitur totius Regni felicitas, vel excidium, hic securitas et salus eorum consistit, qui sub Regis sunt Imperio, et qui ullo unquam tempore nascentur in ejus Regno, qua ex re oriri potest occasio, et fomes tranquillitatis perpetuæ, aut discordiæ belli; atrocissimi in universum Christianum orbem, quæ omnia majoris sunt momenti, et vigilantius prospicienda quam cujusq; Principis vel Principissæ gratia, favor et expectatio.

Tertio, Causa ex se est hujusmodi ut in animam meam spondere ausim, ejus concessionem, futurum non solum in conscientiæ, honorisq; Pontificis exonerationem coram Deo et hominibus, sed in Cœlis quoq; gratam, acceptamq; exituram: In hac deinde re secreta insunt nonnulla, secreto S. D. N. exponenda, et non credenda literis, quas ob causas, morbosq; nonnullos, quibus absq; remedio Regina laborat, et ob animi etiam conceptum scrupulum, Regia Majestas nec potest, nec vult ullo unquam posthac tempore, ea uti, vel ut Uxorem admittere, quodcunque advenerit. Non exigua præterea habenda est ratio eorum, quæ aliis meis literis continentur, concernentia, quæ pro ingenti thesauro S. D. N. habere queat, tam certam Regiæ Majestatis amicitiam, cum ejus Sanctitate constantissime conjunctam futuram in prosperis et adversis, in quas etiam partes amicos suos omnes pertraxit, et assidue pertrahit: ad Ecclesiæ defensionem, Sanctissimi Domini nostri conservationem, causas, omnes suas et actiones dirigens; possentq; hi omnes, Regia

Majestate deficiente, in contrarium verti, et, ut vera loquar, nullum Principem video in quo S. D. N. possit, quam in Regia Majestate plenius aut perfectius confidere, vel ejus medio Apostolicæ sedis status in pristinam suam dignitatem queat certius restitui, cum absq; ejus subsidio, nisi solus Deus ex immensa sua bonitate manum citissime apponat, omnino imminutus iri videatur. Quod si Sanctissimus Dominus noster nunc (quod absit) in his Regiis petitionibus durum se, aut difficilem se exhibuerit, mihi certe molestissimum est futurum vivere diutius, ob innumera mala, quæ inde subsequutura videntur, hoc præsertim firmo, tutoq; Regio subsidio tam ingrate abjecto; hocq; solum, et certum, et salubre remedium videtur tantæ corrigendæ calamitati superesse, quo neglecto omnia corrumpantur necesse est. Hac autem in re S. D. N. sua erga Regiam Majestatem animi gratitudine comprobata, poterit de illius amicitia et conjunctione quæcunq; volet sibi polliceri, adversus eos omnes, qui ejus Autoritatem aut dignitatem voluerint oppugnare. Tandem his causis rationibusq; omnibus in unum congestis, mecum ipse reputans, quam multa gravissimi momenti in hujus conjugii Dissolutione occurrant, in tanta æquitate justiq; fundamento posita, ob quæ hæc Dissolutio nec possit absq; gravissimo detrimento, nec debeat diutius protrahi aut intermitteri; videns quoq; quid allegari possit et allegabitur omnino ad Regiæ Majestatis consensum coram Deo purgandam, etiamsi id a S. D. N. neutiquam admittatur, quæ in hujusmodi allegationibus confisa, vereor ne in tanta rerum extremitate constituta, potius quam ingentia mala, quæ hinc apertissime imminet, succedant, dicta Regia Majestas ex duobus malis minus malum eligat, et soli suæ puræq; conscientie innitens, id agat, quod nunc tam reverenter a Sedis Apostolicæ Autoritate exigit, unde Sedis contemptus indies gravior excresceret, hoc præsertim tempore admodum periculoso: quæ omnia sunt a S. D. N. summa sua prudentia alte consideranda, nullo prorsus dubio aut difficultate in re tam gravi mature concedenda interjecta; nec eam retardare debet cujusquam mortalis instantia, contemplatio vel satisfactio, præsertim quum in multis aliis rebus, forsitan non tam manifestis et apparentibus, Sanctitas sua liberalem, facilemq; erga alios se stupe præstiterit; cui humillima reverentia præmissa meo nomine dicetis, quod hæc loquor tamquam fidele, utcunq; Ecclesiæ indignum membrum, omnia excogitans quæ possent in Ecclesiæ augmentum et existimationem cedere, ea etiam admoveans et consulens ut evitentur, quæ cessura videantur in contrarium. Quocirca Sanctissimo Domino nostro affirmabis, quod præmissis omnibus tam maximi momenti existentibus probe consideratis, non veluti Mediator aut Intercessor, ob privatum illum affectum quem Regiæ Majestatis causis, ut mei juris est, promovendis gero, sed tanquam is qui in re tanta et ex tam certa scientia et cognitione, velim Sanctissimo Domino nostro suadere, ut quod nunc petitur omnino concedat, idque suaderem etiam si in hoc Regnum nunquam venissem, neq; hic commune quicquam haberem; rogoque, precor, et obtestor ejus Sanctitatem, ut omni dubio, respectu, metuq; deposito, nullo pacto neget aut differat ea concedere aut adnuere, quæ Regia Majestas urgentissimas ob causas tanta nunc animi sollicitudine exposcit; sed his potius benignius liberaliterq; adnuat, et omnia concedere non gravetur in pleniorum modum qui hujus rei gratia possit excogitari, compertissimumq; sibi sua Sanctitas habeat, se id effecturum, quod coram Deo et hominibus justum omnino habebitur, actissimæque Regiam Majestatem devinctam ad suæ Sanctitatis, Ecclesiæ Apostolicæque Sedis, causasque omnes pro viribus juvandas protegendasque, nec ea in re, ulli labori, sumptui, Regno vel subditis parcat, nec (si opus

fuerit) propriam Personam exponere recusabit, in ea opinione constantissime permansura, in eandemque sententiam Gallorum Regem et alios confœderatos attrahet, tum pro suæ Sanctitatis et Cardinalium liberatione, tum pro Sedis Apostolicæ Autoritatis et dignitatis restitutione; et præterquam quum dicta Sanctitas mei humillimæ suæ Creaturæ fidem et existimationem conservabit, quo in omnem eventum et necessitatem ea possim hic facilius commodiusq; tractare quæ in Ecclesiæ commodum, beneficium et securitatem cessura videbuntur, in quæ officia omnem meam industriam, zelum, studiumq; adhibebo, hunc quoq; Serenissimum Regem in perpetuum sibi lucrificet. Quod si harum rerum rationem non habuerit, vereor ne sit futurum in mea potestate, ut ullo modo hanc Regiam Majestatem vel alium ullum Principem ad ea adducam, quæ Sanctissimo Domino nostro solatio aut subsidio esse possunt. Sed confido ab ipsis Sanctitate tantam malorum occasionem sublatam iri, gratissimo, benignissimo, liberrimoq; animo, omnia ut petuntur concessuram esse, nullo objecto impedimento, contradictione aut mora.

XII.—Romæ, Jan. 20, 1528.

Staphileus's Letter to the Cardinal, that shows how much he was persuaded of the justice of the King's Cause. The Original.

[Cotton. Libr. Vitel. B. 10.]

REVERENDISSIMÆ ET Illustrissimæ Domine D. mihi colendissime, post humillimam cōmendationem D. V. Reverend. dignabitur intelligere, qualiter quintadecima die post recessum nostrum a Londino consensimus navem, retenti interim in portu ob tempestatem Maris et contrarios ventos: interim in itinere fui cum Reverendo Domino Roffen. et disputavimus materiam multum, copiose, et satis prolixè, in præsentia Domini Doctoris Marmeduci, qui intellexit omnia ex utraque parte ab utroque dicta et supius replicata; penes quem autem steterit victoria, vel saltem, uter nostrum validius certaverit, D. V. Reverend. percipiet ex fidei relatione præfati D. Marmeduci. Unum certifico D. V. Reverend. quod pro uno mediocri Episcopatu desiderassem quod huic nostræ disputationi interfuisset Serenissimus Rex noster et D. V. et Regina, pro intelligentia veritatis et pro modo disputandi: etenim commendo humiliter D. V. Reverend. istum bonum virum, bonum servitorem ac diligentem Serenissimæ Regiæ Majestatis et D. V. Reverendiss. Quibus me quoq; humillimum ac ex toto devotissimum eorum servum quam humillime possum ex toto corde meo semper commendo, præstiturus utrique; fideliss. et amantiss. obsequium in rebus et negotiis mihi commissis et committendis. Bene valeat D. V. Reverendiss. quæ dignabitur tenere me semper in bona gratia Serenissimi Regis nostri, qui est decus et ornamentum Regiæ Dignitatis. Ex Bononia, 20 Jan. 1528.

D. V. Reverendiss.

Humillimus Servitor Episcopus
STAPHILEUS.

XIII.—Ad Campegius, 1528.

The Cardinal's Letter to Campegius, taken from the Draught of it; corrected with his own hand.

[Cotton. Libr. Vitel. B. 10.]

REVERENDISSIMUS in Christo Pater, grata semper huic Regiæ Majestati extiterunt Vestræ Reverend. Dominat. officia, sed gratissimum omnium illud fuit, quod tanta fide et sedulitate in ipsius promovenda causa ab ea fuisse præstitum ex Reverendi Domini

Jerdonen. sermone cognovit: quam optimi amoris significationem toto pectore amplexatur, jussitque; ut suis nominibus ingentes vestræ Reverendissimæ D. gratias haberemus: Cuiego eo quoque; nomine maxime quoque; me debere fateor, nulla enim in re magis obnoxium me sibi potest efficere, quam si totis suis viribus, omni gratia et Autoritate adnitatur, quo negotium hoc ex Regiæ Majestatis sententia quam citissime conficiatur; hujusmodi enim est ut nullum gravius possit accidere, dilationem nullam patitur, utpote quod totius hujus Regni conservationem, Regiæ sobolis continuationem et ejus animi salutem in se contineat: causa quidem manifestior est quam disputatione egeat, et sanctior quam debeat in controversiam adduci, hanc unam gratiam et nunc primum a Sede Apostolica votis omnibus petit, et eam tum ex rei iustitia, tum ex sua in S. D. N. filiali devotione, spem concepit, ut nullo pacto sibi persuadeat unquam fieri posse ut sua expectatione frustretur, quam scit vestræ R. D. opera ac pio patrocinio maxime posse juvari.

Iterum igitur atque; iterum Reverendissimam D. vestram obsecro, ut postquam recenti et claro hoc testimonio purgavit quicquid antea in Regiam Majestatem fide sinistre fuerat ad nos delatum, et nostrum animum sibi totum devinxit, non gravetur nunc strenue in hoc Regio promovendo negotio ad optatum usque finem perseverare, quod ita cor nostrum premit, ut vel proprio sanguine id vellemus posse a S. D. N. impetrare. Cætera, vestra Reverendissima D. uberius ac distinctius cognoscet ex Reverendo Domino Episcopo Jerdonensi, et ex Domino Stephano Gardinero intimo meo servo, et Domino Edwardo Foxo Regio familiari, quibus rogo ut certissimam in omnibus fidem velit habere. Et felicissime valeat.

XIV.—Maii 7, 1528.

The Cardinal's Letter to G. Cassali, desiring a Decretal Bull to be sent over. A Duplicate.

[Cotton. Libr. Vitel. B. 10.]

MAGNIFICENT Domine Gregori, &c. Ingentem Sere-
nissima Regia Majestas et ego letitiam concepimus,
quum tum ex Domini Stephani literis, tum vero ex
Domini Foxi relatu cognovimus, quanta fide, industria,
ac vigilantia usi sitis in ejusdem Regiæ Majestatis con-
ficiendo negotio, quem vestrum animum, etsi sæpe
antea arduis in rebus exploratissimum certissimumque;
haberemus, hoc tamen tam claro testimonio nihil a
vobis omissum perspicimus, quod votum nostrum
utcumque; juvare potuisset. Cæterum quum nonnulla
adhuc meo aliorumque; Doctiss. virorum judicio super-
esse videantur, ad Regiæ Majestatis causam securissime
stabiliendam finiendamque; de quibus ad D. Stephanum
in præsentia perscribo; Vos iterum atque; iterum rogo,
ut de illis impetrandis apud S. D. N. una cum Domino
Stephano vestram gratiam et Autoritatem, quam apud
ejus Sanctitatem maximam esse et audio et gaudeo,
pro viribus interponatis, maxime autem ut in Commis-
sione illa Decretali a S. D. N. nullis Arbitris seu
consultoribus admittis concedenda, et secreto ad me
mittenda, omnes vires ingenii, prudentiæ diligentiaque;
vestræ adhibeatis, affirmabitisque; et in salutem animamque;
meam eidem S. D. N. spondebitis, quod dictam Bullam
secretissime nullis mortalium oculis conspiciendam
apud me asservabo, tanta fide et cautione, ut ne mini-
mum quidem ex ea re periculum, vel periculi metum
ejus Sanctitas sit sensura; non enim eo consilio aut
animo eam Commissionem impetrari tam vehementer
cupio, ut vel illius vigore ullius processus aut aliud
præterea quicquid ageretur, vel eadem publice priva-
timve legere illa ulli exhiberetur, sed ut hac quasi

arrha et pignore summæ paternæque; S. D. N. erga
Regiam Majestatem benevolentia apud me deposito,
quum videat nihil illi denegaturum quod petiverit,
perspiciatque; tantum fidei ejus Sanctitatem in me repo-
suisse, sic mea apud dictam Majestatem augeatur
Autoritas, ut quoniam vires omnes suas operetur;
Apostolicæ Sedis conservationi et in pristinum statum
reparationi sic sponte dicaverit, me tamen suasore et
consultore omnia in posterum, et in sanguinis effusi-
onem sit concessura et effectura, que in ejusdem Sedis
et suæ Beatitudinis securitatem, tranquillitatem et
commodum, quaquam ratione cedere poterunt.

XV.—*The Breve of Pope Julius for the King's Marriage; suspected to be forged.*

[Cotton. Libr. Vitel. B. 12.]

JULIUS Papa Secundus. Dilecte Fili et dilecta in
Christo Filia, salutem et Apostolicam Benedictionem.
Romani Pontificis præcellens Autoritas concessa sibi
desuper utitur potestate, prout (personarum, negotio-
rum et temporum qualitate pensata) id in Domino
conspicit expedire. Oblatæ nobis nuper pro parte
vestra petitionis series continebat, quod cum alias tu
Filia Catharina, et tunc in humanis agens quondam
Arthurus Carissimi in Christo Filii nostri Henrici
Angliæ Regis illustrissimus primogenitus, pro conser-
vandis pacis et amicitia nexibus et fœderibus inter
præfatum Angliæ Regem, et Carissimum in Christo
Filiū nostrum Ferdinandum Regem, et Carissimam
in Christo Filiam nostram Elizabeth. Reginam Catho-
licos Hispaniarum et Siciliæ, Matrimonium per verba
legitime de præsentī contraxeritis, *illudque carnali
copula consummaveritis*, quia tamen Dominus
Arthurus, prole ex hujusmodi Matrimonio non sus-
cepta, decessit, et hujusmodi vinculum pacis et con-
nexitatis inter præfatos Reges et Reginam ita firmiter
verisimiliter non perduraret, nisi etiam illud alio affi-
nitatis vinculo confoveretur et confirmaretur, ex his
et certis aliis causis, desideratis Matrimonium inter vos
per verba legitime de præsentī contrahere: Sed quia desi-
derium vestrum in præmissis adimplere non potestis,
Dispensatione Apostolica desuper non obtenta, nobis
propterea humiliter supplicari fecistis, ut vobis providere
in præmissis in præmissis adimplere non potestis,
Dispensatione Apostolica desuper non obtenta, nobis
propterea humiliter supplicari fecistis, ut vobis providere
in præmissis de Dispensationis gratia et benignitate
Apostolica dignaremur. Nos igitur qui inter singulos
Christi fideles, præsertim Catholicos Reges et Prin-
cipes, pacis et concordia amicitiam vigere intensius
desideriis affectamus, his et aliis causis animum nos-
trum moventibus, hujusmodi supplicationibus inclinati,
vobiscum, ut aliquo impedimento affinitatis hujusmodi
ex præmissis proveniente non obstante Matrimonium
inter vos contrahere, et in eo postquam contractum
fuerit, remanere, libere et licite valeatis, Autoritate
Apostolica per præsentēs Dispensamus; et quatenus
forsan jam Matrimonium inter vos de facto publice vel
clandestine contraxeritis, ac carnali copula consumma-
veritis, vos et quemlibet vestrum ab excessu hujusmodi,
ac Excommunicationis sententia quam propterea incur-
ristis, eadem Autoritate absolvimus, ac etiam vobis-
cum ut in hujusmodi Matrimonio sic de facto contracto
remanere, seu illud de novo contrahere, inter vos libere
et licite valeatis, similiter Dispensamus, prolem ex
hujusmodi Matrimonio sive contracto sive contra-
hendo suscipiendam legitimam decernendo. Volu-
mus autem, si hujusmodi Matrimonium de facto con-
traxistis, Confessor, per vos et quemlibet vestrum
eligendus, penitentiam, quam adimplere teneamini,
propterea vobis iungat. Dat. Romæ apud Sanctum
Petrum sub annulo Piscatoris, die 26 Decemb. mille-
simo quingentesimo tertio. Pont. nostri Anno primo.
SIGISMUNDUS.

XVI.—*A part of the Cardinal's Letter to G. Cassali, desiring leave to show the Decretal Bull to some of the King's Council. A Duplicate.*

[Cotton. Libr. Vitel. B. 10.]

ILLUD igitur video maxime necessarium superesse ut Decretalis Bulla, quam Reverendissimus Dominus Legatus secum defert, secreto legenda exhibeatur nonnullis ex Regis Consultoribus, eo quidem consilio, non ut in iudicium proferatur, vel ad causam definiendam adhibeatur, sed solum ut perspicientes illi, quorum prudentia et Autoritas non parva est, nihil a me fuisse omissum, quod causam Regis possit securissimam redere, omniaque fuisse a S. D. N. concessa, quæ in causæ firmamentum ullo pacto queant excogitari facilius, ubi Regiæ Majestatis securitati, Regni quieti, et perpetuo totius rei stabilimento undique consultum viderint, in sententiam nostram deveniant, summaque cum diligentia in Autoritate Apostolica ad Dei gloriam conjuncta rectissime absolvantur. Proinde, Domine Gregori, iterum atque iterum vos impense rogo, quod ad S. D. N. genua devoluti ejus Beatitudinem meo nomine obsecretis, ut hoc relinquam meæ fidei meaque dexteritati de Bulla Decretali ostendenda committere velit, quam rem sic moderatur, ut nullum prorsus periculum, nullum damnum, nullum odium queat unquam sibi, vel Sedi Apostolicæ provenire; hocque tam instanter precor, ut pro salute mea conservanda petere queam ardentius nihil.

XVII.—*John Cassali's Letter about a Conference he had with the Pope. An Original.*

[Cotton. Libr. Vitel. B. 10.]

Reverendissime ac Illustrissime Domine D. mi Colendissime, &c.

QUUM Tabellarius D. Vestræ Reverendissimæ cum ejus mandatis literis; die 2 Novem. datis Bononiam ad Equitem fratrem pervenisset, neque ipse tunc posset præ debilitate properatis itineribus Romam venire, ne ad eam rem longioris temporis moram interponeret, misit per dispositos equos D. Vicentium Cassalium fratrem nostrum patrualem, volens ipsum statim subsequi; venit igitur D. Vicentius Cassalius. At ego Vestræ Dominationis Reverendissimæ literis lectis ac perpensis, S. D. N. adivi, et ea quæ D. V. Reverendissima scripserat, diligenter ejus Sanctitatem exposui, ipsaque etiam literas recitavi, quæ prudentissime et efficacissime omnia explicabant. Atque hujusmodi verbis sum loquutus.

Non locus hic nec tempus postulat, Beatissime Pater, ut ego nunc commemorem, quanto amore, quanto animi effectui, quibusque officiis illa Regia Majestas Apostolicam Sedem Sanctitatemque Vestram sit ubique omni tempore prosequuta, quantaque observantia et fide Reverendissimus Dominus Eboracen. semper coluerit; nec recensendum hic videtur, quot labores, quot incommoda subiverint, quæ officia, quæ multoties impensas effecerint, quærentes Ecclesiasticum statum, Christianam Religionem, et Catholicam Fidem protegere ac conservare: Nec vestra Sanctitas ignorare debet, quibus laboribus, quantis precibus, quot tabellaris, quot oratoribus missis, quot non dicam literis, sed voluminibus conscriptis, post multa insuper Jurisperitorum consilia, tum ex Anglia allata, tum hic etiam formata, fuerit tandem a vestra Sanctitate impetratum, ut res eo, quo fuit pacto, componeretur: Qua ratione Regiæ Majestatis desiderio indulgebatur, et Beatitudinis vestræ honori ac conscientiæ, justitiæque et æquitati consulabatur: At nunc Sanctitas Vestra animadvertit illos, præter omnium nostrum spem et opinionem, omni auxilio penitus esse destitutos:

Reverendiss. Campegius non modo non ostendit, se adeo urgentibus precibus Serenissimi Regis obtemperare velle, sed ut primum ad Colloquium venit, rem totam pervertit, Regiam Majestatem a Divortio dissuasit, perinde ac si ei Legatio demandata fuerit, ut Serenissimo Regi ex parte Regiæ persuadere debeat, ut se a Divortio absteineat, adeo ut non possit Regia Majestas stimulum hunc Conscientiæ ex suo pectore evellere, semperque in ea mentis perturbatione illi sit permanendum, ut omnibus horis cogitet successorem sui Regni ex suo sanguine defuturum. Neque adhuc Reverendissimus Campegius ullam significationem dedit, velle se ad id exequendum descendere, quod priore illa generali Commissionem continetur; verum, quod pejus etiam est, quum multis precibus Bulla Decretalis in hac causa Regia impetrata fuerit, promiseritque Vestra Sanctitas se permissurum ut Serenissimo Regi ac Reverendiss. D. Eboracen. ostenderetur, et eorum manibus crederetur, quum ipsi aliquibus ex Secretissimis Consiliariis ostenderunt, ut Serenissimus Rex de totius negotii æquitate instructor fieret, noluit Reverendissimus Campegius eam credere Serenissimo Regi, aut Reverendissimo Domino Eboracen. suo in ea causa Collegæ. Cur autem velit Vestra Sanctitas Regiam Majestatem in eam spem adduxisse, ut deinde hoc pacto illam frustretur ac deludat. Tunc S. D. N. injecta in meum brachium manu, me ulterius loqui prohibuit, se ira accensum non abscondens, dixit, Non parum sibi de D. V. Reverendissima conquerendum esse, atque sub ejus fide se deceptum esse; Bullam Decretalem dedisse, ut tantum Regi ostenderetur, concrereturque; statim: ad hoc me (inquit) multis ille magnisque precibus protraxit, ostendens, si id non daretur, manifestam suæ salutis ruinam impendere; nunc autem eam Bullam, quæ debuit esse Secretissima, vult divulgare, neque unquam se promissis concessurum ut Consiliariis ostendatur: literas (inquit) ipsas Reverendissimi Eboracen. proferre possum, quibus id tantum, quod dixi, petit, et ipsum Equitem Cassalium testem volo, quod Dominus Stephanus Gardinerus et ipse nil aliud a me postulaverunt, nec si postulassent, quicquam amplius obtinuissem; atque utinam aliter rem petissent, eam namque facile denegassem, nec ad hanc penitentiam venissem, ex qua vel unius digiti jactura (modo fieri possit) quod factum fuit revocarem, video enim quantum mali ex eo mihi subeundum sit. Quum S. D. N. hæc et similia contra suum morem dixisset, ego in eam sententiam subsequutus, sciendum esse, quod D. V. Reverendissima petit, non esse ab eo, quod ejus Sanctitas constitutum fuisse dicet alienum, nec D. V. Reverendissima hanc rem divulgari velle, aut secundum eam Bullam sententiam ferri; Cæterum Regiæ Majestati et sibi tradi, ut possent aliquibus fidelioribus carioribusque Consiliariis ostendere, ut ipsi de re tota fiant instructiores, quod perinde arcanum erit, ac si in nullius notitiam devenisset. An non (inquam) Sanctitas Vestra plerosque habet, quibus quum aliquid arcanum crediderit, putet id non minus celatum esse, quam si uno tantum pectore contineretur, quod multo magis Serenissimo Angliæ Regi evenire debet, cui singuli in suo Regno sunt subjecti, neque etiam velint, possunt Regi non esse fidelissimi: Ve namque illis si vel parvo momento ab illius voluntate recederent, quid hoc præterea obesse potest? an non sic petitum, sic constitutum fuit? quæ ratio Sanctitatem Vestram propositum mutare cogit? Ibi Pontifex iracundus, et concitator etiam quam paulo ante; Haud (inquit) ita fuit constitutum, nec me latet, quid de ea Bulla facere cogitent et ejusmodi ex eo mihi damnum redundaturum sit; firmum igitur illud habeatis, me decrevisse, neque sententiam mutò, nolle quicquam amplius hac in re permittere. At ego, nolite (quæso) Vestra Sanctitas sic ex certa animi sententia loqui, ac

potius in his literis Reverendissimi Domini Eboracen. consideret damna, ruinas, hæreses, quæ Vestræ Sanctitatis culpa in illo Regno orientur: Regia enim Majestas male a Vestra Beatitudine tractata, injuria, et ignominia affecta, studium et voluntatem, quam semper optimam in Sedem Apostolicam habuit, in contrariam partem convertere posset, hoc est Dominationi Vestræ toto pectore conserendum. Esto quod de hujus negotii æquitate disceptatum non sit, concedamus etiam hanc rem malam, et mali exempli futuram (quod quidem secus esse judicaverunt omnes) an non Vestra Sanctitas novit pleræque non bona sunt præferri nunquam a nobis solere, ne pejora patiamur; atque hoc tum aliis in rebus, tum imprimis hæresium evitandam causa providendum est, quas videmus, quum semel altiores radices egerint, non posse amplius extirpari: atque ibi ad illius pedes genibus flexis, eam precibus omnibus sum obtestatus, ut amicitiam potentissimi Regis conservare, observantium Dominationis Vestræ Reverendissimæ erga ejus Sanctitatem, nostramque servitutem respicere vellet; relicta namque Regiæ Majestatis amicitia, religionis imminutio subsequeretur, et Regni illius a tam antiqua cum Sede Apostolica conjunctione dissolutio, ac Dominationis Vestræ Reverendissimæ gratia et Autoritas apud serenas. Regem non suo merito deficeret, ejusque fortasse salus periclitaretur; Nos autem qui semper Beatitudini Vestræ inservimus, pro qua tot bonis officiis functi sumus, et tantum operæ perfecimus, ad integram amicitiam inter Regiam Majestatem et Vestram Sanctitatem conservandam, in medio nostrarum actionum, Regni illius damna et calamitatem, nostramque certissimam ruinam conspiceremus. Ad hæc S. D. N. et brachiorum et totius corporis agitatione, animum commotum ostendens, Volo (inquit) ego ruinam, quæ mihi modo immineat considerare, et id ipsum quod feci valde me angit; Si hæreses, vel alia mala oritura sunt, quenam in eo mea culpa erit, satis me conscientie fuerit me vacasse culpa, cui essem obnoxius, si hoc etiam quod nunc ex me petitur concederem: Nec Reverendissimus Dominus Eboracensis, nec vos ullam causam de me conquerendi habetis, quicquid nunc pollicitus sum præstiti, neque aliud unquam, etsi mihi faciendi esset facultas, Regia Majestas et Reverendissimus Dominus Eboracen. a me petierunt, quod non promptissime concesserim, ut quisque facile intelligat, quanti eos semper fecerim; ad aliqua etiam Vestri causa faciliorem me præbui. Cæterum ubi vertitur meæ conscientie integritas omnia posthabenda censeo, agant per se ipsi quod volunt, Legatum remittant eo prætextu, quod in causam ulterius procedi nolint, et deinceps ut ipsi volent rem faciant, modo ne me autore injuste quicquam agatur. Tunc ego, Nonne Vestra Sanctitas vult, ut ex vigore Commissionis procedatur? quod quum velle affirmasset, dixi, igitur Reverendissimus Campegius Sanctitatis Vestræ voluntati adversatur, Divortium enim Regi dissuasit; At Pontifex, ego (inquit) illi imposui, ut Divortium Regi dissuaderet, persuaderet Reginæ; quod autem ad Commissionem pertinet, si requiritur, exequetur. Sumus ergo (inquam) concordes, Beatissime Pater, quod quum ita sit, quid nocere poterit Decretalem Bullam aliquibus secretissimis ac juramento addactis Consiliariis ostendisse: Tum quassans caput, Scio (inquit) quid de ea facere constituant, verum nondum Campegii literas ex Anglia legi, quapropter die crastino ad me redibitis. Hoc pacto S. D. N. primo die me dimisit. Adfuit his sermonibus Dominus Vincentius Cassalius, quem ob equitem fratrem huc missum dixi, qui equitem ipsum excusavit, quod quamvis ille animadverteret negotium hoc tanti momenti esse, ut etiam cum vitæ discrimine Romam per dispositos equos sibi properandum esse videret, nihilominus

supersedisse videns quod si id fecisset necesse sibi futurum domi, et in lectulo permanere potius, quam de re tanta coram ejus Sanctitate agere. Atque interim Dominus Vincentius multas rationes ad persuadendum, equitis Cassalii nomine adhibuit, quas eodem pacto ejus Sanctitas insequentem diem reject.

Postridie ejus diei signatura habita est, cui ego tanquam referendarius interfui, in vespere; est protracta, nec judicavi opportunum Pontificem signaturæ munere defessum aggredi, quum præsertim ejus Sanctitas diceret se nondum Campegii literas perlegisse. Res igitur iterum in diem proximum rejecta fuit, quo postea horam commodam nactus Pontificem adivi, quumque omnium Capitum, quæ D. V. Reverendissimæ literis continebantur, quasi summam effecissem, ne quicquam per oblivionem præterirem, ab ea primum parte cœpi, in qua dicitur suam sanctitatem concessisse Commissionem generalem in amplissima forma, et promississe ferendam sententiam, ratificaturum. Pontifex hoc verum esse affirmavit, dicens se contentum esse, ut ad sententiam procedatur; Qua vero parte est, ejus Sanctitatem Bullam Decretalem concessisse, ut secretiores Regiæ Majestatis Consiliarios instrueret, id a veritate longe remotum dixit, posseque ad id se literas D. V. Reverendissimæ ostendere: Atque ea repetivit, quæ priore die super hoc dixerat, viz. Dominum Stephanum Gardinerum et Equitem Cassalius me testes habere, hanc Bullam non ea conditione petitam fuisse ut ostenderetur cuiquam, præterquam Serenissimo Regi et D. V. Reverendissimæ, et Campegium nunc ad se scribere tantundem effecisse, quo facto ex conventionem Bullam comburi debere, promissurum quoque se dixit, ut si quæ allegantur, probentur, ad sententiam ferendam procedatur, se id ratum habiturum. Quumque ego quesissem an vellet, quæ fierent per eam Bullam comprobare, minime id oportere dixit; negavit quoque eam Consiliariis ostendendam esse, qui tametsi rem bonam non judicarent, approbarent tamen super ejus Sanctitatis Conscientiam; ac sæpius interim repetivit, non esse amplius in ea re commorandum. Ad aliam igitur partem deveni, in qua D. V. Reverendissima dicit, Reverendissimum Campegium Divortium inter Regem Serenissimum et Reginam conatum dissuadere: Tum Pontifex Campegium scribere dixit, eo se etiam functurum officio, ut Reginæ Divortium persuaderet, quam ab eo alienam invenerit; modeste tamen eam, ait, locutam fuisse, et Consiliarios petiisse, qui ex Hispania denegati fuerint, ex Flandria autem concessi. Dixit etiam S. D. N. se literas ad Regem, Reverendissimo Campegio ex suo Chirographo dedisse, ut Regia Majestas fidem his haberet, quæ Reverendissimus Campegius suæ Sanctitatis nomine diceret. Ad illam deinde partem deveni, ubi est: Causam Regis perinde differt, ac si nolit ad iudicium, sententiamque in partem suæ Majestatis ferendam descendere, donec S. D. N. certiorum prius effecerit, de his ad hanc causam concernentibus, quæ ibi vidit et audivit. Ad hæc respondit, Campegium quodcumque requisitus fuerit, processurum, neque de supersedendo Commissionem habere; se tantum injunxisse, ut quum procedi cœptum esset, se certiorum faceret, ne tamen interim moræ aliquid interponeretur. At ubi est nullo pacto adduci vult, ut mihi suo Collegæ Commissionem hanc Decretalem credat: Dixit verum id esse, ideo factum ne pluribus palam fieret, eaque conditione qua petitum fuit, ostensam nequicquam amplius expectandum, ea repetens, quæ prius etiam circa hoc dixerat. At ego, videat Sanctitas vestra quod ex his verbis, quæ hic scripta sunt loquor, quæ dicunt Sanctitatem Vestram Commissionem Decretalem concessisse, ea conditione ut aliquibus Regiæ Consiliariis ostenderetur. Tum Pontifex iterum excandesceps; Ostendam (inquit)

litteras ipsius Reverendissimi Eboracen. nec loquor mendacia, et non minus meis verbis, literisq; prioribus Reverendissimi Eboracen. fides est habenda, quam his quas nunc affertis. Tum ejus Sanctitatem mitigari quæsi, si minus urgender mandata exquerer, quoniam id a me fieri oportet. Quod ad Regni ruinas, damna, calamitates, scandala, et diminutionem Religionis, multa in eandem sententiam dixit, in quam primo die locutus fuit; quum diceret, Egregium vero decus Serenissimo huic Regi fuerit, si ipse, qui Fidei Defensor et sit et appelletur, qui libros etiam pro ejus defensione ediderit, eandem nunc impugnare cogatur; Ad hæc quam recte sint venturi, viderint ipsi. Eo autem loco, in quo dicebatur aliquid de Regio negotio, inter Generalem Fratrum de Observantia, et ejus Sanctitatem convenisse, et eo autore fœdus inter ejus Sanctitatem et Cæsarianos componendum, Dixit, id ostendere, quod de Regio negotio nihil promiserit, quod quicumq; pollicitus sit, et quin poterit habita ratione suæ conscientiæ, re ipsa præstare velit: In eo autem quod de Pace tractanda affertur, dixit, se nullum modum in tali negotio invenire, neq; se adhuc scire, quod iste Generalis ullas pacis conditiones sit allaturus; atq; ea insuper addidit, quæ meis literis die 15 Novemb. datis D. V. Reverendissimæ significavi.

Aliis deinde diebus S. D. N. sæpissime sum alloquutus, qui decrevit cum Reverendissimis de Monte et Sanctorum Quatuor Cardinalibus de his rebus omnibus loqui, præterquam de Bulla Decretali, de qua cum nemine vult ullam fieri mentionem, jussitq; ex omni Scriptura ejus memoriam eximi. De reliquis itaq; rebus omnibus loquutus sum cum his duobus Cardinalibus qui dixerunt Pontificem contentum fore, ut ad sententiam procedatur, tametsi id plerisq; alienum videatur, deque eo nonnulli ex Cardinalibus cum obtreptatione loquuntur, et Cæsaris Orator ne procedatur Protestatur, voluntq; fieri in Curia Cause advocacionem, Commissionemq; cum Inhibitione ad partes; dicuntq; hi duo Reverendissimi, quod quæ postulant illi, justa sunt, nec minimo cuiq; denegari possent, nolle tamen Regiæ Majestatis causa S. D. N. quicquam ex eo quod factum sit, immutare.

Quum alio etiam die Pontificem otiosum nactus essem, multa cum ejus Sanctitate, de rebus præteritis disserui, deque eo, quod ego ad ejus utilitatem cum Venetis egissem, quoniam scirem Serenissimi Regis et D. V. Reverendissimæ voluntatem esse, ut quotiescunq; occasio daretur, pro suæ Sanctitatis commodis omnia fierent: exposui deinde quantopere elaborassem pro negotio Cerviæ et Ravennæ, utq; multa Gallici Oratores egissent a D. V. Reverendissima potissimum instigati; Addidi etiam efficacissima verba, quibus usus est Dominus Stephanus Gardinerus. Ad omnia S. D. N. respondit, se ea de re Regiæ Majestati, ac D. V. Reverendissimæ gratias habere, et mihi quoque gratias egit; dixitque, non tamen omnes simul tantum efficere potuistis, ut mihi me civitates redderentur. Scitis autem conditiones fœderis in quo ego quoque eram, fuisse, ut quum quis nostrum injuria afficeretur, ab eo ceteri confœderati injuriam propulsarent, quod multo magis pro me faciendum erat, quum qui in ipso fœdere essent mihi injuriarentur; Et inde Cæsariani volunt mihi persuadere Venetos non fuisse id facturos, si putassent Regi Angliæ aut Christianissimo displiciturum: Neque interim desistunt, multa, magnaq; mihi polliceri, unde ego, quod alias etiam dixi, id quod affertur, quum aliter facere nequeam, accipere cogar. Illudq; etiam vos scire volo promissum mihi fuisse, si legatus hic in Angliam mitteretur, futurum ut mihi civitates a Venetis restituerentur. Tum ego, non omnia, Beatissime Pater, adhuc sunt perfecta, Rex enim potentissimus omnino operam dabit, ut illæ civitates Beatitudini Vestræ restituantur: An non, quæ

ejus Majestas scribit Vestra Sanctitas animadvertit? Cui videndum imprimis est, ne de ipsa Serenissimo Regi sit conquerendum; et ex hac occasione iterum ad Regiam Causam redii. At ejus Sanctitas dixit, se omnia quæ potuisset pro Regia Majestate et D. V. Reverendissima fecisse, facturamq; etiam libenter.

Nonne igitur (inquam) posset ratio aliquam inveniri qua concederetur eam Bullam aliquibus ex Secretioribus Consiliariis ostendi posse? Tum Pontifex, non (inquit) Non potest hoc fieri, nec a me impetrari; quod si ullo modo fieri potuisset, minime tam multas magnasq; preces a Serenissimo Rege, et Reverendissimo Domino Eboracen. expectassem; quumq; quibusdam validis Argumentis instarem, prohibuit me ulterius de hujusmodi re loqui. Nolui ego unquam dicere, equitem fratrem brevi esse venturum, ne Pontifex rem in illius adventum protraheret, ea tantum de causa, ut moram interponeret.

Omnibus deinde aliis diebus super eodem negotio institi, nunquam tamen Pontifex sententiam suam ulla ex parte immutare voluit; tantum illud decrevit, Nuntium mittere velle, qui suam sententiam verbis explicaret: quumq; nulla mihi amplius spes relinquere- tur quicquam amplius impetrandi, tum demum dixi, Equitem fratrem Romæ futurum sequenti die, qui quum adeo gravis momenti rem, cerneret, noluerit suæ valetudini consulere, et quod is minime putasset, suæ servitutis in ejus Sanctitatem merita hoc modo male tractanda fuisse. Gratum sibi dixit Pontifex Equitis adventum fore, quodq; cum ipso et constituerentur omnia, negans tamen se illo pacto id quod nunc petitur concessurum. Venit itaq; Eques frater, qui non secus ac si nunquam quisquam de hac re cum Pontifice egisset, singula de integro tractavit, omnibus his modis et rationibus tentatis quæ excogitari poterunt. Quæ omnia minutim Dominus Vincentius Cassalius noster patruelis, quem ad ipsum mittimus, verbis coram explicabit, egoque ne D. V. Reverendissimæ jam nimis molestus sim, de hac ulterius non scribam.

Quod ad Wintonensem Expeditionem spectat multum hi Reverendissimi Domini Cardinales offendebantur, nunc ab ipsis pecuniarum remissiones postulari, quum deprædata eorum bona sint, ipsiq; propter id ad Paupertatem redacti. Quibus ego ostendi, majus emolumentum ad ipsos venturum, si D. V. Reverendissima unam Ecclesiam acciperet, alteram deponeret, quam si alter tantum Wintoniensis Ecclesiæ expeditionem faceret; neque D. V. Reverendissimam nimis hanc permutacionem optare dixi, quum Wintoniensis non multo Ecclesiæ Dunelmensi sit ditior. Ad hæc dixerunt, quod libentius D. V. Reverendissimæ quam cuiquam alteri erunt gratificaturi, quoniam ipsa de sede Apostolica sit semper bene merita, non tamen se vereri, quin D. V. Reverendissima Wintoniensem Ecclesiam illius Regni primariam sit acceptura. Ego quum Pontificem, et deinde Cardinales eos qui magis rebus nostris student ambissem, effeci ut Pontifex, de ea re in Consistorio referret, quod ejus Sanctitas effecit, multis etiam additis laudibus D. V. Reverendissimæ, quibus aliqui Cardinales, et maxime Neapolitani, responderunt ea quæ superius dixi. Illud tandem decreverunt, quod quum D. V. Reverendissima solvere debeat, pro expeditione Wintoniensis Ecclesiæ, et pro retentione Ecclesiæ Eboracensis et Abbatie Sancti Albani, habita ratione totius summæ, ejus pars dimidia D. V. Reverendissimæ condonaretur, et ut ad 13 vel 14 millia aureorum remittant, et non multo plus eo, quod pro Wintonient. tum Ecclesiæ deberet solvere. Id Reverendissimis Cardinalibus ideo displicebat, quoniam nollent res hujusmodi in exemplum trahi, quum præsertim Magnus Franciæ Cancellarius, ipse quoque in magna quadam Expeditione, idipsum in ~~---sentit~~ flagitat, quod isti concedere nolunt.

PART I.—BOOK II.

Cætera ex Domini Vincentio D. V. Reverendissima copiosius coram intelligat; Quæ bene valeat. Dat. Romæ die 17 Decemb. 1528.

Humillimus servus
JO. CASSALIUS
Prothonotar.

XVIII.—*The Pope's Letter to the Cardinal, giving Credence to Campana. An Original.*

[Cotton. Libr. Vitel. B. 10.]

Dilecto Filio nostro Thomæ Sanctæ Cecilie Presbytero Cardinali Eboracen. In Regno Angliæ, nostro et Sedis de Latere Legato.

DILECTE Fili noster, salutem et Apostolicam Benedictionem. Existimavimus non tam commode per literas responderi posse his, de quibus postremo Oratores Carrissimi in Christo Filii nostri istius Regis nobiscum egerunt; Itaq; proprium hominem Franciscum Campanam familiarem nostrum istuc mittimus, ex quo sua Serenitas ac Circumspectio tua plenius intelligant quæ nobis occurrant, tam de rebus ad pacem et publicæ ad universam Christianitatem spectantibus, quam super privatis Serenitatis suæ, de quibus nobis per literas et Oratores vestros significastis, quas quidem summopere cordi habemus. Circumspectionem tuam hortamur, ut sibi ac Serenitati suæ persuadeat nos paternam benevolentiam atq; animum gessisse et gerere erga Serenitatem suam, ab eodemq; amore proficisci omnia quæcunq; illi significamus, ut pluribus Circumspectionem tuam, quam merito multum amamus, exponet Dilect. Fil. Card. Campegius, Legatus una tecum noster, ac dictus Franciscus, quibus plenissimam fidem habebitis. Datum Romæ 15 Decembris M. D. XXVIII.

J.

CLEMENS manu propria.

XIX.—Decemb. 1. 1528.

A part of Peter Vannes his Instructions, directing him to threaten the Pope. An Original.

AND Peter, as of himself, shall a-part say unto his holiness: sir, I being an Italian, cannot but with a more fervent zeal and mind than any other, study and desire the weal, honour and safety of your holiness and the see apostolic; which compelleth me to show unto your holiness, frankly, what I see in this matter. Surely, sir, in case your holiness continuing this particular respect of fear of the emperor, do thus delay, protract, and put off the accomplishment of the king's so instant desire in this matter, and not impart to his majesty therein bounteously of the treasure and goods of the church, and the see apostolic,—*quantum potestis ex thesauro ecclesie et ex plenitudine potestatis ac auctoritate a Deo vel ab ecclesia collata*.—I see assuredly, that it will be a means so to alienate the fast and entire mind which his highness beareth to your said holiness, as not only thereby his grace, nobles, and realm, but also many other princes his friends and confederates, with their nobles and realms, shall withdraw their devotion and obedience from your holiness, and the see apostolic, studying how they may acquite this your ingratitude, in the highest cause that can be devised, showed, and so long continued with the semblable. And therefore, sir, at the reverence of Almighty God, cast not from you the heart of this noble virtuous prince, who finally cannot fail, the peace had, which Christendom may not long forbear, to have in his puissance, such a stay as may be able, in the highest and largest manner, to recompence his friends, and to acquite the contrary.

HENRY R.

XX.—*The Cardinal's Letter to the Ambassadors about his Promotion to the Popedom. An Original.*

[Cotton. Libr. Vitel. B. 10.]

Magnifico Equiti Domino Gregorio Cassalio ac Domino Petro Vanni, Serenissimi Domini Angliæ et Franciæ Regis in Rom. Curia oratoribus.

MAGNIFICE Domine Gregori et Domine Petre salutem. Sicuti incommodissimus totius Reipublicæ Christianæ, ac potissimum Regis Majestatis negotiis S. D. N. obitus accidit, ita etiam vos non latere puto quantum periculi et discriminis hujus Serenissimi Regis salutis et honoris, ac Regni sui quietis ab hac futuri Pontificis Electione immineat, et quantopere vobis adnitendum, ac vestro studio, diligentia, industria et prudentia occurrendum et obstandum sit, ne aliquis eligatur Pontifex alienus ab hac Regiæ Majestate; et quid pro me promovendo facere ac tractare debeatis, cumulate per communes meas literas vos admonui: nec oportet per has quicquid aliud replicare, quas solum ad vos scribere volui, ut significem vobis me totum hoc gravissimum et omnium maximum negotium, de quo acturi estis, vestræ prudentiæ, fidei, et dexteritati, quam longo temporis usu exploratissimam habeo, committere et credere, speroq; vos spei et opinioni meæ de vobis conceptæ omnino responsuros, et bene valete. Londini die 6 Feb. 1528.

Vester amantissimus frater
T. CARDIN. EBORAC.

XXI.—*An Information given to the Pope about the Divorce. An Original.*

[Cotton. Libr. Vitel. B. 11.]

Adnotatio Summaria eorum quæ aliis libellis fusiis explicata S. D. N. tum licere, tum expedire, persuadent, ut in Causa Regiæ Majestatis Sententiam divortii ferat.

PRIMUM licet atque etiam expedit dirimere hoc Matrimonium, quod juri tum divino tum humano repugnat.

Divinum enim jus duci prohibet Uxorem fratris, quin hic fratris Uxorem ductam fuisse sit notorium.

Humanum vero jus, dum hujus Matrimonii impedimenta continet, alterum Affinitatis, quod divino jure inductum severissime sancivit; alterum publicæ Honestatis, et justitiæ, quod promulgavit Deus, si ex definitione Matrimonii, divini, humaniq; juris commutatio interveniret, quibusnam auspiciis hoc Matrimonium constare dicemus, quod utroque jure adversante ac repugnante, contractum est, coit, et utcumque consistit?

Sed cessavit, inquit, in hac specie juris utriusq; prohibitio per gratiam et Dispensationem summi Pontificis.

Respondetur quidem istis multis modis. Primo non esse videri, quod nullum est, nullum autem haberi quod sine Auctoritate legitima fiat; deniq; Pontificis Auctoritatem non eatenus pertinere, ut in gradibus divina lege prohibitis dispensare possit: non opinionibus Scripturientum, qui Pontificis Auctoritatem immutatam velint, sed ipsius Pontificis sententia constat, quem suæ Jurisdictionis modum, et optime novisse et ampliari velle potius quam restringere credendum est; quæ quum ita sint, etiam si humani juris prohibitio per Dispensationem sublata videatur, manet nihilominus immotum, quod divinum est, si ipsis contra seipsos credimus Pontificibus.

Deinde, ut posse Pontifices dispensare fateamur, et in ea parte tribuamus plus Auctoritatis quam ipsi sibiipsis audeant arrogare, tamen non passim, non quocunq; modo, non temere, et sine omni consideratione, posse eos dispensare; atq; fatendum est ne suo

testimonio Dissipatores verius, quam Dispensatores appellantur. Itaque ut causam urgentissimam et evidentissimam, tum etiam manifestissimam debet habere Dispensatio, precibus deniq; veris, non ementitis atq; confictis inniti.

In Dispensatione autem, quo constat hoc Matrimonium, verbis quidem pacis causa proponitur, sed non ideo quia sic refertur, re ipsa subsistit. Pontificis facta non ad verborum superficiem, sed rei ipsius solidam veritatem expendi convenit.

Certum est, pacem multis modis, tum firmissimam fuisse unoq; Matrimonio conciliatam, pactorum deniq; ac fœderum vi constantem, istud necessario Matrimonium non desiderasse, et jam Dispensationem sine causa intervenisse dicimus, et consequenter nullam esse, manereq; adhuc divinam prohibitionem atq; adeo et humanam.

Porro etiam, si aliqua sit, et causam haberet, tum mendacis confata est, subreptitia et obreptitia merito appellanda, jure tum divino, tum humano reprobata.

Nam quum quod aliqui Canonibus cautum sit ipsius etiam Dispensationis, prœmium, contineat, "Romani Pontificis Autoritatem concessa sibi desuper uti potestate, prout personarum, causarum, et temporum qualitate pensata, id in Domino salubriter conspiciat expedire;" Quomodo potuit S. D. N. hujus Serenissimi Regis qualitates pensare quas ignoravit? Neque enim de ætate quicquam, quæ in contrahendo hoc Matrimonio præcipua qualitas erat, narrabatur, et tamen illum annum eo tempore duodecimum non excessisse notorium est; et tacita ad hunc modum ætate, mendacium pro causa suggestum est manifestissimum; Cupiisse, viz. tunc Serenissimum Regem contrahere Matrimonium, ad hoc ut pacis fœdera continuarentur: facti veritas est, tum quid ageretur ignorasse, et etiamsi tum scivisset, tamen non fuisse verum quod cuperet ad hoc ut pacis fœdera continuarentur, ætas ostendit, quæ per communis juris dispositionem discretionem non admittit; cupere quidem affectus est, cæterum cupere contrahere Matrimonium, ad hoc ut pacis fœdera continuarentur, iudicii est et discretionis. Porro autem, quum de continuandis inter duos Principes fœderibus ageretur, alter ante mandatam executioni Bullam fatis concessit, et re integra, causa, si quæ fuit, cessavit.

Sed producitur aliud Breve tenoris tam efficacis ut istas Objectiones non admittat.

Sed manet nihilominus eorum sententia, qui Pontificem non posse dispensare affirmant, secundum quos nec Breve nec Bulla consistit; deinde Breve falsum esse, et pro falso judicari deberi, multis rationibus convincitur: denique falsum cum sit, et tamen prioris Bullæ errores corrigat, illam opinionem merito confirmet, ne prior Dispensatio efficax videatur, vel eorum iudicio, qui hoc Matrimonium defendere studuerunt, viz. qui veris allegationibus diffisi, ad falsas et confictas Dispensationes, vitia objecta removens confugere coacti sunt.

Ista, si singula minus sufficiant, saltem collata, obtineant et persuadeant licere. Illa vero opinio multis persuasa, Pontificem, viz. non potuisse dispensare, ut sola infirmet Dispensationem, non petitur, sed habet nihilominus aliquid considerationis; quanquam enim refellatur a quibusdam et reprobetur, manet tamen scripta, atque adeo testimonio ipsius Pontificis comprobata. Perpendatur deinde causa et suggestionis veritas, si mendacium intervenisse appareat, et quod est notorium, illam Dispensationem adversariorum factis in novi Brevis fabricatione tacite reprobari, quis non videt ex his causis licere ut sententia Divortii proferatur?

Postremo expedit ut id pronuntietur, quod in omnium sententias consentiat, Reprobatio autem Dis-

pensationis cum omnibus convenit opinionibus, sive quia Autoritas abfuit, sive quia non recte interposita dicatur; Approbatio vero cum istis dissentit omnibus.

Expedit ut firma sit et inconcussa Regni Successio, quæ contra has opiniones confirmari non potest.

Expedit ut conscientia Serenissimi Regis his scrupulis impedita, et turbata, expedita et tranquilla reddatur.

Breviter, expedit votis Serenissimi Regis satisfieri, qui pro genuinis et innatis suis virtutibus, non nisi optima cupit, et modo etiam optimo votorum suorum compotem effici laborat; si non virtutem spectaret, cætera nihil haberent difficultatis, sed omnium virtutum cogitationem quandam esse animadvertens, suum iustitiæ decorum, quod temperantia est, querit, ut justum, justo modo, obtineat et assequatur. Itaq; expedit ne auxilium denegetur, vel differatur ei qui id juste implorat.

XXII.—The second part of a long Dispatch of the Cardinal's concerning the Divorce. An Original.

[Cotton. Libr. Vite. B. 11.]

To my loving Friends, Master Stephen Gardiner, Doctor of both Laws; Sir Francis Brian, and Sir Gregory Cassali, Knights; and Mr. Peter Vannes, Secretary to the King's Highness for the Latin Tongue; His Grace's Orators, Residents in the Court of Rome.

ANOTHER part of your charge consisteth in expedition of the king's great and weighty cause of matrimony, whereupon depend so many high consequences, as for no earthly cause to suffer or tolerate, tract or delay, in what case soever the pope's holiness be of amendment or danger of life; nor as is aforesaid, oweth to be by his holiness pretermitted, whether the same be in the state of recovery, or in any doubt or despair thereof: for one assured and principal fundamental and ground is to be regarded, whereupon the king's highness doth plant and build his acts and cogitations in this behalf, which is from the reasonable favour and justice, being the things from the which the pope's holiness, *in prosperis nec adversis*, may lawfully and honestly digress; and when the plainness of his cause is well considered, with the manifest presumptions, arguments, and suspicions, both of the insufficiency of the bull, and falsity of the brief, such as may lead any man of reason or intendment well to perceive and know that no sufficiency or assured truth can be therein; How may the pope's holiness, *ex æquo et justo*, refuse or deny to any Christian man, much less to a prince of so high merits, and in a cause whereupon depend so many consequences, to his holiness well known, for a vain respect of any person, or by excuse of any sickness, justify, colour, or defend any manner refusal, tract, or delay, used in declaration of the truth in so great a matter, which neither for the infinite conveniences that thereby might ensue, admitteth or suffereth to be delayed, nor by other than himself, his act or authority, may lawfully be declared. And well may his holiness know, that to none it appertaineth more to look unto the justness of the king's desire in this behalf, than to his highness his self, whose interest, whose cause, with the same of his realm and succession resteth herein; for if his grace were minded, or would intend to do a thing inique or unjust, there were no need to recur unto the pope's holiness for doing thereof. But because his highness and his council, who best know the whole of this matter, and to whose part it belongeth most profoundly to weigh and ponder everything concerning the same, be well assured of the truth of the matter, needing none other

PART I.—BOOK II.

thing but for observance of his duty towards God and his church, to have the same truth also approbate and declared by him to whom the doing thereof appertaineth ; his grace therefore seeing an untruth alleged, and that so craftily as by undue and perverse ways, the same, without good reason adhibited, may for a season bring things into confusion, doth communicate unto the pope's holiness presumptions and evidences enough, and sufficient to inform the conscience of his holiness of the very truth : which then, if his holiness will not see, but either for affection, fear, or other private cause, will hearken to every dilatory and vain allegation of such as led upon undue grounds would colour the truth ; what doth his holiness less therein, than under a right vain colour expressly deny and refuse the said justice, which to be done either in health or sickness, in a matter of so great moment, is in nowise tolerable ? But for the same reasons that he before mentioned, is the thing, whether the pope's holiness be in hope or despair of life, without further tract to be absolved and determined ; for if Almighty God grant his holiness life, this act is, and always shall be, able to bear itself, and is meet to be an example, a precedent, and a law, in all like cases emerging, the circumstances and specialities of the same in every part concurring as they do in this ; nor can the emperor make exceptions at the same, when he best knowing, percase, the untruth shall see the grounds and occasions, that of necessity and mere justice have enforced and constrained the pope's holiness thereunto ; which he could not refuse to do, unless he would openly and manifestly commit express injury and notorious injustice. For be it that the pope's holiness hearkening to the said frivolous and vain allegations, would refuse to declare the law herein to the king's purpose, then must his holiness, either standing in doubt, leave and suffer the cause to remain in suspense, to the extreme danger of the king's realm and succession for ever ; or else declare the bull or brief, or both, to be good, which I suppose neither his holiness nor any true Christian man can do, standing the manifest occasions, presumptions, and apparent evidences to the contrary. Then if the matter be not to be left in suspense, no judgment can be truly given to the approbation of the bull or brief ; how can the pope's holiness of conscience, honour or virtue, living or dying, thus procrastinate or put over the immediate finishing thereof, according to the king's desire ? or how may his holiness find his conscience towards God exonerate, if either living he should be the cause of so many evils as hereof may arise ; or dying, wilfully leave this so great a matter, by his own default, in this confusion, incertaintly, and perplexity ? It is not to be supposed, that ever prince most devout to the see apostolic, could so long tolerate so high an injury, as being so merited towards the said see, is both unacquitted for his kindness with any special grace, and also denied upon his petition of that which is evident to be plain justice. This thing is otherwise to be looked upon, than for the pope's sickness, where most need were to put an end unto it, to be delayed, seeing that living and amending it is of itself expedient and justifiable, and dying, it shall be an act both necessary, meritorious, and honourable. For this cause ye now knowing the king's mind in this behalf, shall, if ye have not already before this time spoken with the pope's holiness at length in these matters, as the king's grace trusteth ye have done, solicit as well by the means of Messire Jacobo Salvati, as by the bishop of Verone, and otherwise as ye can think best, to have such commodious access unto his holiness, as ye may declare the premises unto him ; which by your wisdoms, in as effectual and vive manner as ye can open it unto his

holiness. It is undoubtedly to be thought the same shall rather be to his comfort and increase of health, than to any his trouble or unquietness ; and that his holiness hearing these reasons not evitable, will, whether he be in way and hope of amendment, or otherwise, both proceed to the said indication, and also to the declaration of the law, and passing of a sufficient and ample decretal, as hath been devised in the king's said cause, with other such things, as by former letters and instructions, by the decrees mentioned in the same, that failing have been committed unto you, to be solicited and procured there ; in the labouring whereof, albeit since your departures from hence, the things have, by reasons of the pope's sore sickness, otherwise chanced than was here supposed, by means whereof ye not instructed what to do in any such case, were peradventure not over hasty or importune to labour these matters, till the pope's holiness might be better amended, nor could percase find the means to have convenient access unto his presence for the same, ye must nevertheless adhibit such diligence, as howsoever the sickness of his holiness shall cease, amend, or continue, these things be not for the same, or any other cause, tracted or left in longer suspense ; but finding possible means to come unto the pope's presence, to declare all such things unto the same, mentioned both in the former letters and instructions given unto you, and also in these presents, as may make to the purpose ; and failing of often access in your own persons to his holiness, ye cause the bishop of Verone, and other such assured friends as ye can attain, being about him at such times as they may have with his holiness, to inculcate unto him the said points and considerations, and all other that ye can excogitate and devise to the furtherance and advancement of these matters, not forbearing or sparing also, if ye shall see difficulty at the pope's hand, or in audience to be given to you or your friends there, being about his person, to break and open after a good fashion and manner the same unto such of the cardinals as ye may perceive assuredly and constantly to favour the king's highness, and the French king in election of a future pope, in case (as God forbid) the pope's holiness should decease ; and to show unto the same cardinals all such things as you shall think meet, both for their more ample instructions in the truth and specialities of the matters, as well concerning the indication of truce as the king's said cause, and the presumptuous reasons, and plainer evidences, leading to the insufficiency of the bull, and apparent falsity of the said brief ; to the intent, that as many of the said cardinals as ye can win, made sure in those matters, they may, both in time of sickness and also of amendment, move and induce the pope's holiness thereunto, laying before him as well the merits and honour that may ensue by the perfection of the premises, as the danger imminent by the contrary ; and semably it shall be expedient that ye win and make sure to the same purpose as many of the officers of the Rota and other as ye can, who as ye write be not accustomed, nor will give counsel to any person but the pope's holiness ; for albeit, ye cannot have them to be of the king's council, yet nevertheless they may do as much good, or more, in training and counselling the pope's holiness upon the great reasons that you can show unto them, to hearken unto your overtures in this behalf. To which purpose you shall adjure, make, and win, as many friends of the cardinals, of them, and other, as ye possibly may, as for the thing which the king's highness and I more esteem than twenty papalities ; and amongst other, ye shall insist, by all means and good persuasions ye can, for the continuance there of the said bishop of Verone, so as he may countervail

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the archbishop of Capuan, who, as it seemeth, is continually about the pope's person, and were necessary to be met with in the labours and persuasions, which by likelihood he maketh to the hindrance of the king's purpose : for the better continuing of the which bishop of Verone, not only the king's highness and I write unto him at this time, as by the copy of the same several letters being herewith ye shall perceive, but also the French king will do the semblable. And furthermore, to the intent that the pope's holiness may well perceive that not only the said French king mindeth the king's said cause, and taketh it to heart as much as it were his own, and will effectually join and concur with the king's highness therein, but that also he is and will be conformable to the said indication,—he will send thither, with all speed, the bishop of Bayon, to further, solicit, and set forth the same ; who, before his departure from hence, which was a good season passed, was and is sufficiently and amply instructed in all things requisite to this purpose ; and not only in these matters, but also in such other as were written unto you by Vincent de Cassalis and Hercules, upon advertisement given hither that the pope's holiness was deceased ; so as ye may be sure to have of him effectual concurrence and advice in the furtherance and solicitation of your charges, whether the pope's holiness amend, remain long sick, or (as God forbid) should fortune to die ; trusting, that being so well furnished by all ways that can be devised, ye will not fail to use such diligence as may be to the consecuting and attaining of the king's purpose : wherein, though ye be so amply and largely instructed that more cannot be, yet nevertheless having lately received from the bishop of Worcester a memorial of divers great things to be well noted and considered, for trial of the falsity of the said brief, I send you herewith a copy of the same memorial, to the intent ye substantially visiting and perusing the same, may follow and put in execution such part thereof, for better trial of the falsity, as is to be done there, like as the rest meet to be done here, shall not fail to be executed with diligence accordingly.

Thus be ye with these, and other former writings, sufficiently instructed what is to be done by you there, whether the pope's holiness continue long in his sickness, or whether the same fortune to decease, or soon, God willing, to amend. There resteth no more, but that ye always take for a perfect ground, that though to every new chance not before known, sufficient provision and instruction could not be given to you at your departure, ye always note, remember, and regard, that this the king's cause admitteth nor suffereth any manner negative, tract, or delay ; wherefore, knowing that so well as ye do, and also how much the indication of the truce shall be commodious and necessary, both to the king's highness in particular, and to all Christendom in general, by means whereof his grace shall avoid contribution, and other charges of the war, ye must now, if ever ye will have thanks, laud, or praise, for your service, employ yourselves opportune and importune, to put an end to the points to the king's satisfaction and desire ; and in every difficulty to study, by your wisdoms, the best and next remedy, and not always to tract your doings, till upon your advertisement hither, ye shall have new knowledge from hence : for thereby the matter itself, and also your demur there, be of over long a continuance, and infinite inconveniences by the same may ensue. I therefore require you, according to the special trust and confidence that the king's highness and I have in you, now for ever to acquit yourselves herein with all effect possible, accordingly so as the king's highness be not longer kept in this perplexity and suspense, to his grace's intoler-

able inquietness, and the great heaviness of all those that observe and love the same.

Furthermore, though it so be that the king's trust, and also mine is, ye will by your wisdom find such good means and ways as ye shall not fail, God willing, to open and declare unto the pope's holiness, the whole of the king's mind, and all and singular the premises, with the residue above-mentioned in your former instructions and letters sent unto you : yet, nevertheless, considering what ye wrote of the doubt of continuance of the pope's sickness, and to make sure for all events and chances, in case his holiness (as God forbid) should long remain in such state, as he might either take upon him the naming of the peace, journeying and repairing to the sacred diet, nor also hear the whole of the things by you to be opened and propounded, touching the king's said cause,—it hath been thought to the king's highness convenient, rather than these great and weighty matters should hang in longer suspense, to excogitate some other good means and way how these matters, so necessary, may by some ways be conduced and brought to an end ; and it is this,—that the pope's holiness not being able to travel to the place devised, where the princes may be near him for treaty, and managing of the peace, he do depute me and my lord cardinal Campegius, *conjunctim et divisim*, as his legates for that purpose, to do and execute all such things in his holiness's name, as the same should do in that behalf if he were there present ; whereunto, for the wall of Christendom, we shall be contented to condescend. So always, that as hath been written heretofore unto you, before I pass or set forth to any convention or place, to the intent before specified, the king's highness be fully satisfied and pleased in his said matter of matrimony, without which, neither with nor without the pope's presence, I will ever begin or take that voyage : for performance whereof, this article following is of new devised, to be by you propounded unto his holiness, if the decretals cannot be obtained, or some other thing, that ye shall well know and perceive, by advice of expert counsel there, to be better to the king's purpose than this thing now devised, and that may without tract be passed or granted ; that is to say, that his holiness do enlarge, extend, and amplify his commission given to me and my lord legate Campegius, whereby we jointly and severally may be sufficiently furnished and authorized, to do as much in this cause of matrimony, with all the emergents and dependencies upon the same, as his holiness may do of his ordinary and absolute power, with sufficient and ample clauses, *ad Decernend. et Interpretand. jura, leges, et Rescripta quacumq; hoc Matrimonium concernentia, una cum omnibus et singulis dubiis in eadem causa emergentibus*. And further, to make out compulsories to any princes, or persons of what pre-eminence, dignity, state, or condition soever they be, *Etiam si in Imperiali, Regali, vel alia quacumque dignitate perfulgeant, sub quibuscumq; penis*, and in what countries and places soever they be, to exhibit and produce any manner, witness, records, originals, rescripts, or other thing, in what place or time we, or the one of us, shall require them, or any of them in this behalf, with all and singular the circumstances requisite and necessary to such a commission, after such ample and assured manner as the same once had, we shall not need for any objections, doubt, or other thing that might infringe or lack, to send of new to the pope's holiness for other provision, whereby the king's said cause might hang in any longer tract or delay. In which case of coming to this commission, ye Mr. Stevens must have special regard to see the same sufficiently and substantially penned, by advice of the most expert men that ye can find to

that purpose; for the better doing whereof, I send unto you herewith a copy of the said commission to me and my lord Campegius, with certain additions thereunto noted in the margin, such as have been here devised, and also a copy of certain clauses in a bull, to the intent ye may see how amply the same be couched, to avoid appellations and other delays in causes of far less moment and importance than the king's is. Nevertheless ye must, if it shall come to the obtaining of this new commission, see to the penning and more fully perfecting thereof, so as the same may be in due perfection, without needing to send eftsoons for remedying of anything therein, as is aforesaid; looking also substantially whether the chirograph of pollicitation, being already in your hands, be so couched, as the date, and everything considered, it may sufficiently oblige and astringe the pope's holiness to confirm all that we, or one of us, shall do, by virtue of this new or the old commission: and if it be not of such efficacy so to do, then must ye in this case see, that either by sufficient and ample words to be put in this new commission, if it may be so had, or by a new chirograph the pope's holiness may be so astringed; which chirograph, with the commissions before specified, if ye obtain the same, the king's pleasure is, that ye, sir Francis Brian, shall bring hither, in all possible diligence, after the having and obtaining thereof, soliciting nevertheless, whether the pope be to be easily spoken with or not, the immediate indication of the truce, as is aforesaid, without which in vain it were for me, either with or without the pope, to travel for labouring and conducting of the peace. And so by this way should the pope's holiness, with his merit and sufficient justification, proceed for the truce, as a fundament of universal peace, satisfy the king's desires, and avoid any doubt of the emperor; forasmuch as his holiness might allege, that being so extremely sick that he was not able to know of the cause himself, he could no less do of justice than to commit it unto other, seeing that the same is of such importance as suffereth no tract or delay. And finally, the king's highness, God willing, by this means, should have an end of this matter. One thing ye shall well note, which is this; albeit this new device was now for doubt of the pope's long continuance in sickness, first excogitate; yet it is not meant, nor ye be limited to this device, in case ye can obtain any other, nor ye be also commanded, to prefer this before all the other devices: but now that ye shall see and understand what this device is, and knowing what thing is like or possible to be obtained there, without long putting over of your pursuits, expend, consider, and regard well with yourself, what thing of this, or any other that may best serve to the brief and good expedition of the king's cause. So always that it be a thing sure, sufficient, and available to his grace's purpose, that may without any further tract be there had; and then by your wisdom taking unto you the best learned counsel that ye can have there, leave you to the expedition of that which so may be most meet, as the times require and suffer, to the brief furnishing of the king's said cause to this purpose, without tract or delay, and that ye may see is the thing which, as the matter stands, can speedily be obtained and sped, as is aforesaid. For whether the decretal be better than this, or this better than that, or which soever be best, far it shall be from wisdom to stick, and still to rest upon a thing that cannot be obtained; but since ye know the king's meaning, which is to have a way sufficient and good for the speedy finishing of this cause to his grace's purpose, note ye now, and consider with yourself, by advice of learned counsel, as is aforesaid, how ye may bring that to pass, and shall ye deserve as high thanks as can be possible. So always that it be so well provided and

looked upon; that in it be no such limitations or defaults, as shall compel us any more to write or send for reformation thereof: and coming to this commission, though percase ye can by no means or sticking have it in every point as the copy, which I send you with the annotations do purport; yet shall ye not therefore refuse it, but take it, or any other thing as can be had, after such form as may substantially serve, and as ye can by your wisdom and good solicitations obtain, for the speedy finishing of the king's cause to his purpose, as is aforesaid, which is the scope wherunto we must tend at this time; and therefore ye be not limited or coacted within any such bounds as ye should thereby be compelled or driven, for lack of obtaining any thing or point mentioned in these or other your instructions, or former writings, to send hither again for further knowledge of the king's pleasure; but ye be put at liberty so to qualify, so to add, detract, immix, change, choose or mend as ye shall think good; so always that ye take the thing that best can be had, being such as may as effectually as ye can bring about, serve to the king's purpose, and to put in delayed end to it, according to his grace's desire, without further tract, or sending thither, which is as much as here can be said or devised. And therefore at the reverence of Almighty God bring us out of this perplexity, that this virtuous prince may have this thing sped to the purpose desired, which shall be the most joyous thing that this day in earth may chance and succeed to my heart; and therefore I eftsoons beseech you to regard it accordingly: howbeit if the pope's holiness refusing all your desires, shall make difficulty and delay therein, it is an evident sign and token that his holiness is neither favourable to the king's reasonable petitions, nor indifferent, but should thereby show himself both partial, and expressly averse unto his grace; wherefore in that case finding in his holiness such unreasonableness, as it can in no wise be thought ye shall do, the king's pleasure is, that ye proceed to the protestations mentioned in the first instructions given to you Mr. Stevins, for you and the residue of your colleagues; and that ye not only be plain and round with the pope's holiness therein, if ye come to his speech, but also ye show and extend unto the cardinals, and other that be your friends, which may do any good with him, the great peril and danger imminent unto the Church and See apostolic; thereby exhorting them that they, like virtuous fathers, have regard thereunto, and not to suffer the pope's holiness, if he would thus wilfully, without reason or discretion to precipitate himself and the said see, which by this refusal is like to suffer ten times more detriment, than it could do for any discontentment that the emperor could take with the contrary: for ye shall say, sure they may be, and so I for my discharge declare, both to the pope's holiness and to them, if this noble and virtuous prince, in this so great and so reasonable a cause, be thus extremely denied of the grace and lawful favour of the church, the pope's holiness shall not fail for the same to lose him and his realm, the French king and his realm, with many other their confederates; besides those that having particular quarrels to the pope, and so aforesaid will not fail, with divers other, as they daily seek occasions, and provoke the king's highness thereunto, which will do the semblable, being a thing of another sort to be regarded, than the respect to the emperor; for two cities, which nevertheless shall be had well enough, and the emperor neither so evil contented, nor so much to be doubted herein, as is there supposed. This, with other words mentioned in your instructions concerning like matter, ye shall declare unto his holiness, and to the said cardinals, and other being your friends, if it come to that point; whereby

it is not to be doubted, but they perceiving the dangers aforesaid, shall be glad to exhort and induce his holiness, for the well of himself and the church, to condescend to the king's desire; which is as much as can be here thought or devised, to be by you done in all events and chances: and therefore I pray you, oftsoons, and most instantly require you, as afore, to handle this matter with all effect possible. Coming to this new commission, when you shall have once attained such thing as shall be sufficient for the king's purpose, as is aforesaid; and that ye have it in your hands and custody, and not afore, lest thereby ye might hinder the expedition thereof, ye shall by all ways and means possible, labour and insist, that the king's highness, as need shall be, may use and enjoy the benefit of the decretal, being already in my Lord Cardinal Campegius's hands, whereunto his highness and I desire you to put all your effectual labour for the attaining of the pope's consent thereunto accordingly.

Ye shall furthermore understand, that it is thought here, in case, as God forbid, the pope should die before ye should have impetrate any thing that may serve to the absolution of the king's matter, that the college of cardinals have authority, power, and jurisdiction, *sede vacante*, to inhibit, avoke, *et ex consequenti*, to pass and decide the king's matter, seeing that the same is of so high moment and importance, concerning the surety of a prince and his realm, as more amply ye shall perceive in the chapters, *ubi Periculum de Electione, ne Romani, de Jurejurando, et capite primo de Scismaticis*; wherefore the king's pleasure is, that ye Mr. Stevens shall diligently weigh and ponder the effect of the said chapters, not only with yourself, but also with such the king's learned counsel as ye and your colleagues have conducted there; and what jurisdiction, *sede vacante*, the college of cardinals have, either by the common law, usage or prescription, which may far better be known there than here: and if ye find that the cardinals have in this the king's cause, and such other like authority and jurisdictions to inhibit, avoke and decern, then, *in casu mortis Pontificis, quod Deus avertat*, ye shall specially foresee and regard that for none intercession or pursuit made by the emperor and his adherents, they shall either inhibit or avoke: and also if before such death ye shall not have obtained such thing to the king's desire and purpose, as these present letters before do purport, his grace's pleasure is, that ye shall pursue the effectual expedition of the same, at the hands of the said college, *sede vacante, ne res quæ nullam dilationem exposcit, tantopere usque ad electionem novi pontificis quoquam modo differatur*; using for this purpose all such reasons, allegations, and persuasions mentioned in those letters, and your former instructions, as ye shall see and perceive to serve to that effect; and so to endeavour and acquit yourself, that such things may be attained there, as may absolve this the king's matter, without any further tract or delay; whereby ye shall as afore highly deserve the king's and my special thanks, which shall be so acquitted, as ye shall have cause to think your pains and diligencies therein in the best wise employed, trusting in God that howsoever the world shall come, ye shall by one means or other bring the king's matter, which so highly toucheth his honour and quiet of mind, unto the desired end and perfection.

Finally, ye shall understand that the French king, among other things, doth commit at this time to the bishop of Bayon, and Mr. John Joachim, to treat and conclude the confederation heretofore spoken of, between his holiness and the king's highness, the French king, the Venetians, and other potentates of Italy, for a continual army to be entertained to invade Spain in case it stand by the emperor, that the peace

shall not take effect: wherefore the king's pleasure is, that ye having conference with them at good length in that matter, do also for your parts, solicit, procure, and set forth the same; entering also on the king's behalf unto the treaty, and conclusion thereof, after such manner as your former instructions and writings do purport. So as like as the French king is determined, that his agents shall join and concur with you in the king's pursuits and causes; so ye must also concur with them in advancement of their affairs, the successes whereof, and of all other your doings there, it shall be expedient ye more often notify hitherto than ye do, for many times in one whole month no knowledge is had from you, which is not meet in those so weighty matters, specially considering that sometime by such as pass to Lyons, ye might find the means to send your letters, which should be greatly to the king's and my consolation, in hearing thereby from time to time, how the things succeed there; I pray you, therefore to use more diligence therein, as the king's and my special trust is in you. And heartily fare you well. From my palace besides Westminster, the sixth day of April.

The French king hath sent hither an ambassade, Monsieur de Langes, brother to the said bishop of Bayon, with certain clauses in his instructions, concerning the said treaty of confederation, the copy whereof ye shall receive herewith, for your better carrying on that matter. Praying God to speed you well, and to give you grace to make a good and short end in your matters. And oftsoons fare ye well.

Your loving friend,
T. CARDIN. EBORAC.

XXIII.—*Another Dispatch to the Ambassadors to the same purpose. A Duplicate.*

[Cotton. Libr. Vitel. B. 11.]

RIGHT well, beloved friends, I commend me unto you in my hearty manner, letting you wit, that by the hands of Thadeus bearer hereof, the king's highness hath received your several letters to the same, directed with the pope's pollicitation mentioned in the same, and semblably I have received your conjunct and several letters of the date of the 18th and 29th days of March; the 8th, 19th, 20th, and 22nd of April, to me directed, wherein ye at right good length have made mention of such discourses, conferences, audiences and communications as ye have had concerning your charge, since the time of your former advertisements made in that behalf, with all such answers and replications as have been made unto you by the pope's holiness, and other on his behalf concerning the same. In the circumstances whereof ye have so diligently, discreetly, and substantially, acquitted yourselves, as not only your firm and fervent desire, to do unto the king's highness special and singular service in this his great and weighty cause, but also your wisdom, learning, and perfect dexterities, heretofore well known, hath every one for his part thereby been largely of new shewed, comprobate and declared to the king's good contentment, my rejoice and gladness, and to your great laud and praise. For the which his grace giveth unto you right hearty thanks, and I also for my part do the semblable; assuring you, in few words, though the time and state of things hath not suffered that your desires might at this time be brought unto effect, yet the king's grace well knoweth, perceiveth, and taketh, that more could not have been done, excogitated, or devised, than ye have largely endeavoured yourself unto for conducting the king's purpose, which his grace accepteth, as touching your merits and

acquittal in no less good and thankful part, than if ye, finding the disposition of things in more direct state, had consecute all your pursuits and desires: nor ye shall doubt or think, that either the king's highness or I have conceived, or thought any manner negligence in you for such things as were mentioned, in the last letters sent unto you by Alexander, Messenger; but that albeit his highness had cause, as the same wrote, to marvel of your long demor, and lack of expedition of one or other of the things committed to your charge; yet did his highness right well persuade unto himself the default not to be in you, but in some other cause, whereof his grace not knowing the same, might justly and meritoriously be brought unto admiration, and marvel: and therefore be ye all of good comfort, and think your perfect endeavours used, and services done, to be employed there, as it can right well, in every part regarded and considered.

In effect coming to the specialities of the things now to be answered, the king's highness having groundly noted and considered the whole continue and circumstances of all your said letters and advertisements, findeth and perceiveth evidently, that whatsoever pursuits, and instances, and requests have been, or shall be for this present time, made there by you on his grace's behalf to the pope's holiness, for the furtherance of the said great and weighty cause; and how much soever the necessity of Christendom for the good of peace, the importance of the matter, the justness of the thing itself, reason, duty, respect to good merits, detecting of falsities used, evident arguments and presumptions to the same, or other thing whatsoever it be, making for the king's purpose, do weigh; the times be now such, as all that shall be done in any of the premises there, is apparent by such privy intelligence and promise as is between the pope and the emperor, to hang and depend upon the emperor's will, pleasure, and arbitre, as whom the pope's holiness neither dare nor will in any part displease, offend, or miscontent, nor do by himself anything notable therein, which he shall think or suppose to be of moment, the said emperor first inconsulted, or not consenting thereunto. And for that cause, since the emperor not only is the adversary of universal peace, letter, and impeacher thereof, but also, as hath appeared by sundry letters heretofore, and now of new sent out of Spain, doth show himself adverse, and enterponing himself as a party against the king's said great matter; it were in manner all one to prosecute the same at the emperor's hands, as at the pope's, which so totally dependeth upon the emperor; and as much fruit might be hoped of the one as of the other, so as far discrepant it were from any wisdom in a thing so necessary, and which as ye know must needs be brought unto an end without any farther delay, to consume and spend the time, where such express contrariety and in manner despair appeareth to do good therein, and where should be none other but continual craft, colour, abuses, refuses and delays, but rather to proceed unto the same in place, and after such form as may be an appearance of some good and brief effect to ensue. Wherefore to show you in counsel, and to be reserved unto yourselves, the king's highness finding this ingratitude in the pope's holiness, is minded for the time to dissemble the matter, and taking as much as may be had and attained there to the benefit of his cause, to proceed in the decision of the same here, by virtue of the commission already granted unto me and my lord legate Campegius.

And for because that ye Mr. Stevins be largely ripened and acquainted in this matter, and that both the king's highness and I have right large experience of your entire zeal and mind to the studying and setting forth of such things concerning the law, as may be

to the furtherance hereof; considering also that for any great thing like to be done there herein, such personages as be of good authority, wisdom, and experience, though they be not learned in the law, may with such counsel as ye have retained there, right well serve to the accomplishment of such other things as shall occur, or be committed unto them on the king's behalf, though so many ambassadors do not there remain and continue: his grace therefore willing and minding to revoke you all by little and little, except you sir Gregory being his Ambassador there continually residing, willeth, that after such things perfected and done, as hereafter shall be mentioned, ye Mr. Stevins, and you Sir Francis Brian, shall take your leave of the pope's holiness, and with diligence return home. For if he had been the absence of you Mr. Stevins, seeing that there is small appearance of any fruit to be obtained there, the king's highness would have entered into process here before this Whitsuntide: But because his grace would have you here present, as well for the forming of the said process, and for such things as be trusted that ye shall obtain and bring with you, as also for the better knowledge to be had in sundry matters, wherein you may be the better ripened and informed by means of your being in that court: and otherwise his highness will somewhat the longer defer the commencement of the said process, and respite the same, only for your coming; which his grace therefore desireth you so much the more to accelerate, as ye know how necessary it is, that all diligence and expedition be used in that matter. And so ye all to handle and endeavour yourselves there, for the time of your demor, as ye may do the most benefit and advantage that may be to the speedy furtherance of the said cause.

And forasmuch as at the dispatch of your said last letters, ye had not opened unto the pope's holiness, the last and uttermost device here conceived, and to you written in my letters sent by the said Alexander, but that ye intended, as soon as ye might have time and access, to set forth the same; wherein it is to be trusted, since that thing could by no colour or respect to the emperor be reasonably denied, ye have before this time done some good, and brought unto perfection; I therefore remitting you to such instructions as ye received at that time, advertise you that the king's mind and pleasure is, ye do your best to attain the ampliation of the said commission, after such form as is to you in the said last letters and instructions prescribed; which if ye cannot in everything bring to pass, at the least to obtain as much to the king's purpose, and the benefit of the cause as ye can; wherein all good policy and dexterity is to be used, and the pope's holiness by all persuasions to be induced thereunto; showing unto the same how ye have received letters from the king's highness and me, responsive to such as ye wrote of the dates before rehearsed; whereby ye be advertised that the king's highness, perceiving the pope's strange demeanour in this his great and weighty cause, with the little respect that his holiness hath, either to the importance thereof, or to do unto his holiness at this his great necessity, gratuity and pleasure; not only cannot be a little sorry and heavy to see himself frustrate of the future hope and expectation that his grace had, to have found the pope's holiness a most loving, fast, near and kind father, and assured friend, ready and glad to have done for his grace, that which of his power, ordinary or absolute, he might have done in this thing, which so near toucheth the king's conscience, health, succession, realm, and subjects; but also marvelleth highly, that his holiness, both in matters of peace, truce, in this the king's cause, and in all other, hath more respect to please and content him of

whom he hath received most displeasures, and who studieth nothing more than the detriment of the see, than his holiness hath either to do that which a good common father, for the weal of the church, himself, and all Christendom, is bounden and oweth to do, or also that which, everything well pondered, it were both of congruence, right, truth, equity, wisdom, and conveniency for to do. Thinking verily that his highness deserved to be far otherwise entreated, and that not at his most need in things nearest touching his grace, and where the same had his chief and principal confidence, thus to have his just and reasonable petitions rejected and totally to be converted, to the arbitre of his enemy; which is not the way to win, acquire and conserve friends to the pope's holiness and see apostolic, nor that which a good and indifferent vicar of Jesus Christ, and common father unto all princes, oweth and is bound to observe. Nevertheless ye shall say the king's highness, who always hath showed, and largely comprobate himself a most devout son unto the see apostolic, must and will take patience; and shall pray to God to put in the pope's mind a more direct and virtuous intent, so to proceed in his acts and doing, as he may be found a very father, upright, indifferent, loving, and kind; and not thus for partial respect, fear, or other inordinate affection, or cause, to degenerate from his best children, showing himself unto them as a step-father, nor the king's highness ye shall say can persuade unto himself, that the pope's holiness is of that nature and disposition, that he will so totally fail his grace in this matter of so high importance, but that by one good mean or other, his holiness will perfectly comprobate the entire love that always the same hath showed to bear towards his highness, wherein ye shall desire him now to declare by his acts the uttermost of his intent and disposition: so as ye Mr. Stevins and Mr. Brian, who be revoked home, do not return with void hands, or bring with you things of such meagreness, or little substance, as shall be to no purpose: and thus by these, or like words, seconding to the same effect, which as the time shall require, and as he shall have cause, ye by your wisdoms can qualify and devise, it is not to be doubted, but that the pope's holiness perceiving how the king's highness taketh this matter, and that two of you shall now return, will in expedition of the said ampliation of the commission, and other things requisite, strain himself to do unto the king's highness as much gratuity and pleasure as may be; for the better attaining whereof, ye shall also show, how heavy and sorry I with my lord legate Campegius be, to see this manner of proceeding, and the large promises which he and I so often have made unto the king's highness, of the pope's fast and assured mind, to do all that his holiness, *etiam ex plenitudine potestatis*, might do, thus to be disappointed: most humbly beseeching his holiness on my behalf, by his high wisdom to consider what a prince this is; the infinite and excellent gratitudes which the same hath exhibited to the pope's person in particular, and to the see apostolic in the general; the magnitude and importance of this cause, with the consequences that may follow, by the good or ill entreating of the king's highness in the same; wherein ye shall say, I have so largely written, so plainly for my discharge declared the truth unto his holiness, and so humbly, reverently, and devoutly, made intercession, that more can I not add or accumulate thereunto, but only pray unto God that the same may be perceived, understood, and taken, as the exigence of the case and the merits of this noble prince doth require; trusting always and with fervent desire, from day to day, abiding to hear from his said holiness some such thing as I shall now

be able constantly to justify and defend, the great things which I and my said lord legate have said and attested on his holiness' behalf.

This, with all other such matter as may serve to the purpose, ye shall extend as well as ye can, and by that means get and attain as much to your purpose for the corroboration and surety of all things to be done here as is possible, leaving to speak any more, or also to take or admit any rescripts for exhibition of the brief, advocacy of the cause, or other of the former degrees, seeing that all which shall or can be done or attained there, shall hang merely upon the emperor's will, consent, and arbitre: and therefore nothing is now or hereafter to be procured, that may tend to any act to be done, in decision of the cause or otherwise there, or which may bring the adverse party to any advantage to be taken by the favour or partiality, that the same may have in that court; but to convert and employ all your suit to that thing which may be to the most convalidation and surety of the process, and things to be done here, as well by attaining, as ample, large, and sufficient words, clauses, and sentences as ye can get, for ampliation of the new commission.

As for the defeating of anything that may be procured to the impeachment of the process thereof, and the corroboration of the things to be passed, and done, by virtue of the same. And amongst other things, whereas ye with these last letters, sent the pope's pollicitation, for the non-inhibition or avoking of the cause, the ratifying and confirming of the sentence by us his legates herein to be given, and other things mentioned in the same, ye shall understand, that the said pollicitation is so couched and qualified, as the pope's holiness whensoever he will may resile; like as by certain lines and annotations, which in the margin of a copy of the said pollicitation I send you herewith, ye shall perceive more at large: and therefore after your other suits, for the ampliation of the new commission, if any such may be attained, brought unto as good a purpose as ye can, ye shall by some good way find the mean to attain a new pollicitation, with such, or as many of the words and additions newly devised as ye can get; which ye may do under this form and colour, that is to say, to show unto the pope's holiness, by way of sorrow and dolence, how your courier, to whom ye committed the conveyance of the said pollicitation, so chanced, in wet and water in the carriage thereof, as the packet wherein it was, with such letters as were with the same, and amongst other the rescripts of pollicitation, were totally wet, defaced, and not legible; so as the packet and rescript was and is detained by him to whom ye direct your letters, and not delivered amongst the other unto the king's hands; and unless his holiness, of his goodness unto you, will grant you a double of the said pollicitation, ye see not but there shall be some notable blame imputed unto you for not better ordering thereof, to the conservation of it from such chance. And thus coming to a new pollicitation, and saying, ye will devise it as near as ye can remember, according to the former, ye by your wisdoms, and namely ye Mr. Stevins, may find the means to get as many of the new and other pregnant, fat, and available words as is possible, the same signed and sealed as the other is, to be written in parchment; the politic handling whereof, the king's highness and I commit unto your good discretions; for therein, as ye Mr. Stevins know, standeth a great strength and corroboration of all that shall be done there, in decision of the king's said cause; and as ye write, may be in manner as beneficial to the king's purpose, as the commission decretal.

And to the intent ye may the better know how to

proceed in this business, I advertise you that the king's highness hath now received fresh letters out of Spain, answering to those sent by Curson jointly with a servant of the queen's, for exhibition of the original brief here, of whose expedition you, Mr. Stevins, were privy before your departure. The letters were of sundry dates, the last whereof is the 21st of April, at which time the emperor was at Cæsar Augusta, upon his departure towards Barcelona. In effect, the emperor minding by his departure thither, and other his acts, to make a great demonstration of his coming into Italy, who is to nothing, as the king's ambassadors write, more unmeet and unfurnished than to that voyage, not having any galleys there but three, which lay on dry land unrigged, as they have done a long time past, none assembly of the states of that land, none order, provision of victual, towardness in conscription of men-of-war, or appearance of such thing; but that his going to Barcelona is chiefly under pretext to attain certain old treasure there remaining, and to give the better reputation to his affairs in Italy. As to the matter of peace and truce, he seemeth not so alien from it but that he would, under colour thereof, be glad to separate and disjoin other from the sincerity of confidence that is between them, working somewhat with the French king, which he himself confesseth to be but abuses. On the other side, he maketh overture of peace or truce to be had with the king's highness apart; and in the mean time entertaineth the pope's holiness as one whom, won from the residue of the confederates, he thinketh himself most assured of. Howbeit, in all this his business, ye may constantly affirm, that his compasses cannot prevail in anything that may be excogitate to the separation of the king's highness and the French king, who so entirely proceed together, that the emperor coming or not coming into Italy, the said French king intendeth to prosecute him in the place where his person shall be. To whom the king's highness now sendeth the duke of Suffolk, with the treasurer of his honourable household; who, if the pope will not really and actually intend to the maintaining of the peace, coming to the convention of his holiness, moved as the case shall require, shall be furnished of a substantial number of men-of-war out of his realm to the assistance of the said French king, if the emperor happen to descend in Italy. So, as his things there be not like to be in such surety as might bring the pope's holiness to this extremity of fear and respect. And all the premises touching this knowledge had out of Spain, and the French king's interest with the king's concurrence, as afore; it shall be well done ye declare to the pope's holiness, whereby, peradventure, the same shall be removed from some part of his said overmuch respect to that part.

As to sending of the brief, the emperor refusing to send it into England, sheweth some towardness of sending it to Rome, minding and intending to have the king's matter decided there and not here; howbeit, all be but vain collusions. For, as ye shall perceive by such things as be extracted out of the letters of the king's orators resident in Spain, a copy whereof I send you herewith, the more the said breve cometh into light and knowledge, the more falsities be deprehended therein; and, amongst other, one there is specially to be noted, making, if it be true, a clearer and manifest proof of the same falsity; which—because if it were perceived by the adverse party, or any of their friends, counsellors or adherents, it might soon by a semblable falsity be reformed,—is above all other things to be kept secret, both from the pope and all other there, except to yourselves: for in computation of the year of our Lord is a diverse order observed in

the court of Rome in bulls and breves: that is to say, in the bull beginning at the Incarnation of our Lord, in the brief at the Nativity; so, as the thing well searched, it is thought it shall be found, that the date presupposed to be of the breve, which is 26th Decemb., Anno Dom. 1503, *Pontificatus Julii anno primo*, well conferred with the manner and usages of that court: he that counterfeited the breve, not knowing such diversity between the date of the bull and breves, and thinking to make both dates of one day, dated the breve at a day before pope Julius was pope; which ye shall more plainly perceive by the said copy, and specially if under some good colour ye ripen yourselves there, whether the year in the date of breves change upon Christmas-day or upon New-year's day, wherein the king's pleasure is, that ye ensearch and certify here what ye shall know and perceive. And if ye shall by such inquiry find matter making to the purpose, as it is not doubted but ye shall do, then for the more sure justification and proof thereof before the judges, it shall be expedient ye in writing make mention of such a doubt, finding the means that it may be answered and declared in the same writing, by certain expert persons of the secretaries, and other officers of that court, with subscription of their answer and names; whereby it may appear here before us as judges, as a thing true and approved: howbeit, great dexterity is to be used for the secrecy thereof; for if such exceptions might come to the knowledge of the adverse party, they might, as the said orators write, soon reform that default by detrahing one letter, or title, or forging a new brief, alleging error in the transumpt, which might be the total disappointment of deprehension of the falsity in that chief and principal point. I pray you therefore to regard that matter substantially, and to order it by your good wisdoms accordingly.

XXIV.—*The two Legates' Letter to the Pope, advising a Decretal Bull. A Duplicate.*

[Cotton. Libr. Vitel. B. 11.]

PRIORIBUS nostris ad Sanctitatem Vestram literis quid hic ageremus, quove in statu causa hæc esset exposuimus; postea quum, et res ipsa, et desiderium Regis admodum urgeret, ut ad Causæ ipsius merita agnoscenda accingeremur, quando in suspensio, non modo horum Regum vota, sed nec hujus Regni firmandi ratio, diutius haberi potest, omni suasionis genere horum animis prius adhibito, ut alterius voluntati alter cederet, eique morem gererent, cum nihil profecerimus, ad Judicii institutionem accedentes, de modo causam ipsam pertractandi, multa longioribus colloquiis inter nos commentati sumus; qua in re, dum quæ necessaria sunt adornantur, exhibitum est per Reginam exemplum Brevis Julii 2. eodem tempore quo et Bulla super hac materia, dati et scripti, sed attentiore cura et longe consideratione mente confecti, quod, quia in substantialibus etiam ab ipsa Bulla diversum est, non modo Regium, sed nostrum quoque; animum, mire suspensum habuit, usque adeo ut de ejus veritate plurimum suspicari libeat; nam præter insperatam in tanta opportunitate ejus apparitionem, incredibile videtur, ut eodem tempore idem author, eisdem partibus, in eadem Causa, diversa admodum ratione caverit, et permansuro Diplomati ejusque Decreto, ad perpetuam rei memoriam, proferendo, et plumbeo caractere excudendo dormitaverit, brevioribus vero literis, molli cera communiendis exactissimi studii et sobrie cogitationis speciem impresserit: ne tamen Majestas hæc rem hanc damnatam priusquam exploratam habeat, quippe quæ magis in veritate quam in voto suo, Causæ hujus eventum sus-

ceptura videtur, ad ipsius Brevis exhibitionem instat, quod, quia honestum et rationi consonum videtur, a nobis etiam probatur, propterea omni studio curamus, ut Breve ipsum, quod in Hispaniis esse dicitur, et a quo exemplum hoc effigiatum aiunt proferatur; atque ut hoc expeditiore cura, et majore compendio assequamur, præter primam et summam illam de Causa cognoscendi potestatem, quam a Sanctitate Vestra habemus, aliam quoque ad hunc specialiter articulum habendam putamus, per quam possimus etiam per censuras, omnes etiam Regia et Imperiali Autoritate fulgentes, monere et adigere ut dictum Breve nobis exhibeant, sine quo causa hæc nedum absolvi, sed nec commode tractari queat. Atque hoc primum est, quod Majestas hæc, in tanta animi fluctuatione qua nunc æstuat, a nobis curandum putat, quo impetrato, Judicii vi insistentes ad Causæ cognitionem procedemus; quod si non proferatur, vel inutile et vitiatum, et fide sua facile rejciendum, prolatum fuerit, nihil prohibebit, hoc sublato obice, quin ex officio nostro reliqua prosequamur: si vero exhibeatur, et veritate sua, vel adeo scite conficta fallacia, ita se tueatur ut acriori examine id inquiri debeat, patefacto jam patronorum cavillis et calumniis foro, quibus undis et iudicii fluctibus non solum articulum hunc Brevis, sed universam Causam implicaturi simus, nullus non videbit; neque enim deerunt quæ suspectam ipsius Brevis fidem faciant, vel ex hoc maxime, quod cum maxime Regis et Regni hujus intersit, nihil prorsus de eo antehac auditum fuerit, nec ejus memoria aut ratio ulla extet in Scriniis Regiis, in quibus etiam minima quæque ad Regnum spectantia asserviri solent: nam verisimile non est in Hispaniis majorem Anglicæ rei curam fuisse quam in ipsa Anglia, neque quempiam solerti et acri adeo ingenio fuisse, qui hujusmodi dissidium vigesimo quinto ab hinc anno suboriturum, et hac sola ratione sublatum iri posse divinaverit, nulla ut diximus apud hunc Regem, et in hoc Regno talis rei memoria extante. Porro si ex Brevis ad Bullam, et ex Bulla ad Breve transitus fiat, atque illius jejunitatem et ariditatem insectemur, hujus prægnantia verba, et ad omnes fere exceptiones tollendas, supersticiosam quodammodo vigilantiam conferamus, et quæ utrinque deduci poterunt in Rescriptis Apostolicis æquo animo audiamus, periculituri certe sumus, ne, quod minime cupimus, Sedis Apostolicæ Autoritatem patientia nostra in discrimen rapiamus, atque dum Regno, et Regi hinc suppetias ferre volumus, rem dignitatemque nostram multo minorem faciamus, cui tum posita etiam anima, favere et adesse semper cupimus et debemus. Propterea, Beatissime Pater, non solum pro Regis et Causæ hujus commodo, sed pro dignitate quoque; Ecclesiastica et Sanctitatis Vestræ Autoritate hic tuenda et conservanda, nullo pacto committendum ducimus, ut nobis spectantibus et audientibus, de Potestate Romani Pontificis, de literarum Apostolicarum sub plumbo et sub annulo scriptarum fide, et repugnantia, deque juris divini abrogatione disceptetur, maxime in Regum causa oppugnanda et defendenda, qui, ut sublimiore sunt fastigio collocati, ita iniquiori animo patiuntur Causæ suæ casum, cum qua et dignitatem et existimationem suam diminutam iri intelligunt, quæ si ignobilium etiam animos quosque exulcerare, ipsa rerum experientia docti cernimus, qualiter quæso putamus Regios et generosos affectura. Itaque quoniam hanc Carybdim et hos scopulos evitasse semper tutum erit, propterea hujusmodi incommoda quodammodo præterverti, ubi ad litis molestias et incertas fori fluctuationes causas deducendam perspicimus, suadere, rogare et summis precibus parique reverentia contendere non desinemus, ut si exhibitio Brevis pura veritas ita latitaverit, quod recutimus an falsum, vitiatum ceu adulterinum fuerit judicare ac decernere minime valeamus, Sanctitas

Vestra Causam hanc ad se avocet, non solum ut tanto discrimine, et perplexitate nos eximât, sed ut paterno affectu Causæ et Regi huic optimo subveniat et opem ferat, atque ex Potestatis suæ plenitudine et summa prudentia finem huic rei optatum imponat, quæ non sine magno hujus Regni et Ecclesiasticæ dignitatis periculo diutius trahi potest: Speramus autem Serenissimi hunc Regem in hujusmodi advocandæ Causæ consilio facile quieturum, salebrosa hæc litium itinera et labyrinthos evitaturum, modo in fide Sanctitatis Vestræ chyrographo manus suæ testata, cognoverit, se diutius suspensio in hac re animo detinendum non fore, atque ab hujusmodi Matrimonio se tandem liberandum, in quo nec humano nec divino jure permanere se posse putat, ex causis Sanctitati Vestræ forsitan notis, et per hos suos nuntios longioribus verbis explicandis. Quod si Sanctitas Vestra commodius existimaverit, Avocatione hujusmodi posthabita, per Decretalis unius concessionem huic causæ occurrere et succurri posse, in hanc quoque rationem Regis animum paratum dabimus; et propterea concepto quodam Decretalis modulo, cum per hos ipsos Majestatis suæ nuntios mittimus, ex quibus abunde intelliget, quodque non absque exemplo istiusmodi auxilia proponantur, et quam non temere nec absque ratione Majestas hæc desiderio huic suo inhæret: interea vero, dum hac vel illa ratione huic rei occurritur et Breve ipsum perquiretur, posset utique; Sanctitas Vestra iterum Reginæ animum tentare, et ad Religionem emollire, curando (ut quod maxime apud eam gratia et Autoritate esse debeant) et literis, et precibus, et nuntiis, omnique alia ratione, hac ipsa via, sibi, suisque rebus omnibus, atque aliis optime consulat. Cujusmodi multa, pro salute Regni et publica cum dignitate, tum tranquillitate animo agitamus, ut tandem optimo Regi præsidio simus, qui incredibili patientia et humanitate, nostram et Sanctitatis Vestræ opem expectat, sed tanta obsessus cura, sollicitudine et anxietate, ut nullus facile explicare possit, vix enim in hoc ipso, oculis et auribus nostris credimus; cujus usqueadeo nomiseret, ut nihil ingrato magis animo audiamus quam ejus de hac re verba, querelas et cruciatum: jure, an injuria liceat nobis hoc, Beatissime Pater, cum Sanctitate Vestra tacere, ne præjudicium nobis aut aliis faciamus, sed quem non excitet tot annorum Conscientiæ Carnificina, quam ut transversum et modo in has et modo in illas partes agant Theologorum disputationes, et Patrum decreta, nullus non videt; qua in re enucleanda ita ambiguo laboratur sensu, ut jam non doctioris sed melioris hominis lumine et pietate egeamus, et propterea factum est ut cum ab utraque parte stant assertores maximi, in illam magis Majestas sua inclinat, quæ ab offensionibus et periculis magis remota videtur. Quem præterea non moveat dulcis illa insitaque sobolis successio, in qua morientes et animam exhalaturi conquiescere, natura ipsa, videmur omnes? quem insuper non accendat, Regni atque imperii propagatio, et per solos liberos continuata quedam fruitio? quem denique populorum fidei ac ejus curæ commissorum tranquillitas et securitas, quæ in designatis jam regibus et principibus nutritur et vivit, non sollicitet? ita ut tanti adeoque; communis boni fundamenta nulla a se jacta, non delectat et suspiret, cum in extremis ejus diebus, extrema quoque tempora eis adventare sentiat, atque secum omnia quodammodo in ruinam trahi? Majores habet, Beatissime Pater, Causa hæc anfractus et difficultates, quam superficie tenuis inspectantibus offerantur, in qua vel hæc Beatissime sunt quod nec moram patitur, et in alteram partem non inclinat quidem, sed omnino cogit, ni velimus ab ea præcipites et maxima cum privatis tum publicæ rei jactura cadere; nam qui vel Reginæ odio, vel speratæ, nec dum forsitan notæ, futuræ conjugis illecebra et titillatione Regem agi.

putant, ii excordes plane et toto, quod aiunt, cœlo errare videntur: at enim credere dignum est, nullis illius quamlibet duris moribus aut injocunda consuetudine, vel ulterioris sobolis spe desperata, Regium animum tanto periculo ad odium impelli posse; ita nec in hominis bene sani mente cadere debet, Regem hunc imbecillo adeo esse animo, ut sensuum suadela eam abruptere cupiat consuetudinem, in qua adolescentiæ suæ florentes annos exegerit persanctæ adeo, ut in hac quoque fluctuatione, non sine reverentia et honore versetur. Inest, credite omnes, voluntati ejus non modo divinæ legis timor, sed humani quoque juris ratio eximia, hæcque: non privata sed publica, ad quam cum ejus animum trahant, utriusque juris peritissimi, et Regni hujus sui procures, et primates omnes, nihil tamen suo, aut suorum tantum arbitrio constitutum habere cupit, sed Apostolicæ Sedis judicio; qua in re quanta sit pietate, maxime ostendit, quum non ex magorum carminibus, et circulatorum imposturis, aliisve malis artibus, sed Sanctissimæ Pontificis manu, tanto huic vulneri suo opem petat, de quo vel plura forte quam licuisset Sanctitati Vestræ subjecimus, quoniam hæc ipsa ulcera manibus nostris contractavimus, et quantum vitales spiritus exhalant cognovimus: proinde Sanctitas Vestra, pii patris et peritissimi medici more, dum virtus adhuc stat, dum salus non desperatur, dum æger ipse sese sustinet et legitima petit auxilia, Regem de se et Apostolica sede optime meritum in pietatis suæ sinu foveat, illudque ei indulgeat quod nec disputationum immortalia dissidia, nec litium immensum chaos unquam dabit, nec sine maximo discrimine unquam tractabitur; atque illud etiam secum reputet, quam injurium, et cum privatis tum publicis rebus incommodum sit, extremos juris apices consecrari, quanquam non expediat ex scripto jure semper judicari; cui, quia Pontifices et Principes miro omnium consensu, a Deo ipso præfected, censentur Spiritus et animæ vice, merito in ambiguis, et ubi multa periclitatur hominum salus, arbitrio suo ejus dritiem moderari possunt et debent, in quo Sanctitas Vestra et Regem et Regnum hoc plane servaverit. Quod si alia ratione vel aliunde paranda sibi fuerint auxilia, veremur ne de Regno et Rege hoc actum sit, quicquid enim alia manu huic vulneri impositum fuerit, nihil minus faciet quam sanitatem, seditionibus enim et tumultibus omnia exponitur, atque imprimis Ecclesiastica Dignitas et Apostolicæ Sedis Autoritas hinc deturbabitur; quod non erit difficile, aut ingratum quibusdam, qui Rege cum Sanctitate Vestra nunc conjunctissimo, impietatis suæ venenum perbelle dissimulant; Cujusmodi jacturam si dura hæc tempora nostra fecerunt, quod deinde sperandum sit, non videmus. Conservandum itaque Rex est, ejusque; eximia in Apostolicam Sedem voluntas et fides, ne eo a nobis abalienato, non modo Angliæ Regem, sed Fidei quoque Defensorem amittamus, cujus virtutes et Religionem tanto plausu orbi commendavimus. Brevitati studentes multa præterimus, et præsertim quid Regni procures, Nobiles æque atque ignobiles dicant, qui fremunt et acerbissime indignantur, ac tamdiu suspensos haberi, atque ab aliorum nutu et voluntate expectare, quid de fortunis eorum omnibus et capitibus statuunt, aut decernant atque; hac potissimum via insistent, qui nullum aut certe diminutum hic Romani Pontificis Autoritatem vellent, quorum plerique in his disceptationibus, quibus alter alteri, ut usu venire solet, re in ambiguo posita, adversatur, ea dicunt quæ non absque horrore referri queant, nam inter cætera illud maxime in ore obvium habent, et prædicant, se nunquam satis demirari, aut ridere posse quorundam ignaviam, qui patienter audiunt, Pontificibus in Jure Divino figendo et refigendo licere, Pontifici Pontificis orem aut plumbum conflare non permitti; nos, ut

hos scopulos et has syrtes evitemus, nihil non agimus, et ne præceps, huc vel illuc, Rex hic ruat, curamus, quem in officio vix contineri posse confidimus, dum a Sanctitate Vestra his literis rescribatur: quibus si ut speramus et cupimus aliquid rescriptum fuerit, per quod et Regem et horum omnium animos quietiores reddere valeamus, accedet nobis quoque; vis aliqua cætera fælicius perficiendi; sin minus, omnia in deterius itura non ambigimus. Quæ ut celerius Majestas sua cognoscat præsentibus hos nuntios suos per dispositos equos ad Sanctitatem Vestram mittit, ex quorum sermone plura quoque intelliget quam literæ ipsæ commodè capere potuerunt. Iguoscet vero Sanctitas Vestra literarumstrarum prolixitatem, quæ tametsi modum excedunt, rei tamen hujus difficultatem et periculum majori ex parte minime attingunt.

XXV.—May 21, 1529. Richmond.

Another Dispatch to Rome. An Original.

RIGHT well beloved friends, I commend me unto you in my most hearty manner, by the hands of Alexander, messenger. I have in good diligence received your letters of the 4th of this month; and semblably the king's highness hath received your other letters, sent by the same messenger unto his grace; by tenor whereof it well appeareth, that the king's highness is now frustrate of the good hope and expectation that his grace and semblably I were in of the pope's determination to have done for his highness in this great and weighty cause of matrimony, as his holiness by his chamberlain promised,—not only that which might be done of power ordinary, but also of absolute; and that ye be utterly in despair to consecrate or attain anything to the purpose there, to the benefit of the said cause, with the strange demeanour that hath been used in calling you to make answer why the supplications presented by the emperor's ambassador for advocacy of the cause should not proceed, and how discreetly and substantially ye have answered and ordered yourselves therein; affirming finally, that as to that matter ye think it shall not serve to any purpose, but only to stop your suit in the obtaining of a new commission, and desiring to be ascertained of the king's pleasure touching the protestation mentioned in your instructions, and how the same is meant and understood, with many other things comprised in your said letters, right well and substantially couched and handled; for the which the king's highness giveth you hearty thanks, and I also thank you in most hearty manner for my part.

Ascertaining you, that by Thadeus, courier, upon receipt of your former letters sent by him, who I trust be arrived with you long before this time, I wrote unto you the king's mind and pleasure, as well to forbear any further pursuits of the degrees committed unto your charge, except only the expedition of a new commission and pollicitation mentioned in the same: as also that you Mr. Stevins, and Sir Francis Brian, should return home, like as my said letters purported. And forasmuch as now it appeareth that there is no hope for you to attain the said commission and pollicitation, the king's highness, supposing that ye the said Mr. Stevins and Sir Francis be on your way homeward, and perceiving that it should be necessary for his grace to have there a substantial counsellor of his, well learned in the laws, as well to defend all such things as shall be procured or set forth by the Cæsareans, to the hindrance of the king's cause, as to let and impeach any advocations, inhibitions, or other thing that may be damageable thereunto, hath de-

spatched thither this bearer and Mr. Bennet, who hath commandment to show unto you, and every of you, wheresoever he shall meet with or find you, his whole instructions, by tenor whereof ye shall be advertised of the king's further mind and pleasure in that behalf; wherefore this shall be only to signify unto you, how his highness will that ye now forbear any further pursuit, either for commission, pollicitation, or rescript, to be sent to the emperor for exhibition of the brief, either here or at Rome, but that following in every part the tenor of the said instructions, ye Mr. Stevins and Sir Francis Brian use all the diligence possible in your voyage homeward, and the residue of you to intend to such things as be mentioned in the said instructions; ascertaining you, that whereas ye were in doubt what is meant by the protestation spoken of in my former letters and your instructions, it was none other thing than in the same instructions was plainly specified and declared; that is to say, failing of all your requests and pursuits touching the king's great matter, to have showed unto his holiness the danger that might ensue, by losing the entire favour of this prince, by mean of his so strange and unkind dealing with his grace; howbeit, considering in what state the things now be, and how much the pope's holiness seemeth to be inclined to the emperor's part. And yet, as appeareth both by your letters and by such other knowledge as the king hath, his holiness would gladly conserve the king's love and favour, and is loth to do anything to the prejudice of his cause; it is no time to come to any rigorous or extreme words with his holiness, but in gentle and modest manner to show himself in such words as be mentioned in my said last letters sent by Thadeus; and so without irritation of him, but with conservation of his favour to entertain his holiness in the best manner that may be, without meddling in any other protestation, but only to look what may be done touching such protestations apart, as is mentioned in the said instructions given to Mr. Bennet, which with these letters shall be a sufficient information of you all what to do in the causes to you committed, not doubting but in all other particular suits of bulls, and other things committed unto you, ye, Mr. Stevins and Sir Francis Brian, have or will do your best to bring the same with you; the expedition whereof, if they be not sped already, the king's highness committeth to the wisdoms of such of you as shall fortune to be in the court of Rome at the receipt hereof; wherein, and in all other things, his highness trusteth, and I do the semblable, that ye will order yourselves with all effectual diligence, as the special confidence that is put in you doth appertain.

And forasmuch as the greatest thing that is to be looked unto is the importune suit of the Cæsareans, not only to stop any further things to be granted to the king's highness, but also to revoke the commission given to the lord legate Campegius, and to me, which should be a clear disappointment and frustration of the king's cause; ye shall, therefore, look substantially by all politic means to withstand, that no such thing be granted; assuring the pope and all the cardinals, and such other as have respect to the well of the see apostolic, that if he should do such an high injury to the king and his realm, and an act so contumelious to us his legates, and so contrarious to his faith and promise, he should thereby not fail so highly to irritate the king and all the nobles of this realm, that undoubtedly they should decline from the obedience of the see apostolic, and consequently all other realms should do the semblable, forasmuch as they should find in the head of the same neither justness, uprightness, nor truth; and this shall be necessary, as the case shall require, well to be inculked and put in his head, to the intent his holiness

by the same may be preserved from granting, passing, or condescending to any such thing.

After these letters perfected hither, and read unto the king's highness, albeit that mention is made in sundry places heretofore, that as well ye Mr. Stevins and Sir Francis Brian, if ye be not returned from the court of Rome, as also the rest of the king's ambassadors, which at the arrival of Mr. Doctor Bennet shall fortune to be there, shall forbear to make any further means or pursuit for the new commission and pollicitation, but clearly to use silence therein; yet nevertheless regarding, and more profoundly considering the effect of your letters last sent, it doth plainly appear, that though after the overture made to the pope's holiness of the said new commission, the business chanced to be made by the emperor's ambassador, upon preferring a supplication for advocacy of the cause; which thing by your writing Mr. Stevins to Capisuke was well avoided; yet was there none express refusal made by the pope's holiness to condescend unto the said new commission, but order given that you should consult and confer with the cardinal Anconitane and Symonette upon the same; which conference, by mean of the said business, was deferred and disappointed, without any final conclusion or resolution taken thereupon. Wherefore, inasmuch as yet there appeareth none utter despair of obtaining the said new commission and pollicitation, with some more fat, pregnant, and effectual clauses than the other hath; the king's pleasure is, that notwithstanding any words before mentioned, both ye, the said Mr. Stevins and Sir Francis Brian, if ye be not departed from the court of Rome, do for the time of your demur there, which the king's pleasure is, shall not be long, but only for taking of your leave; and also the rest of the king's said orators, after your departure shall, as ye shall see the case require, endeavour yourselves as much as may be, to obtain the said new commission and pollicitation, foreseeing always that you handle the matter after such manner, as thereby the pope be not the rather induced to hearken and incline to any pursuits of the imperialists for advocacy of the cause, which were a total frustration of all the king's intent, but so to use yourselves as ye shall see to be to the benefit, and not to the hindrance thereof: which done, the king's grace doth refer the good handling of this thing to your wisdoms and discretions, neither to leave the pursuit for the said commission and pollicitation, if it may without damage be followed; nor to follow it, if thereby you shall see apparent danger of any such advocacy, or advantage to ensue to the purpose of the imperialists, like as his highness doubteth not, knowing now the king's mind and pleasure, you will with wisdom and dexterity order yourselves herein accordingly.

And furthermore, you shall in anywise dissuade the pope for sending either by his Nuntio, to be sent unto Spain, or otherwise, for the original brief: and if the Nuntio be already passed, having charge to speak for sending the same to the court of Rome, then to find the means that a commandment be by the pope's holiness sent after him, not to make any mention thereof: which done to you, the king's said ambassador shall have a good colour to induce the pope's holiness, saying, as of yourself, that you have well considered your own pursuits for producing the brief at Rome, and because the emperor might per-case think that the pope were about to avert unto him the falsity of the said brief, therefore you can be contented that that matter be put off, and no mention to be made thereof by his Nuntio, or otherwise; whereunto it is not to be doubted but the pope's holiness will have special regard, and facily condescend to your desires in that behalf.

Finally: It appeareth also, by certain your letters sent, as well to the king's highness as to me, that the pope's holiness is much desirous to study and find a mean and way to satisfy the king's highness in this behalf; amongst which one clause in his letters to me is this: *Tametsi enim jurisperitorum consilium quæsiverimus, sed nihil reperimus, quod bonis oratoribus simul et iustitiæ ac honori nostro satisfaceret; sed tamen agimus omnia, et tentamus omnes modos Regiæ suæ Serenitati, ac circumspectioni tuæ satisfaciendi.* (And it is added in the margin, with Wolsey's hand:

Mi Petre, referas tuis literis pervelim quid tibi et mihi Pontifex dixerit de modis excogitandis, et quomodo subridens dicebat. In nomine Patris, et cetera.)

Wherefore, since his holiness so plainly declared that he seeketh the ways and means to satisfy the king's highness, it shall be in any wise expedient that you, the said orators, perceiving any towardness of advocacy, lay this to the pope's holiness, saying, that that is not the way to satisfy his grace; and yet besides that, by your wisdoms to find the means to understand and know of his holiness what be the ways and means which his holiness hath studied or can study to satisfy the king according to his writing in this behalf, whereof they shall say his grace is glad, and is very desirous to know and understand the same; and as you shall perceive any towardness or untowardness in the pope in that behalf, so to set forth your pursuits to the best purpose accordingly. And thus heartily fare you well. From Richmond, the 21 day of May.

Your loving friend,

T. CARDINALIS EBORAC.

XXVI.—May 31. Romæ 1529.

A Letter of the Pope's to the Cardinal. An Original.

[Cotton. Libr. Vitel. B. 11.]

Dilecto Filio nostro Thomæ tituli Sanctæ Cecilie Presbytero Cardinali Eboracensi, nostro et sedis Apostolicæ Legato de latere.

CLEMENS manu propria.

DILECTE Fili noster, salutem et Apostolicam benedictionem. Cum Angliæ Rex ac Circumspectio vestra, vetera vestra erga nos et Sedem Apostolicam merita novis officiis augeretis, optabamus occasionem, in qua et vos nostrum amorem cognoscere possetis; sed molestissime tulimus eam primum esse oblatam, in qua circumsepti angustis terminis iustitiæ, non possemus progredi quantum vellemus, studio vobis gratificandi, multis ac rationabilibus Causis desiderium vestrum impredientibus, quod quidem Regiis Oratoribus istuc redeuntibus demonstrare conati sumus. Sed super his et publicis negotiis copiosius vobiscum loquetur Dilectus Filius noster Cardinalis Campegius. Datum Romæ die ultima Maii, 1529.

J.

XXVII.—April 6, 1529.

The King's Letter to his Ambassadors, to hinder an Avocation of the Suit. An Original.

[Cotton. Libr. Vitel. B. 11.]

BY THE KING.

HENRY REX.

TRUSTY and right well-beloved, we greet you well. Since your departure from hence, we have received sundry your letters to us directed, whereof the last beareth date at Rome, the 4th day of the last month; and have also seen such other as from time to time ye have sent to the most reverend father in God, our

most entirely well-beloved counsellor the lord legate, cardinal, archbishop of York, primate of England, and our chancellor: by continue whereof, we have been advertised of the successes, as well of your journey thitherwards, as of such things as ye to that time had done in our causes to you committed; for the which your diligent advertisement, and good acquittal, we give unto you condign thanks: ascertaining you, we do not a little marvel, that in your said last letters you show so much desperation of any great favour to be had at the pope's hand in our said causes; considering that neither ye then had spoken with his holiness in the same, nor by such conferences as ye had had with Mr. Jacobo Salviati, or other on his behalf, we can perceive but all good favour and towardness; though per-case the superiority of the imperials, and the common fame, led you to think the contrary: howbeit as you know no credence is to be given unto such common report, nor we trust the same shall prove more true, than hath done the opinion that was of the lord legate Campegius now here resident, whom we find and certainly know to be of a far other sort in his love and inclination towards us, than was spoken, not having such affection towards the emperor, as in him was suspected. And to be plain with you, if ever he had been of other mind, we have said somewhat to him after such manner as might soon change that intention. So that little faith is to be given to the outward sayings and opinions of such people as measure everything at their pleasure; which we doubt not but ye right wisely do consider, and that ye have before this time, by your diligent solicitation made to speak with the pope's holiness for declaration of your charge, proved the contrary. Whereof we shall be glad and joyous to hear; willing and desiring you therefore, according to the great and special confidence that we have in you, to premit no time in the diligent handling and execution of your said charge, but by one good way or other to find the mean, if you have not already done it, to declare the same unto the pope, whercin the good advice and address of the bishop of Verone shall, we trust, do you great furtherance; and by whose means, if ye for the pope's extreme debility or sickness might in nowise be often admitted unto his presence, ye may signify unto him at great length our whole mind, desire, and intent, after such form as your instructions and letters given and sent unto you in that behalf do purport: for sure ye may be, it shall highly confer unto the benefit of our causes, that ye have there present one so fast and assured friend unto us, as we trust the bishop of Verone is, who shall be able right largely to countervail, and meet with the malicious practices of the archbishop of Capua, who is thought to be one of the chief authors and contrivers of the falsities, crafts, and abuses, set forth to the hindrance of our said causes; which no man shall more politicly and facily deprehend, than the said bishop of Verone may do: and therefore he is by you, with all good means and ways possible, to be entertained; as we doubt not but you will have special eye and regard to the making, winning, and conservation of as many friends to our purpose as ye can possibly obtain; so handling yourself, as now may appear your dexterity and perfect endeavour to conduce, with your diligent labour and policy, our matters to the speedy, undelayed, and desired end and effect, which ye may be sure we shall not put in oblivion, but will have the same in remembrance accordingly. Marvelling nevertheless, that though ye Mr. Stevins could not bring hitherto our great causes to perfection, ye had not in the mean season advertised us what is done touching such bulls as were to be sped for our other particular matters, whereof no mention is made in

your said letters; willing and desiring you therefore, by your next letters, to advertise us in what state and train the same be; knowing right well that ye being not only by the former letters and writings, but also by such as be sent unto you, at this time sufficiently and amply instructed of our mind and pleasure, will now so acquit yourself, as shall correspond to the perfect expectation and firm opinion that we have of you, which we shall not fail to have in our tender consideration to your well, as is aforesaid. Ye shall also, in your conferences with the said bishop of Verone, understand and know of him, by what ways and means ye may best further his advancement to the cardinality; exhorting him, for the manifold good effects that thereof may ensue, to conform himself to the acceptation thereof, if it may be obtained; for doubtless his virtue, wisdom, and experience, fidelity, and other great and commendable merits well considered, we think no man more meet at this time to be preferred thereunto than him: and therefore our express mind and pleasure is, that ye do it by all the ways and means to you possible. And finally, we will that ye show unto him how effectually we have written unto you in that behalf, to the intent, being advanced thereunto, he may give us the better thanks, and in every way bear to us the more perfect affection. And by your next letters, we will that ye advertise us what advocates ye have on our part, with their names and qualities; finding the means also, if it be possible, to retain some notable and excellent divine, a frier, or other that may, can, or will firmly stick to our causes, in leaning to that, *Quod Pontifex ex Jure Divino non potest dispensare*, &c. And of all the successes to advertise us, as our special trust is in you. Given under our signet, at our Mannor of Greenwich, the 6th of this April.

XXVIII.—June 23, 1529.

The King's Letter to his Ambassadors, about his appearance before the Legates. An Original.

[Cotton. Libr. Vitcl. B. 11.]

To our trusty and right well-beloved counsellors, Mr. William Bennet, Doctor of both Laws; Sir Gregory de Cassalis, knight; and Mr. Peter Vannes our Secretary for the Latin Tongue, our Ambassadors, resident in the Court of Rome, and to every of them.

BY THE KING.

HENRY R.

TRUSTY and right well-beloved, we greet you well. By former letters and writings sent to you, sir Gregory and Mr. Peter, with other of your colleagues then being at Rome, and by such conference as was had with you Mr. Benet before your departure, you were advertised in what state then stood our cause and matter of matrimony, and how it was intended that the process of the same should with diligence be commenced before the pope's legates here, being authorized for that purpose. Since that time, ensuing the deliberation taken in that behalf, the said legates, all due ceremonies first observed, have directed citations both to us and to the queen, for our and for her appearing before them the 18th of this month; which appearance was duly on either party kept, performed, and all requisite solemnities accomplished: at which time the queen trusting more in the power of the imperialists, than in any justness of her cause, and thinking of likelihood, by frustratory allegations and delays, to tract and put over the matter to her advantage, did protest at the said day, putting in libels, recusatories of the judges; and

also made a provocation, alledging the cause to be avoked by the pope's holiness, *et litis pendentiam coram eodem*; desiring to be admitted for probation thereof, and to have a term competent for the same: whereupon day was given by the judges till the 21st of the same month, for declaration of their minds and intentions thereunto; the queen in person, and we by our proctor enjoined to appear the same day, to hear what the said judges should determine in and upon the same. At which time both we and the queen appeared in person; and notwithstanding that the said judges amply and sufficiently declared, as well the sincerity of their minds directly, justly to proceed without favour, dread, affection, or partiality; as also that no such recusation, appellation, or term for proving of *litis pendentium*, could or might be by them admitted: yet she nevertheless persisting in her former wilfulness, and in her appeal, which also by the said judges was likewise recused: and they minding to proceed further in the cause, the queen would no longer make her abode to hear what the said judges would fully discern, but incontinently departed out of the court; wherefore she was thrice preconisate, and called eftsoons to return and appear; which she refusing to do, was denounced by the judges contumax, and a citation decerned for her appearance on Friday next, to make answer to such articles and positions as should be objected unto her: So as now it is not to be doubted, but that she will use all the ways and means to her possible, to impetrate and attain such things, as well by her own pursue, as by her friends, as may be to the impeachment of the rightful process of this cause, either by advocacy, inhibition, or otherwise: wherefore seeing now in what state this our matter standeth and dependeth, necessary and requisite for the great consequences hanging upon the same, not only for the exoneracion of our conscience, but also for the surety of our succession, and the well of this our realm and people, to be with all celerity perfected and observed. It was thought convenient to advertise you of the premises, to the intent ye being well and sufficiently instructed in all things concerning the same, shall by your wisdoms and diligences have special regard that nothing pass or be granted there by the pope's holiness, which may either give delay or disappointment to the direct and speedy process to be used in this cause, neither by advocacy of the cause, inhibition, or otherwise; but that if any such thing shall, by the Cæsareans, or by her agents, or other, be attempted, or desired, the like men of wisdom, good zeal, learning, and experience, diligently procure the stopping thereof, as well upon such reasons and considerations as before have been signified unto you, as by inferring the high and extream dishonour, and intolerable prejudice that the pope's holiness thereof should do to his said legates; and also the contrariety both of his bull and commission, and also of his promise and pollicitation passed upon the same; beside the notable and excellent displeasure thereby to be done by his holiness to us, and our realm, clear contrary to our merits and deserts; extending also the other dangers mentioned in the said former writings, apparent to ensue thereby to his holiness, and the see apostolic, with the manifold, and in manner, infinite inconveniences like to follow of the same to all Christendom, and all other such reasons, introductions and persuasions ye can make and devise for that purpose: putting him also in remembrance of the great commodity coming unto his holiness herein, by reason that this cause being here decided, the pope not only is delivered from the pains that he should in this time of disease and sickness, to the extreme peril of his life, sustain with the same, seeing that it is of such moment and im-

portance, as suffereth no tract or delay; but also his holiness shall by such decision here eschew and avoid all displeasure that he should not fail to have, if it were or should be passed elsewhere: which matter is no little wisdom well to foresee and consider, and not only to forbear to do or pass anything derogatory or prejudicial to his said commission, but also by all means possible to corroborate and fortify the same, and all such acts judicial as shall pass by his said legates by virtue thereof. Like as we doubt not but that the pope's holiness, of his uprightness, virtue, and perfect wisdom will do; and rather, like a most loving father and friend, tender and favour our good, just and reasonable causes and desires, putting thereunto all the furtherance he may do, than to do or consent to be done anything hurtful, prejudicial, damageable, or displeasing unto us, or this our said cause. And finally; if need shall be we will ye also infer, as the case shall require, how inconvenient it were this our matter should be decided in the court of Rome; which now dependeth totally in the emperor's arbitre, having such puissance near thereunto, that, as hath been written by the pope's own letters, their state and life there is all in the emperor's hands, whose armies may famish or relieve them at their pleasure. And seemably ye shall not forget the prerogative of our crown and jurisdiction royal, by the ancient laws of our realm, which admitteth nothing to be done by the pope to the prejudice thereof, and also what danger they should incur that would presume to bring or present any such thing unto the same, as in our last letters sent by Alexander was touched at good length. Wherein since ye be already so well and amply instructed, knowing also how much the matter imports and toucheth us, and what profit and agreeable service ye may do unto us herein, with the high thanks that ye may deserve for the same; we shall not be more prolix, but refer the substantial, perfect, and assured handling hereof to your circumspections, fidelities, and diligences, not doubting but that ye will now, above all other things, look vigilantly hereunto, and so acquit yourselves in the same, as it may well appear that your acts shall be correspondent to our firm trust and expectation, and no less tender this thing than ye know it to be imprinted in the bottom of our heart, nor then as ye know both the importance and high moment, and also the very necessity of the matter doth require. In which doing, beside the laud and praise that ye shall consecrate thereby of all good men, we shall so have your acquittals in our remembrance, as ye shall have cause to think your travels, pains, and studies herein, in the best wise collocate and employed. Given under our signet, at our palace of Bridewell, the 23d day of June.

XXIX.—Rome, 9 July, 1529.

Doctor Bennet's Letter to the Cardinal, showing how little they might expect from the Pope. An Original.

[Cotton. Libr. Vitel. B. 11.]

PLEASE it your grace to understand, that the 6th day of this month the pope's holiness sent for us: albeit we had made great suit for audience before to his holiness, soon after that we had understanding that his holiness was recovered of this his last sickness, into the which he fell the second day after I had my first audience of his holiness, which was the 21 day of the last month: and after our long communication and reasoning in the king's highness' cause, which at length we have written to your grace in our common letter, for a confirmation of many inconveniences and dangers which we perswaded to his holiness, to follow both to

himself and to the see apostolic, in case his holiness should avoke the cause; I thought much convenient at that same time to deliver the king's familiar and likewise your grace's letter, and so to show your grace's credence to his holiness. After the foresaid letters delivered, and by his holiness read, his holiness showed me, that he perceived by your grace's letters, that I had certain credence to show unto him of great moment and importance, concerning him and the see apostolic. I showed to his holiness your grace's faith and observance, his holiness doth best know; most humbly besought his holiness to believe these undoubtedly to follow, That if his holiness should, at the labours of the Cæsareans, avoke the cause, he should not alone offend the king's highness, which hitherto hath been a stay, a help, and a defence of the see apostolic; but also by reason of this injury, without remedy, shall alienate his majesty and realms, with others, from the devotion and obedience of the see apostolic. This I showed his holiness, that your grace doth evidently perceive to follow, in case his holiness should incline to the Cæsareans' desire on this behalf: yea further, I said, that your grace most clearly perceiveth also by that act, the church of England utterly to be destroyed, and likewise your person; and that these your grace, with weeping tears, most lamentably committed unto me to show to his holiness. Furthermore I showed to his holiness that your grace, howsoever you should proceed in this cause, did intend to proceed so sincerely, indifferently, and justly, that you would rather suffer to be jointed, joint by joint, than, either for affection or fear, do any act either against your conscience or justice. Furthermore I said, that seeing his holiness may be so well assured, that your grace will do nothing but according to justice in this cause, he may the more boldly deny avocations to the Cæsareans, seeing that the queen and the emperor can desire but justice, which they may have at your grace's hand, and my lord Campegius, as well there as here; and by this means his holiness should deliver himself from great pains and unquietness of mind, which he should sustain in case the cause should be known here, where he should have the king's highness on one part, and the emperor on the other side, daily calling upon his holiness. To this his holiness most heavily, and with tears, answered and said, That now he saw the destruction of Christendom, and lamented that his fortune was such to live to this day, and not to be able to remedy it, (saying these words,) For God is my judge, I would do as gladly for the king as I would for myself; and to that I knowledge myself most bounden, but in this case I cannot satisfy his desire, but that I should do manifestly against justice to the charge of my conscience, to my rebuke, and to the dishonour of the see apostolic; affirming that his counsel shows him, that seeing the Cæsareans have a mandate or proxy of the queen, to ask the avocations in her name, he cannot of justice deny it, and the whole signature be in that same opinion; so that though he would most gladly do that thing that might be to the king's pleasure, yet he cannot do it, seeing that signature would be against him whensoever the supplication should be up there: and so being late, we took our leave of his holiness and departed, seeing that we could obtain nothing of the pope for stopping the avocation, we consulted and devised for the deferring of it till such time as your grace might make an end in the cause there. And so concluded upon a new device, which at length we have written in our common letter, wherein, I promise your grace, Mr. Gregory has used great diligence, and taken great labours at this time, we can do no more for our lives: and if your grace saw the importune labour of the ambassadors of the emperor's and Ferdinandoes

you would marvel, I promise your grace they never cease ; wherefore in staying hitherto, as we have done, it is marvel, as God knoweth, whom I pray to preserve your grace in health and prosperity *ad multos annos*. I beseech your grace most humbly to commend me to the king's highness, and likewise I beseech your grace to pardon my ill writing. At Rome, the 9th day of July.

Your daily headman and servant,

W. BENET.

XXX.—*A Letter of the Pope's to the Cardinal concerning the Avocation. An Original.*

[Cotton. Libr. Vitel. B. 11.]

19 Julii, 1529.

DILECTE Fili noster, salutem et Apostolicam Benedictionem. Difficile est nobis explicare literis, qua nostra molestia seu potius dolore fuerimus coacti, ad Avocationem Cause istic commissæ concedendam ; nam etsi res ita fuit justa ut tanto tempore differri non debuerit, tamen nos qui isti Serenissimo Regi pro ejus singularibus erga nos et Apostolicam sedem meritis placere in omnibus cupimus, sicut consuevimus, ægre nunc adducti sumus, ut quamquam justitia cogente, quicquid contra ejus voluntatem concederemus. Nec vero minus, Fili, doluimus tua causa, cui rem hanc tantæ curæ esse perspeximus quantum tua erga dictum Regem fides et amor postulat ; sed tamen quod datur justitiæ minus esse molestum debet, cum præsertim id fuerit tam dilatum a nobis, omniaque antea pertentata ne ad hoc descenderemus. Itaque optamus in hoc adhiberi a te illam tuam singularem prudentiam et æquitatem, persuadereque te tibi id quod est, nos qui semper vobis placere quantum nobis licuit studuimus, id quod vestro maximo merito fecimus, et semper facturi sumus, nunc non nisi invitos et justitia coactos quod fecimus fecisse : Teque omni studio et amore hortamur, ut dictum regem in solita erga nos benevolentia retinere velis, eique persuadere, nihil ex hoc apud nos de benevolentia erga se veteri imminutum unquam fore, quod recipimus a Circumspectione tua longe gratissimum. Quemadmodum plenius dilectus Filius noster Cardinalis Campegius hæc circumspectioni tue explicabit. Dat. Romæ apud Sanctum Petrum sub annulo Piscatoris die 19 Julii 1529. Pont. nostri anno sexto.

Blosius.

XXXI.—Act 26. Anno Regni 21 Henr. 8.

An Act for the releasing unto the King his Highness of such Sums of Money as was to be required of him, by any his Subjects, for any Manner of Loan, by his Letters Missives, or other ways or manner whatsoever.

Item quædam alia billa formam cujusdam actus in se continens, exhibitæ est præfato Domino Regi in Parlamento prædicto, cujus quidem billæ tenor sequitur in hæc verba. The king's humble, faithful, and loving subjects, the lords spiritual and temporal, and commons in this present parliament assembled, considering and calling to their remembrances the inestimable costs, charges, and expences which the king's highness necessarily hath been compelled to support and sustain since his assumption to his crown, estate, and dignity royal ; as well first for the extinction of a right dangerous and damnable schism sprung and risen in the church ; which, by the providence of the Almighty God, and the high prudence and provision and assistance of the king's highness was, to the great honour, laud, and glory of his majesty, repressed ; the enemies then being of the church reformed, returned,

and restored to the unity of the same, and peace over all composed and concluded, as also for the modifying of the insatiable and inordinate ambition of those which do aspire unto the monarchy of Christendom, did put universal trouble, divisions in the same, intending, if they might, not only to have subdued this realm, but also all the rest unto their power and subjection : for the resistance whereof, the king's highness was compelled, after the universal peace, by the great study, labour, and travel of his grace conducted, and the same by some of the contrahents newly violate and infringed ; in showing the form of the treaties thereupon made again, and take armour. And over and besides the notable and excessive treasure and substance which his highness in his first wars had employed for the defence of the church, the faith catholic, and this his realm, and of the people and subjects of the same, was eftsoons brought of necessity to new, excellent, and marvellous charges, both for the supportation of sundry armies by sea and by land ; and also for divers and manifold contributions outward, to serve, keep, and contain his own subjects at home in rest and repose ; which hath been so politicly handled and conducted, that when the most part of all religious Christians have been infested with cruel wars, discords, divisions, and dissensions, the great heads and princes of the world brought unto captivity ; cities, towns, and places, by force and sedition, taken, spoiled, burnt, and sacked ; men, women, and children found in the same slain and destroyed ; virgins, wives, widows, and religious women, ravished and deflowered ; holy churches and temples polluted, and turned unto profane use ; the reliques of the holy saints irreverently treated ; hunger, dearth, and famine, by mean thereof in the said outward regions ensuing, and gently over all, was depopulation, destruction and confusion ; the king's said subjects in all this time were by the high providence and politic means of his grace nevertheless preserved, defended, and maintained, from all these inconveniences and dangers ; and such provisions taken, by one way or other, so as reasonable commodity was always given unto them to exercise their trafficks of merchandise, and other their crafts, mysteries, and occupations for their living ; which could not possibly have been brought about, unless then the king's highness, with continual studies, travels, and pains, and with his infinite charges and expenses, had converted the peril and danger of the enterprises and exploits, set forth for the reduction of the enemies unto peace from his own subjects unto strangers : whereof finally such fruit and effect is ensued, as by the king's policy, puissance, and means, general and universal peace is established amongst all Christian princes ; and this realm now, thanked be God, constitute in free, better, and more assured and profitable amity with all outward parties, than hath been at any time whereof is memory or remembrance. Considering, furthermore, that his highness, in and about the premises, hath been fain to employ not only such sums of money as hath risen and grown by any manner of contribution made unto his grace by his said loving subjects, but also over and above the same, sundry other notable and excellent sums of his own treasure, and yearly revenues, which else his grace might have kept and reserved to his own use ; amongst which manifold great sums so employed, his highness also, as is notoriously known, and as doth evidently appear by the accounts of the same, hath to that use and none other, converted all such money, as by any his subjects and people, spiritual and temporal, hath been advanced unto his grace by way of preat and loan, either particularly, or by any taxation made of the same, being a thing so well collocate and bestowed, seeing the said high and great fruits and

effects thereof ensued, to the honour, surety, well, perfect commodity, and perpetual tranquillity of this sad realm, as nothing could better nor more to the comfort of his said subjects be desired, studied, or imagined; of one mind, consent and assent, and by authority of this present parliament, do for themselves and all the whole body of the realm whom they do represent, freely, liberally, and absolutely, give and grant unto the king's highness, by authority of this present parliament, all and every sum and sums of money, which to them, and every of them, is, ought, or might be due, by reason of any money, or any other thing, to his grace at any time heretofore advanced, or payed, by way of prest or loan, either upon any letter or letters under the king's privy seal, general or particular, letter, missive, promise, bond, or obligation of payment, or by any taxation, or other assessing, by virtue of any commission or commissions, or by any other mean or means whatsoever it be heretofore passed for that purpose, and utterly, frankly, liberally, and most willingly and benevolently for them, their heirs, executors, and successors, do remit, release, and quit claim, unto his highness, his heirs and successors for ever, all and every the same sums of money, and every parcel thereof, and all and singular suits, petitions, and demands, which they, or any of them, their heirs, successors, or executors, or the heirs, executors, or successors of any of them, have, had, or may have for the same, or any parcel thereof; most humbly and lovingly beseeching his highness, for the more clear discharge for the same, that it may be ordained and enacted by the king, our said sovereign lord, the lords spiritual and temporal, and the commons of this present parliament assembled, and by authority of the same, that all promises, bonds, writings, obligatory letters, under the king's privy seal, signet, sign manual, or great seal passed, and other bonds or promises, whatsoever they be, had, or made, to any person or persons, spiritual or temporal, shire, city, borough, waxentale, tranship, hamlet, village, monastery, church, cathedral or collegiate, or to any guild, fraternity, or body corporate, fellowship, or company, or other whatsoever, having capacity to take any bond, specially and generally, jointly or severally, touching or concerning the same prest or loan, or every of them, or the repayment of any sum or sums of money for the same, be from henceforth void and of none effect. *Cui quidem billa probe et ad plenum intellecta per dictum Dominum Regem ex assensu et Autoritate Parliamenti predicti taliter est responsum. Le Roy remercie Les Seigneurs et ses communes de leur bonne cueurs en faisant cest graunt, et icelle se Majeste accepte et tout le contenu, et cest escripture a graunt et aprove avecques tous les articles en ceste escripture specifies.*

XXXII. — *A Letter from Gardiner and Fox, about their proceedings at Cambridge. An Original.*

Feb. 1530, from Cambridge, by Stephen Gardiner.

[Cotton. Libr. Vitel. B. 13.]

To the King's Highness.

PLEASETH it your highness to be advertised, that arriving here at Cambridge upon Saturday last past at noon, that same night, and Sunday in the morning, we devised with the vice-chancellor, and such other as favourerth your grace's cause, how and in what sort to compass and attain your grace's purpose and intent; wherein we assure your grace we found much towardness, good-will, and diligence, in the vice-chancellor and Dr. Edmunds, being as studious to serve your grace as we could wish or desire: nevertheless there

was not so much care, labour, study, and diligence employed on our party, by them, ourself, and other, for attaining your grace's purpose, but there was as much done by others for the lett and empeachment of the same; and as we assembled they assembled; as we made friends they made friends, to lett that nothing should pass as in the Universities name; wherein the first day they were superiors, for they had put in the ears of them, by whose voices such things do pass, *multas fabulas*, too tedious to write unto your grace. Upon Sunday at afternoon were assembled, after the manner of the University, all the doctors, batchelors of divinity, and masters of art, being in number almost two hundred: in that congregation we delivered your grace's letters, which were read openly by the vice-chancellor. And for answer to be made unto them, first the vice-chancellor calling apart the doctors, asked their advice and opinion; whereunto they answered severally, as their affections led them, *et res erat in multa confusione*. Tandem they were content answer should be made to the questions by indifferent men: but then they came to exceptions against the abbot of St. Benets, who seemed to come for that purpose; and likewise against Dr. Reppes, and Dr. Crome; and also generally against all such as had allowed Dr. Crammer's book, inasmuch as they had already declared their opinion. We said thereunto, that by that reason they might except against all; for it was lightly, that in a question so notable as this is, every man learned hath said to his friend as he thinketh in it for the time; but we ought not to judge of any man, that he setteth more to defend that which he hath once said, than truth afterward known. Finally, the vice-chancellor, because the day was much spent in those altercations, commanding every man to resort to his seat apart, as the manner is in those assemblies, willed every man's mind to be known secretly, whether they would be content with such an order as he had conceived for answer to be made by the University to your grace's letters; whereunto that night they would in nowise agree. And forasmuch as it was then dark night, the vice-chancellor continued the congregation till the next day at one of the clock; at which time the vice-chancellor proponed a grace after the form herein inclosed; and it was first denied: when it was asked again, it was even on both parties to be denied or granted; and at the last, by labour of friends to cause some to depart the house which were against it, it was obtained in such form as the schedule herein enclosed purporteth; wherein be two points which we would have left out; but considering by putting in of them we allured many, and that indeed they shall not hurt the determination for your grace's part, we were finally content therewith. The one point is that where it was first, that *quicquid major pars* of them that be named *decreverit*, should be taken for the determination of the University. Now it referred *ad duas partes*, wherein we suppose shall be no difficulty. The other point is, that your grace's question shall be openly disputed, which we think to be very honourable; and it is agreed amongst us, that in that disputation shall answer the Abbot of St. Benets, Dr. Reppes, and I Mr. Fox, to all such as will object anything or reason against the conclusion to be sustained for your grace's part. And because Mr. Doctor Clyss hath said, that he hath somewhat to say concerning the canon-law; I your secretary shall be adjoined unto them for answer to be made therein. In the schedule which we send unto your grace herewith, containing the names of those who shall determine your grace's question, all marked with the letter A. be already of your grace's opinion; by which we trust, and with other good means, to induce and obtain a great part

of the rest. Thus we beseech Almighty God to preserve your most noble and royal estate. From Cambridge the day of February.

Your highness's most humble
Subjects and servants,
STEPHEN GARDINER,
EDWARD FOXE.

The Grace purposed and obtained, Feb. 1530.

Placet vobis ut

A. Vicecancellarius.

Doctores.

A. Salcot. The Abbot of St. Benets.
Watson.

A. Repps.
Tomson.
Venetus, *de isto bene speratur.*

A. Edmunds.
Downes.

A. Crome.

A. Wygan.

A. Boston.

Magistri in Theologia.

Middelton.

A. Heynes.
Mylsent, *de isto bene speratur.*

A. Shaxton.

A. Latimer.

A. Simon.
Longford, *de isto bene speratur.*

Thyxtel.

Nicols.

Hutton.

A. Skip.

A. Goodrich.

A. Heth.

Hadway, *de isto bene speratur.*

Dey.

Bayne.

A. A. Duo Procuratores.

Habeant plenam facultatem et Autoritatem, nomine totius Universitatis, respondendi Literis Regiæ Majestatis in hac Congregatione lectis, ac nomine totius Universitatis definiendi et determinandi quæstionem in dictis literis propositam: Ita quod quicquid duæ partes eorum præsentium inter se decreverint, respondendi dictis literis, et definierint ac determinaverint super quæstione proposita, in iisdem habeatur, et reputetur pro Responsione, Definitione et determinatione totius Universitatis, et quod liceat Vicecancellario, Procuratoribus et Scrutatoribus, literis super dictarum duarum partium definitione et determinatione concipienda sigillum commune Universitatis apponere; sic quod disputetur Quæstio publice et antea legatur coram Universitate absq; ulteriori gratia desuper petenda ab obtinenda.

Your highness may perceive by the notes that we be already sure of as many as be requisite, wanting only three; and we have good hope of four; of which four if we get two, and obtain of another to be absent, it is sufficient for our purpose.

XXXIII.—July 1, 1530.

A Letter from Crook, out of Venice, concerning the Opinions of Divines about the Divorce. An Original.

[Cotton. Libr. Vitel. B. 13.]

PLEASE if your highness to be advertised, that as this day I obtained the common seal of the University of Padua, in substantial and good form; for all the

doctors were assembled upon Sunday, and the case was amongst them solemnly and earnestly disputed all Monday, Tuesday, Wednesday, and Thursday, and this present Friday in the morning again; and thereupon they concluded with your highness, and desired a notary to set his sign and hand unto an instrument, by Leonicus and Simonetus devised, in corroboration of your cause, and thereby to testify that this instrument was their deed, device, act, and conclusion; and for the more credence to be given to the said instrument, they caused the chancellor of the Potestate here to set his hand and seal for the approbation of the authority of the notary. A copy of all the which things I send unto your highness by this bearer, in most humble wise beseeching the same to be advertised, that the general of the blackfriars hath given a commandment, that no blackfriar dispute the pope's power: notwithstanding, prior Thomas Omnibonus procureth daily new subscriptions, and will do till the brief of contrary commandment shall come unto his hands.

My fidelity bindeth me to advertise your highness, that all Lutherans be utterly against your highness in this cause, and have letted as much with their wretched power, malice, without reason or authority, as they could and might, as well here as in Padua and Ferrara, where be no small companies of them. I doubt not but all Christian universities, if they be well handled, will earnestly conclude with your highness. And to obtain their assent, as well through Italy, France, Almagne, Austritch, Hungary, and Scotland, I think it marvellous expedient, for the preferment of this your most honourable and high cause; as from the seigniory and dominion of Venice towards Rome, and beyond Rome, I think there can be no more done than is done already, albeit, gracious lord, if that I had in time been sufficiently furnished with money. Albeit, I have, beside this seal, procured unto your highness an hundred and ten subscriptions, yet it had been nothing in comparison of that that I might easily and would have done; and at this hour, I assure your highness, that I have neither provision nor money, and have borrowed an hundred crowns, the which also are spent about the getting of this seal; of the which my need, and divers impediments in your highness's cause here, I have advertised your highness by many and sundry letters, and with the same sent divers books and writings; part to Hierom Molins a Venetian, and factor to Mapheus Bernardus, by the hands of your subject Edmund Herwell; part directed to Mr. Tuke, whereof I am nothing ascertained whether they be exhibited unto your highness or not, to no little discomfort unto me; notwithstanding, I have reserved a copy of all things, letters, and other, and herein enclosed a bill, specifying by whom and to whom I directed my said letters; in most humble wise, beseeching your most royal clemency, to ponder my true, sure, and good endeavours, and not to suffer me to be destitute of money, to my undoing, and utter loss of your most high causes here; for of myself I have nothing whereby to help myself. And thus the most Blessed Trinity keep and preserve your highness in his most royal estate. At Venice, the 1st day of July at night, Anno—30.

R. CROOK.

XXXIV.—The judgment of the Universities concerning the King's Marriage; taken from the printed edition of them. London, 1532.

Censura Facultatis Sacræ Theologiæ alme Universitatis Parisiensis.

DECANUS et Facultas Sacræ Theologiæ alme Universitatis Parisiensis, omnibus, ad quos præsens scriptum pervenerit, salutem in eo, qui est vera Salus.

Cum nuper suborta magnæ difficultatis controversia super invaliditate Matrimonii, inter Serenissimum Henricum Octavum Angliæ Regem, Fidei Defensorem, et Dominum Hiberniæ, ac Illustrissimam Dominam Catharinam Angliæ Reginam, claræ memoriæ Ferdinandi Regis Catholici Filiam contracti, et carnali copula consummati, illa etiam nobis Quæstio in iustitia et veritate discutienda et examinanda proposita fuerat, videlicet, An ducere relictam fratris mortui sine liberis sic esset jure divino et naturali prohibitum, ut interveniente summi Pontificis Dispensatione, non posset fieri licitum, ut quis Christianus relictam fratris ducat, et habeat in Uxorem; Nos Decanus et Facultas antedicta, cogitantes, quam esset pium et sanctum, necnon debito charitatis, et nostræ Professioni consentaneum, ut his, qui in lege Domini secunda, tranquillaque conscientia vitam hanc ducere, et transigere cupiant, viam justitiæ ostenderemus, nolimus tam justis et piis votis deesse. Hinc more solito, apud ædem S. Mathurini per juramentum convenientes, et solemni Missa cum Invocatione Spiritus Sancti ob hoc celebrata, necnon præstito juramento de deliberando super præfata quæstione, secundum Deum et Conscientiam; Post varias et multiplices Sessiones, tam apud ædem S. Mathurini, quam apud Collegium Sorbonæ, ab octava Junii usque ad secundum Julii habitas, et continuatas, perscrutatis prius excussisque; quam diligentissime, ac ea qua decuit, reverentia et religione, Sacræ Scripturæ Libris eorumque; probatissimis interpretibus, necnon Sacrosanctæ Ecclesiæ generalibus ac Synodali Concilii Decretis et constitutionibus longo usu receptis et approbatis: Nos prædicti Decanus et Facultas de prædicta Quæstione disserentes, et ad eam respondentes, sequentes unanime iudicium et consensum Majoris partis totius Facultatis, Asseruimus et Determinavimus, prout et in his Scriptis per præsentem Asserimus et Determinamus, quod prædictæ nuptiæ cum Relictis fratrum decedentium sine liberis, sic naturali jure pariter et divino sunt prohibitæ, ut super talibus Matrimoniis contractis, sive contrahendis, Summus Pontifex dispensare non possit. In cujus nostræ Assertionis et Determinationis fidem et testimonium, sigillum nostræ Facultatis cum signo nostri Notarii, seu Bedelli, præsentibus apponi curavimus. Datum in generali nostra Congregatione per juramentum celebrata apud S. Mathurinum. Anno Dom. Millesimo quingentesimo trigesimo, Mensis vero Julii die secundo.

Censura Facultatis Decretorum almæ Universitatis Parisiensis.

IN Nomine Domini Amen. Cum proposita fuisset coram nobis Decano et Collegio Consultissimæ Facultatis Decretorum Parisiensis Universitatis Quæstio; An Papa possit dispensare, quod Frater possit in Uxorem ducere, sive accipere relictam Fratris sui, Matrimonio consummato per Fratrem præmortuum? Nos Decanus et Collegium præfate Facultatis, post multas Disputationes et Argumenta hinc inde super hac materia facta ac habita, cum magna et longa librorum, tam divini, quam Pontificii et Civilis, juriurum revolutione consulimus, et dicimus, Papam non posse in facto proposito dispensare. In cujus rei testimonium, has præsentem Sigillo nostræ Facultatis, et signo nostri scribæ primi Bedelli muniri fecimus. Datum in Congregatione nostra apud Sanctum Joannem Lateranensem, Parisiis die vicesima tertia mensis Maii, Anno Dom. millesimo quingentesimo trigesimo.

Censura almæ Universitatis Aurelianensis.

Cum ab hinc aliquod tempus nobis Collegio Doctorum Regentium almæ Universitatis Aurelianensis propositæ fuerint, quæ sequuntur Quæstiones, videlicet;

Si jure divino liceat fratri Relictam fratris (quam Fratrem vocant) accipere Uxorem? Item et si hoc sit eo jure vetitum, utrum divinæ Legis prohibitio Pontifici Dispensatione remitti possit? Nos prædictum Collegium, post multas ad prædictorum dubiorum Disputationem (de more nostro) factas Sessiones et Congregationes, postque Juris tum Divini tum Canonici locos (quod facere potuimus) examinatos, et omnibus mature atque exacte pensatis et consideratis: Definivimus, prædictas nuptias citra divinæ legis injuriam attentari non posse, etiamsi summi Pontificis accedat indulgentia, vel permissus. In cujus rei testimonium præsens publicum Instrumentum a Scriba præfate almæ Universitatis subsignari fecimus, ejusdemque; Sigillo communiri. Actum in Sacello Beatæ Mariæ Boninuncii Aurelianensis. Anno Dom. Millesimo quingentesimo vigesimo nono, die quinto Mensis Aprilis.

Censura Facultatum Juris Pontificii et legum Almæ Universitatis Andegavensis.

Cum certo ab hinc tempore nobis Rectori et Doctoribus Regentibus in Pontificia et legum disciplina almæ Universitatis Andegavensis sequentes Quæstiones propositæ fuerint, scilicet, Utrum Jure Divino pariter et naturali illicitum sit homini Christiano Relictam fratris sui, etiam absque; liberis, sed Matrimonio jam consummato defuncti, ducere Uxorem? Et an Summo Pontifici liceat super hujusmodi nuptiis dispensare? Nos præfati Rector et Doctores, post plures ad Disputationem hujusmodi quæstionum, et veritatem comperiendam factas, ex more, Congregationes et Sessiones, postque; varios Juris tam Divini, quam humani locos, qui ad eam rem pertinere videbantur, discussos, multas quoque; rationes in utramque; partem adductas et examinatas, omnibus fideliter consideratis, et matura deliberatione præhabita, Definivimus neque Divino neque Naturali Jure permitti homini Christiano, etiam cum Sedis Apostolicæ Autoritate seu Dispensatione super hoc adhibita, Relictam fratris, qui etiam sine liberis post consummatum Matrimonium decesserit, Uxorem accipere vel habere. In quorum omnium supradictorum fidem, præsens publicum Instrumentum a Scriba seu Notario præfate Almæ Universitatis subsignari jussimus, ejusdemque; Universitatis Magno Sigillo muniri. Actum in sede sacra Divi Petri Andegavensi, in Collegio nostro. Anno Domini Millesimo quingentesimo tricesimo, die septimo Maii.

Censura almæ Universitatis Bituricensis.

Nos cum Decano Theologiæ, Facultas in Universitate Bituricensi (ut Doctoris Gentium Pauli exemplo plerisque; locis auspiciemur scriptum nostrum a precatone) omnibus dilectis Dei in quibus vocati estis, Lectores Charissimi, quique; ad quos scribimus, Gratia vobis et pax a Deo Patre et Domino nostro Jesu Christo. Dum compleretur dies inter Octavas Pentecostes, et essemus omnes pariter in eodem loco, corpore et animo congregati, sedentesque; in domo dicti Decani; facta est nobis rursus Quæstio eadem, quæ sæpius antea, non quidem parva, hunc in modum: An rem faciat illicitam necne, frater accipiens Uxorem a præmortuo fratre relictam, consummato etiam Matrimonio? Tandem rei ipsius veritate disquisita et perspecta, multo singulorum labore, et Sacrorum iterata atque; iterata revolutione codicum, unusquisque; nostrum non fasciatus, quominus veritatis obediens, coepit, prout Spiritus Sanctus dedit, suum hoc unum arbitrium eloqui, absque; personarum acceptione, in veritate comperi, personas memoratas in Capite Levitici octavo supra decimum prohibitas esse jure ipso naturali, auctoritate humana minime relaxabili, et vetitas, ne

in vicem Matrimonium contrahant, quo fit fraternæ turpitudinis abominabilis Revelatio. Et hoc nobis signum nostri Bedelli Notarii publici, cum Sigillo dictæ suprà nostræ Facultatis præsentibus appenso. Die decimo Junii, Anno vero à Christi Nativitate, Millesimo quingentesimo tricesimo. Ut autem nostræ scriptionis pes et caput uni reddantur formæ, quemadmodum sumus auspicati a precatone, ita claudamus illius quo utimur exemplo. Gratia Domini nostri Jesu Christi, charitas Dei, et communicatio Sancti Spiritus sit cum omnibus vobis. Amen.

Censura almæ Universitatis Tholosanæ.

TRACTABATUR in nostra Tholosana Academia perquam difficilis Quæstio, Liceatne fratri eam, quæ jam olim defuncto fratri Uxor fuerat (nullis tamen relictis liberis) in Matrimonio sibi conjungere? Accedebat et alius scrupulus, qui nos potissimum torquebat, si Romanus Pontifex, cui est commissa gregis Christiani cura, id sua, quam vocamus, Dispensatione permittat, tunc saltem liceat? Ad utramq; Quæstionem agitandam Doctores omnes Regentes, qui tunc Tholosæ aderant, coegit Rector in Concilium, neque id semel tantum sed etiam iterum: Quippe existimavit præcipitari non oportere Consilia, indigereq; nos tempore, ut aliquid maturius agamus. Demum, cum in unum locum convenissent omnes, tum Sacrarum Literarum disertissimi Interpretes, tum utriusq; Censuræ Consultissimi, deniq; qui quavis in re et iudicio et oratione viri fœlicibus ingenis non mediocriter exercitati essent, ac sese Sacrosanctis Conciliis parere velle, Sanctorumq; Patrum haudquaquam piis animis violanda Decreta imitari jurassent, et unusquisq; suam sententiam protulisset, atq; in utramq; partem diffuse decertatum esset; tandem in eam Sententiam sic frequentius itum est, ut uno omnium ore Alma nostra Universitas animis sincerissimis nulloq; fermento vitiatæ censuerit, Jure Divino pariter et Naturali Uxorem relictam fratris sui nemini licere accipere. At postquam id lege eadem non licet, responsum est, non posse Pontificem aliquem ea lege solvere. Nec huic sententiæ refragari potest, quod cogeretur olim frater Uxorem demortui fratris accipere. Nam hoc figura erat, atque umbra futurorum, quæ omnia adveniente luce et veritate Evangelii evanuerunt. Hæc quoniam ita se habent, in hanc formam redigimus, et per Notarium, qui nobis est a Secretis, signari, sigilliq; authenticè ejusdem nostræ Almæ Universitatis jussimus Appensione Communiri. Tholosæ. Kal. Octob. Ann. a Christo nato M.D.XXX.

Censura Facultatis Sacræ Theologiæ Universitatis Bononiensis.

CUM Deus Optimus Maximus veterem Legem ad morum vitæque informationem ac institutionem ore suo tradiderit, idemque humanitate sumpta, mortalium Redemptor Deus novum condiderit Testamentum, sed ad dubia, quæ in multis emergebant, tollenda declarandaq; contulerit, quæ ad hominum perfectionem elucidata nonnihil conferunt; nostras partes semper fore duximus hujusmodi sanctissima patris æterni documenta sectari, et in rebus arduis ac dubitabilibus, superno illustratos lumine, nostram ferre sententiam, ubi causa mature consultata, multisq; hinc inde rationibus, scriptisq; Patrum dilucidata fuerit, nihil quod possumus, in aliquo temere ferentes. Cum itaq; nos, præstantes quidam et clarissimi viri, obnixè rogarint, ut subsequenter casum maxima diligentia perscrutaremur, nostrumq; subinde in eum iudicium ferremus æquissime, soli veritati innitentes, in unum omnes Almæ Universitatis hujus Doctores Theologi convenimus, casu prius per unumquemq; nostrum sigillatim domibus propriis examinato, summaq; solertia per dies plurimos contracto: Illud una mox vidimus, ex-

aminavimus, contulimus, ad amussimq; singula quæq; pertractantes ponderavimus, rationes quasque contrarias, quas fieri posse censuimus, in medium afferentes atq; solventes, etiam ipsius Reverendissimi D. D. Card. Cajetani, necnon Deuteronomiam Dispensationem de fratræ suscitando semine, et reliquis tandem omnes sententias oppositas, quæ ad id negotii facere viderentur. Quæsitum est igitur a nobis, An ex sola Ecclesiæ institutione vel etiam Jure Divino prohibitum fuerit, ne quis Relictam a fratre sine liberis in Uxorem ducere valeat? Quod si utraq; lege ne fieri possit, cautum est; An quoniam possit Beatissimus Pontifex super ejusmodi contrahendo Matrimonio dispensare? Qua diligentissime (ut diximus) ac exactissime seorsim palamq; examinata, ac pro viribus nostris, optime discussa Quæstione, Censemus, Judicamus, dicimus, constantissime Testamur et indubie affirmamus, hujusmodi Matrimonium, tales nuptias, tale conjugium horrendum fore, execrabile, detestandum, viroq; Christiano, immo etiam cuilibet infideli prorsus abominabile, esseque a Jure naturæ divino et humano diris pœnis prohibitum. Nec posse Sanctissimum Papam (qui tamen fere omnia potest) cui collatæ sunt a Christo claves Regni Cœlorum: Non inquam posse aliqua ex causa super hujusmodi contrahendo Matrimonio, quoniam dispensare. Ad hujus conclusionis veritatem tutandam, omnes in omnia loca et tempora parati sumus. In quorum fidem has scripsimus, almæq; nostræ Universitatis ac Sacri Venerabilium Theologorum Collegii Sigillo munivimus, solita nostra generali subscriptione Signantes. Bononiæ in Ecclesia Cathedrali, decima Junii, Anno Dom. M.D.XXX. sub Divi Clementis 7. Pontificatu.

Censura Facultatis Sacræ Theologiæ Almæ Universitatis Pataviensis.

TESTANTUR, qui Catholicam fidem astruunt, Deum Optimum Maximum legis veteris præcepta filiis Israel ad exemplar vitæ ac morum nostrorum institutionem ore proprio tradidisse, eundemq; trabea humanitatis indutum, Redemptorem omnium factum, Novum Testamentum condidisse, et nedum propter hoc, sed ad dubia quæcunq; emergentia removenda, dilucidandaq; nobis misericorditer condonasse, quæ ad nostri perfectionem enucleata fructus uberes conferunt et salutare. Nostrum semper fuit eritq; per sæcula (uti Christicolæ decet) hujusmodi celebratissima Summi Pontificis instituta sectari, et in quibusq; dubitationibus, ac arduis Quæstionibus supernaturali lumine freti, nostrum proferre Judicium, ubi res ipsa optime considerata, multisq; hinc inde demonstrationibus, atq; Patrum Authoritatibus mature declarata fuerit, temere quoad possumus nihil omnino judicantes. Cum igitur nos, quidam oratores clarissimi, suppliciter exorant, ut subsequenter casum diligentissime perscrutari dignemur, atq; nostram ferremus exinde sententiam, soli veritati simpliciter attendentes: Qua ex re omnes hujus Almæ Universitatis Doctores Theologi in simul convenimus, re ipsa prius per nostrum quemlibet particulariter propriis domibus examinata, summaq; cum solertia enucleata, mox in unum redacti cuncta consideravimus, examinavimus, omniaq; sigillatim ponderavimus, Argumenta quæcunq; contraria, quæ fieri quomodo posse putavimus, adducentes, atq; integerrime dissolventes, necnon Deuteronomiam Dispensationem de Fratræ suscitando semine, et reliquis omnes rationes atq; sententias oppositas, quæ ad id facere videbantur: Quæsitum igitur talis fuit exposita, An ex sola Sanctæ Matris Ecclesiæ institutione, vel etiam de Jure divino prohibitum fuerit, ne quis Relictam fratris absq; liberis in Uxorem ducere valeat? Quod si utrobique fieri nequeat cautum est, An Beatissimus

Pontifex super hujusmodi contrahendo Matrimonio quonquam dispensare legitime possit? Quo exactissime (ut dictum est) seorsim publice; discusso, ac pro viribus dilucidato quæsito, Dicimus, Judicamus, Decernimus, Attestamur, atque veridice Affirmamus, Matrimonium hujusmodi, tale conjugium et tales nuptias nullas esse, immo detestabiles, atque execrandas Christiano cuilibet esse, prophanas, et, ut scelus abominandas, crudelissimis poenis, jure naturæ, divino et humano, clarissime esse prohibitas. Nec Beatissimum Pontificem, cui claves Regni cœlestis a Christo Dei Filio sunt collatæ, ulla ex causa posse super tali Matrimonio contrahendo quonquam juridice dispensare. Cum illa, quæ sunt a Jure Divino prohibita, non subsint ejus potestati, nec in illa gerit vicem Dei, sed solum super ea, quæ sunt commissa jurisdictioni hominum. Ad cujus Sententiæ ac Conclusionis veritatem tutandam et ejusdem certissimam defensionem, Nos omnes unanimes semper et ubique parati sumus. In quorum fidem has nostras fecimus, Almæ Universitatis nostræ, ac Sacri Reverendorum Theologorum Collegii Sigillo solito communivimus. Datum Paduæ in Ecclesiæ Heremitarum S. Augustini, die primo Julii, M.D.XXX.

XXXV.—*The Judgment of the Lutheran Divines about the King's Marriage, ex MSS. R. Smith, London.*

Ex hac Collatione in qua audivimus Argumenta de Controversia Divortii Serenissimi et Illustrissimi Regis Angliæ, Franciæ, &c. proposita et diligenter agitata a Reverendo D. D. Edwardo Hereford. Episcopo, D. Nicolao Archidiacono et D. D. Barnes, intelleximus Serenissimum Regem maximis et gravissimis Causis adductum, superatum et conclusum esse, ut in hoc negotio Matrimonii sui faceret quod fecit: Nam hoc manifestum est et negare nemo potest, quod Lex Levit. tradita Lev. 18. v. 20. prohibet ducere fratris Uxorem, &c. sed Divina, naturalis, et moralis lex est intelligenda tam de vivi quam de mortui fratris Uxore, et quod contra hanc legem nulla contraria lex fieri aut constitui possit, sicut et tota Ecclesia semper hanc Legem retinuit, et judicavit hujusmodi nuptias incestas esse, sicut testantur Synodorum Decreta et Sanctissimorum Patrum Clarissimæ Sententiæ, et has nuptias prohibent et vocant incestas etiam jura Civilia. Proinde et nos sertimus, et hanc Legem de non ducenda Uxore fratris in omnibus Ecclesiis servandam esse veluti divinam, naturalem, et moralem Legem; Nec in nostris Ecclesiis vellemus dispensare aut permittere, præsertim ante factum, ut ejusmodi nuptiæ contraherentur, et hanc Doctrinam possumus et volumus Deo volente facile defendere. Cæterum quantum ad Divortium pertinet, nondum sumus plene persuasi ut sententiam nostram ferre possimus, An post Contractum Matrimonium in hoc casu Serenissimi Regis debuisset fieri Divortium. Rogamus igitur Seren. Regem ut æquo animo ferat, diffieri nostram Sententiam in hac re donec erimus certiores.

XXXVI.—*An Abstract of the Grounds of the Divorce.*

Written in the beginning, Thomas Cantuarien, with his own hand.

[Cotton. Libr. Vesp. B. 5.]

Articuli ex quibus plane admodum demonstratur Divortium inter Hen. VIII. Angliæ Regem Invictiss. et Serenissimam Catharinam necessario esse faciendum.

1. AFFINITAS quæ Divino et Naturali Jure impedit ne Matrimonium contrahatur, et contractum dirimit, solo nuptiali fœdere inducitur.

2. Substantia Matrimonii, verum perfectumq; conjugium, sola conjugali pactione, et non carnali copula efficitur.

3. Vir et Uxor solo fœdere conjugali, Deo inprimis operante, una mens et una caro fiunt.

4. Carnalis Copula affinitatem solo Jure Ecclesiastico repertam inducit.

5. Affinitas sola Carnis concubitu orta Sanctione humana solum impedit, ne Matrimonium contrahatur, et contractum dissolvit.

6. Carnalis Copula Matrimonium necessario reddit consummatum.

7. Potest Matrimonium Carnali Copula consummari, etiam Uxoris Virginitate irrecoverabili non amissa.

8. Serenissimam Catharinam ab Illustrissimo Principe Arthuro relictam Virginem non fuisse affirmamus.

9. Sereniss. Catharinam ex Judiciis quam plurimis attestantibus, et violentam præsumptionem inducentibus, ab eodem Illustrissimo Principe Arthuro corruptam, atque Matrimonium inter eos consummatum fuisse non dubitamus.

10. Serenissima Catharina, præsumptione violenta hujusmodi constante, Virginitatem suam Juramento præsertim publico probare nequit.

11. Judex eandem Serenissimam Catharinam, super ea causa jurare volentem, ad juramentum jure quidem admittere non potest.

12. Henrici octavi Angliæ Regis Invictissimi et Serenissimæ Catharinæ præsumptum Matrimonium, lege Divina et naturali prohibente, nullum omnino fuisse neq; esse posse Censemus.

XXXVII.—*A Bull sent to the Archbishop of Canterbury, against the Statutes of Provisors.*

Ex MS. D. Petyt.

MARTINUS Episcopus, Servus Servorum Dei, venerabili Fratri Archiepiscopo Cantuariensi salutem et Apostolicam Benedictionem. Si quam districto Dei Judicio de commissis tibi ovibus rationem redditurus es, aliquando cogitares, si meminisses et tu quæ pastoralis officii cura esse debet, quantumq; Ecclesiæ Romanæ, a qua dignitatem et auctoritatem vendicas, jus atque honorem tueri obligatus es, in considerationem duceres; profecto non usque adeo dormitares neque negligeres: Surrexisses jamdudum, et post oves jam longe aberrantes inclamares, ac pro viribus resisteres iis, qui jura ac privilegia a summo Ecclesiarum capite omnium Christo, Ecclesiæ Romanæ tradita, sacrilego vel ausu violent atque contemnunt. Numquid ideo Pontificalis Dignitas tibi commissa est ut hominibus præsis, opes cumules, et quæ tua sunt non quæ Jesu Christi quærere debeas? Si id existimas vehementer erras, et a Christi intentione longe abes, qui cum Beato Petro oves suas committeret, nil ei aliud nisi ut illas pasceret indixit, priusque non semel, sed bis ac tertio, an ab eo diligeretur expostulans. Estne hæc in Christum dilectio quam habes? Estne hoc amare ac pascere oves? Itane debitum quo Ecclesiæ Romanæ astringeris, recte exsolvis? En ante oculos tuos ab ovili errantes in præcipitum labuntur oves, nec illas revocas neque reducis. In conspectu tuo herbas pergunt pestiferas pascere, nec illas prohibes, immo (quod abominabile est) tuis quasi manibus hujusmodi præbes mortiferum cibum. Te vidente, lupo illas dispergit, et taces tanquam canis mutus non valens latrare. Aspicias simul et Christi et Ecclesiæ et sedis Apostolicæ mandata, auctoritatem, reverentiamque contemptui haberi, nec semel unum murmurans verbum, clanculum saltem, si nolles palam. An ignoras ante æterni tribunalis judicis hujusmodi reatus et culpæ usque ad minimum

quadrantem redditurum te rationem? num credis, si qua tuo neglectu perierit ovium (pereunt autem multæ) de tuis manibus sanguis earum exigitur? Quid per os Ezechielis Dominus comminatur, memorare et extimesce. Ipse, inquit, Speculatorem Domini posuit te Deus, si videris gladium venientem, et non insonueris buccina, et aliquis perierit, sanguinem ejus de manibus tuis requiram; hæc dicit Dominus. Qualis autem et qualis iniquitatis et abominationis gladius in Angliæ Regnum, atque oves tuas descenderit, tuo judicio (si ratione uteris) relinquimus. Perlege illud Statutum Regium, si tamen Statutum, si tamen Regium dici fas est. Nam quomodo Statutum, quod Statuta Dei et Ecclesiæ destruit? Quomodo Regium? quod Instituta peremit? contra illud quod scriptum est, Honor Regis Judicium diligit. Et judica, venerabilis Frater et Christiane Episcopo, ac Catholice Præsul, si justum, si æquum, si a Populo Christiano servari est. Imprimis per illud execrabile Statutum ita Rex Angliæ de Ecclesia cum Provisionibus et Administrationibus disponit, quasi Vicarium suum Christum eum instituisse. Legem condit super Ecclesias, beneficia, Clericos et Ecclesiasticum statum, ad se suamque; laicalem Curiam nonnullas causas Spirituales et Ecclesiasticas jubet introduci; et ut uno verbo concludamus, ita de Clericis statuit, de Ecclesiis et Ecclesiastico Statu, quasi Ecclesiæ claves in manibus haberet, et non Petro, sed sibi hujusmodi cura commissæ foret. Præter hanc nefandam Dispositionem, vipereas quasdam contra Clericos adjecti poenas, quæ ne quidem contra Judæos vel Saracenos, per illum de Statutis suis, promulgatæ inventiuntur. Possunt ad Angliæ Regnum cujuslibet generis homines libere proficisci; soli acceptantes beneficia Auctoritate Summi Pontificis, Vicarii Jesu Christi, jubentur exulari, capi, incarcerari, omnibusque bonis exui, executoresque; literarum Apostolicarum, Procuratorum, Notarii, ac quicumque; alii Censuram seu Processum ab Apostolica sede in Regnum mittentes aut deferentes, ultimo supplicio deputantur, projectique; extra protectionem Regis exponuntur ab omnibus captivandi. Vide si audita est unquam similis Statuti iniquitas: Consideret prudentia tua, si Regem aut Regnum hujusmodi Statuta decet: Cogita si te talia inspicientem silere oporteat, et non magis clamare, contradicere, et pro viribus resistere. Estne ista filialis Reverentia? Estne ista Christiana devotio quam Regnum Angliæ suæ Matri Ecclesiæ ac Sedi Apostolicæ exhibet? Potestne Catholicum Regnum dici, ubi hujusmodi statuuntur profanæ leges et observantur, ubi prohibetur adiri Vicarius Christi, ubi oves suas Successor Apostoli Petri pascere juxta mandatum Domini non permittitur? Christus dixit Petro suisque; Successoribus, Pasce oves meas; Statutum autem Regni pascere ipsas non sinit, sed vult ut Rex ipse pascat, devolvendo ad eum in certis casibus Apostolicam Auctoritatem. Christus ædificavit supra Petrum Ecclesiam; sed Regni Statutum, id prohibet: Nam non patitur Petri Cathedram de Ecclesia prout judicaverit, expedire, ordinare vel disponere. Christus voluit quod quicquid summus Pontifex in terris solverit aut ligaverit, solum ligatumve esset in cœlis; Statutum huic divinæ voluntati non assentit: Nam si quos Sacerdotes ad ligandum solvendumque; animas Christi Vicarius in Regnum contra Statuti tenorem destinaret, non modo ipsos non admittit Statutum sed exulare jubet, bonis privari, aliisque; poenis affligi, et censuram seu Processum Apostolicum in Regnum deferens, tanquam Sacrilegus capite punitur. Quid ad hoc tua Discretio respondebit? Estne hoc Catholicum Statutum? Potestne sine Christi injuria, sine Evangelii transgressione, sine animæ interitu tolerari aut observari? Cur igitur non clamas, et quasi tuba exaltas vocem tuam, annuncians populo tuo peccata sua,

Domui Israel scelera eorum, ne sanguis eorum de manibus tuis requiratur. Quod et si omnes quibus populorum cura commissæ est, facere teneantur, quanto magis id tibi erit necessarium exequi, cui populos et populorum ministros, oves et ovium pastores, tuæ solitudini Romana deputavit Ecclesia, a qua et Primatum et Sedis Apostolicæ legationem super Anglicanas Ecclesias suscepisti, et ipsius gloriosissimi Martyris Beati Thomæ olim Cantuariæ Archiepiscopi Successor effectus es, qui adversus similia decertans Statuta, holocaustum se Deo offerens pro libertate Ecclesiastica occubuit. Tu certe ob hæc, omnium primus qui vexillo assumpto in aciem prodire deberes, et fratres Co-episcopos tuos tuo exemplo in certamine sistere, primus omnium terga vertis, et aliquos qui forte resistendi impetum caperent, tua sive pusillanimitate, sive dissimulatione, sive (ut omnes attestantur) evidenti prævaricatione a bono proposito dejicis. Itaque si de te queritur Ecclesia, si in te omnis culpa transfertur, non mirari sed dolere, immo potius teipsum corrigere debes, et debitum quo ovium jure astrictus es audacter exolvere: pro qua re efficienda, si velis quam potes operam adhibere, non magnum certamen subeundum est. Persuade tuo pro officio et Auctoritate tua, secularibus, et eos veritatem instrue. Ostende eis peccatum quo observantes prædictum Statutum illaqueantur: Et erunt (ut omnes asserunt) prava in directa, et aspera in vias planas. Ne ergo, si tacueramus et nos, tuam aliorumque; desidiam dissimulantes similis apud omnipotentem Deum culpæ reos efficiat, neve ovium nostrarum sanguis (si neglexerimus) de manibus nostris exigatur, tuam fraternitatem qua possumus instantia, toto corde, totoque; affectu hortamur, monemus, requirimus, et in virtute Sanctæ obedientiæ, et sub Excommunicationis poenæ cui (si neglexeris) ipso facto te subjicimus, districte præcipiendo mandamus, quatenus quamprimum ad locum ubi Consilarii Charissimi in Christo Filii nostri Henrici Angliæ Regis Illustris conveniunt, personaliter accedas, eosque; tam Ecclesiasticos quam Seculares pro sapientia tua, quam tibi Dominus inspiraverit, rationibus ac monitionibus reddas instructos, ut prædictum Statutum in proximo Parlamento tollant penitus et aboleant: Cum enim Divinæ et Humanæ rationi, veteris ac Novi Testamenti, Conciliorum, Sanctorum Patrum, Summorum Pontificum Decretis, ipsius denique Universalis Ecclesiæ observantiæ evidentissime contradicat, nec sine interitu salutis æternæ quovis modo servari possit. Illudque; inter alia dicere non omittas, qualiter Ecclesiasticæ libertatis violatores, facientesque; Statuta aut consuetudines contra libertatem servari, Officiales, Rectores et Consilarii, locorum ubi hujusmodi Statuta vel consuetudines editæ fuerunt vel servatæ, Ac etiam qui secundum prædicta judicaverint, ipso jure Excommunicationem incurrunt, quæ quantum sit Christi fidelibus metuenda, ipsis plene poteris declarare. Idem sub poenâ eadem te facere volumus cum Parlamentum inchoabitur, tam erga prædictos Consilarios quam Communitates, et alios qui vocem in ipso habuerint Parlamento. Insuper ut pluribus viis honori Dei et Sanctæ Matris Ecclesiæ, et animarum saluti provideatur, sub simili poenâ mandes ac præcipias omnibus tam Rectoribus Ecclesiarum, quam aliis officium prædicationis obtinentibus, Secularibus et Religiosis, ut frequenter in sermonibus suis populos de prædicta materia instruere non omitant. Volumus autem ut quicquid super prædictis feceris per tuas literas (quibus saltem duæ graves personæ, quæ ipsis requisitionibus per te faciendis interfuerint, se subscribant) nos certos efficias. Dat. Rom. apud Sanctos Apostolos quinto die Decembris, Pontificatus nostri Anno decimo.

XXXVIII.—*A Letter to King Henry VI. for repealing that Statute.*

MARTINUS Episcopus, Servus Servorum Dei, Charissimo in Christo Filio Henrico Regi Angliæ Illustri, salutem et Apostolicam Benedictionem. Quum post multos nuncios ad tuam Serenitatem pro abolitione illius detestabilis Statuti contra libertatem Ecclesiasticam editi olim transmissos, postremo dilectum filium Magistrum Julianum causarum curiæ Cameræ Apostolicæ Auditorem, pro eadem causa destinasset; per ipsum tua Celsitudo tunc nobis respondit, quod quamprimum commode possit, Parliamentum, sine quo idem nequit aboleri Statutum, convocaret, et in eo quod sibi possibile foret pro nostræ requisitionis implemento faceret, Protestans quod Sanctæ Romanæ Ecclesiæ sedis; Apostolicæ Juribus ac Privilegiis nullo modo detrahare aut derogare intendebat: Nos ob hoc, sicut deinde aliis literis tibi significavimus, usq; ad id tempus cum patientia expectare decrevimus, sperantes quod in Verbo Regio nobis pollicitus fueris, id tempore suo exequi non differres; itaq; quicquid ex parte nostra hactenus faciendum fuit, omnem mansuetudinis et patientiæ modum experientes jam fecimus. Et licet gravibus interim per aliquos de Regno tuo lacesiti sumus injuriis, volumus tamen (ne quid contra promissum fieri videretur) usq; ad id tempus (non sine rubore Sedis Apostolicæ) expectare, ut merito illud verbum Evangelicum jam dici possit, Quid debui huic vinæ facere et non feci? Tu vero, Fili Charissime, cum ipsis Parliamenti jam tempus instet, quod ex tua parte agendum restat, juxta promissionem tuam ac verbum Regium implere non omittas, ad quod et Jure Divino et Humano tanquam Christianissimus Princeps obligatus, sine cujusvis requisitione pro tua et tuorum subditorum salute et honore facere teneris: præsertim quum talia obtuleramus, ob quæ nec tibi nec dicto Regno ex prædicti Statuti abolitione præjudicium ullum redundare possit; providere enim iis omnibus quæ causam Statuto didisse dicuntur, jam sæpe nostro nomine oblatum est, et nunc de novo offerimus. Jam igitur cum nulla quævis contradicendi occasio prætendi possit, speramus in dicto Parlamento tuam Serenitatem ita facturam, ut prædictum tam execrabile Statutum penitus de eodem Regno tollatur. Quod si feceris, salvabis primum tuam, tum vero multorum animas, quæ ob dictum Statutum gravi crimine illaqueatæ tenentur: Providebis deinde tuo et ipsius Regni honori, quod utiq; propterea non modicum est notatum: Demum nos ac sedem ipsam semper tuis justis desideriis obligabis. Super iis autem omnibus et de nostra intentione plene per literas nostras instructo, dilecto Filio magistro Joanni de Obizis in dicto Regno Nuncio et Collectori nostro, dabis credentiæ fidem plenam. Dat. Rom. die decimo tertio Octobris, Pontificatus nostri Anno decimo.

XXXIX.—*A Letter to the Parliament upon the same occasion.*

MARTINUS Episcopus, Servus Servorum Dei, venerabilibus Fratribus et dilectis Filiis, Nobilibus viris Parliamenti Regni Angliæ, salutem et Apostolicam Benedictionem. Multis nunciis ac frequentibus exhortationibus, pro debito pastoralis officii, vos ac Regnum vestrum hactenus admonuimus, ut pro salute animarum vestrarum, et ipsius Regni honore, quoddam detestabile Statutum contra Divinum et Humanum Jus editum, quod sine interitu salutis æternæ nullatenus servari potest, aboleretur. Et quoniam id sine Parlamento tolli non posse, ex parte Charissimi in Christo Filii nostri Henrici Regis Angliæ illustris,

Dilecto Filio Magistro Juliano Causarum curiæ Cameræ Apostolicæ Auditori, tunc Nuncio nostro, responsum extitit, in quo (quam primum posset) convocato, quod sibi possibile foret pro nostræ Requisitionis executione se facturum, idem Rex pollicitus est, protestans Juribus ac Privilegiis Sanctæ Romanæ Ecclesiæ et Sedis Apostolicæ in nullo velle detrahare aut derogare. Nos volentes solita erga vos mansuetudine uti, decrevimus usq; ad ipsius Parliamenti tempus expectare, sperantes quod tam Rex juxta suam Regiam Promiseionem, quam vos pro salute animarum vestrarum, Sancte ac Catholice secundum nostram Requisitionem concludetis. Itaq; cum Parliamentum (ut fertur) jam instet, vos omnes, quorum animas nostræ curæ Dominus noster Jesus Christus commisit, hortamur, monemus, obsecramus, ut unanimes vestrarum animarum salutem, ac conscientiarum puritatem præ cæteris rebus amantes, prædictum abominabile Statutum (quod qui observat vel observari faciat salvari non potest) penitus tollatur, et de Regno in perpetuum aboleatis. Quod si quis forsitan vobis contrarium persuadere audeat, quicumq; ille sit, Sæcularis vel Ecclesiasticus Status, tanquam hostem animarum vestrarum et honorum, nullatenus audite; nec eum virum Catholicum reputetis, qui adversus Romanæ Ecclesiæ Auctoritatem, Juraque et Privilegia Sedi Apostolicæ Divinitus concessa, aliquid machinari præsumperit, quibus ipse Rex vester Illustris nolle ullatenus derogare publice protestatus est. Nos quidem ipsi sumus ab omnipotenti Deo Jesu Christo super vos et Universalem Ecclesiam constituti, cujus Doctrinæ ac persuasioni sine ulla contradicitione omnimodam fidem vos et quilibet Christianus habere debetis: Nos tamen, etsi indignos, oves suas pascere Christus voluit, clavesq; aperiendi ac solvendi Cœlos tradidit. Et si quis nos audit, servi Christi testimonium Christianum audit; et si quis nos spernit, Christum spernere convincitur. Et quoniam de vobis ac singulis Christianis in districto Dei Judicio rationem reddituri sumus, ideo vos pro salute vestra tam sæpe tamq; efficaciter admonemus; et ne quisquam sub alicujus damni temporalis prætextu vos ab hac nostra Catholica Doctrina submoveat, ecce nos promptos paratosq; offerimus, omnibus causis, propter quas dictum Statutum conditum esse prætenditur, salubriter providere, ita ut nec Regno nec cuicumq; privatæ personæ præjudicium aliquod ex ipsius Statuti abolitione possit accidere. Super his omnibus et nostra intentione plene instructo dilecto Filio Magistro Joanni de Obizis, in dicto Regno Nuntio et Collectori nostro, dabitis Credentiæ plenam fidem. Dat. Romæ apud Sanctos Apostolos tertio die Octobris, Pontificatus nostri Anno decimo.

XL.—*An Instrument of the Speech the Archbishop of Canterbury made to the House of Commons about it.*

Dix Veneris, penultimo mensis Januarii, Anno Domini secundum cursum et computationem Ecclesiæ Anglicanæ millesimo quadringentesimo decimo septimo, indictione sexta, Pontificatus Sanctissimi in Christo Patris et Domini nostri Domini Martini Divina Providentia Papæ quinti Anno undecimo, Reverendissimi in Christo Patris et Domini, Domini, Henricus Dei Gratia Cantuariensis et Johannes Eboracensis Archiepiscopi, necnon Reverendiss. Patres W. Londinensis, Benedictus Menevensis, Philippus Eliensis, Jocheu et W. Norwicensis, Episcopi, et cum eis venerabiles Patres et viri religiosi Westmonasterii et Radingiæ Abbates de palatio regio Westmonasteriensis de Camera, viz. Ubi tam Domini Spirituales quam Temporales in Parlamento ad tunc tento negotia Regni

quadrantem redditurum te rationem? num credis, si qua tuo neglectu perierit ovium (pereunt autem multæ) de tuis manibus sanguis earum exigeretur? Quid per os Ezechielis Dominus comminatur, memorare et extimesce. Ipse, inquit, Speculatorem Domini posuit te Deus, si videris gladium venientem, et non insonueris buccina, et aliquis perierit, sanguinem ejus de manibus tuis requiram; hæc dicit Dominus. Qualis autem et qualis iniquitatis et abominationis gladius in Angliæ Regnum, atque oves tuas descenderit, tuo judicio (si ratione uteris) relinquimus. Perlege illud Statutum Regium, si tamen Statutum, si tamen Regium dici fas est. Nam quomodo Statutum, quod Statuta Dei et Ecclesiæ destruit? Quomodo Regium? quod Instituta peremit? contra illud quod scriptum est, Honor Regis Judicium diligit. Et judica, venerabilis Frater et Christiane Episcopo, ac Catholice Præsul, si justum, si æquum, si a Populo Christiano servari est. Imprimis per illud execrabile Statutum ita Rex Angliæ de Ecclesia cum Provisionibus et Administrationibus disponit, quasi Vicarium suum Christus eum instituisset. Legem condit super Ecclesias, beneficia, Clericos et Ecclesiasticum statum, ad se suamque laicalem Curiam nonnullas causas Spirituales et Ecclesiasticas jubet introduci; et ut uno verbo concludamus, ita de Clericis statuit, de Ecclesiis et Ecclesiastico Statu, quasi Ecclesiæ claves in manibus haberet, et non Petro, sed sibi hujusmodi cura commissæ foret. Præter hanc nefandam Dispositionem, vipereas quasdam contra Clericos adject pœnas, quæ ne quidem contra Judæos vel Saracenos, per ullum de Statutis suis, promulgatæ inventiuntur. Possunt ad Angliæ Regnum cujuslibet generis homines libere proficisci; soli acceptantes beneficia Auctoritate Summi Pontificis, Vicarii Jesu Christi, jubentur exulari, capi, incarcerationi, omnibusque bonis exui, executoresque literarum Apostolicarum, Procuratores, Notarii, ac quicumque; alii Censuram seu Processum ab Apostolica sede in Regnum mittentes aut deferentes, ultimo supplicio deputantur, projectique extra protectionem Regis exponuntur ab omnibus captivandi. Vide si audita est unquam similis Statuti iniquitas: Consideret prudentia tua, si Regem aut Regnum hujusmodi Statuta decet: Cogita si te talia inspicientem silere oporteat, et non magis clamare, contradicere, et pro viribus resistere. Estne ista filialis Reverentia? Estne ista Christiana devotio quam Regnum Angliæ suæ Matri Ecclesiæ ac Sedi Apostolicæ exhibet? Potestne Catholicum Regnum dici, ubi hujusmodi statuuntur profanæ leges et observantur, ubi prohibetur adiri Vicarius Christi, ubi oves suas Successor Apostoli Petri pascere juxta mandatum Domini non permittitur? Christus dixit Petro suisque Successoribus, Pascere oves meas; Statutum autem Regni pascere ipsas non sinit, sed vult ut Rex ipse pascat, devolvendo ad eum in certis casibus Apostolicam Auctoritatem. Christus ædificavit supra Petrum Ecclesiam; sed Regni Statutum, id prohibet: Nam non patitur Petri Cathedram de Ecclesia prout judicaverit, expedire, ordinare vel disponere. Christus vult quod quicquid summus Pontifex in terris solverit aut ligaverit, solum ligatumve esset in cœlis; Statutum huic divinæ voluntati non assentit: Nam si quos Sacerdotes ad ligandum solvendumque; animas Christi Vicarius in Regnum contra Statuti tenorem destinaret, non modo ipsos non admittit Statutum sed exulare jubet, bonis privari, aliisque pœnis affligi, et censuram seu Processum Apostolicum in Regnum deferens, tanquam Sacrilegus capite punitur. Quid ad hoc tua Discretio respondebit? Estne hoc Catholicum Statutum? Potestne sine Christi injuria, sine Evangelii transgressionem, sine animæ interitu tolerari aut observari? Cur igitur non clamas, et quasi tuba exaltas vocem tuam, annuncians populo tuo peccata sua,

Domui Israel scelera eorum, ne sanguis eorum de manibus tuis requiratur. Quod et si omnes quibus populorum cura commissæ est, facere teneantur, quanto magis id tibi erit necessarium exequi, cui populos et populorum ministros, oves et ovium pastores, tuæ sollicitudini Romana deputavit Ecclesia, a qua et Primatum et Sedis Apostolicæ legationem super Anglicanas Ecclesias suscepisti, et ipsius gloriosissimi Martyris Beati Thomæ olim Cantuariæ Archiepiscopi Successor effectus es, qui adversus similia decertans Statuta, holocaustum se Deo offerens pro libertate Ecclesiastica occubuit. Tu certe ob hæc, omnium primus qui vexillo assumpto in aciem prodire deberes, et fratres Co-episcopos tuos tuo exemplo in certamine sistere, primus omnium terga vertis, et aliquos qui forte resistendi impetum caperent, tua sive pusillanimitate, sive dissimulatione, sive (ut omnes attestantur) evidenti prævaricatione a bono proposito dejicis. Itaque si de te queritur Ecclesia, si in te omnis culpa transfertur, non mirari sed dolere, immo potius teipsum corrigere debes, et debitum quo ovium jure strictus es audacter exolvere: pro qua re efficienda, si velis quam potes operam adhibere, non magnum certamen subeundum est. Persuade tuo pro officio et Auctoritate tua, secularibus, et eos veritatem instrue. Ostende eis peccatum quo observantes prædictum Statutum illaqueantur: Et erunt (ut omnes asserunt) prava in directa, et aspera in vias planas. Ne ergo, si tacueramus et nos, tuam aliorumque; desideriam dissimulantes similis apud omnipotentem Deum culpæ reos efficiat, neve ovium nostrarum sanguis (si neglexerimus) de manibus nostris exigatur, tuam fraternitatem qua possumus instantia, toto corde, totoque affectu hortamur, monemus, requirimus, et in virtute Sanctæ obedientiæ, et sub Excommunicationis pœna cui (si neglexeris) ipso facto te subijcimus, districte præcipiendo mandamus, quatenus quamprimum ad locum ubi Consilarii Charissimi in Christo Filii nostri Henrici Angliæ Regis Illustris conveniunt, personaliter accedas, eosque tam Ecclesiasticos quam Seculares pro sapientia tua, quam tibi Dominus inspiraverit, rationibus ac monitionibus reddas instructos, ut prædictum Statutum in proximo Parlamento tollant penitus et aboleant: Cum enim Divinæ et Humanæ rationi, veteris ac Novi Testamenti, Conciliorum, Sanctorum Patrum, Summorum Pontificum Decretis, ipsius denique Universalis Ecclesiæ observantiæ evidentissime contradicat, nec sine interitu salutis æternæ quovis modo servari possit. Illudque inter alia dicere non omittas, qualiter Ecclesiasticæ libertatis violatores, facientesque Statuta aut consuetudines contra libertatem servari, Officiales, Rectores et Consilarii, locorum ubi hujusmodi Statuta vel consuetudines editæ fuerint vel servatæ, Ac etiam qui secundum prædicta judicaverint, ipso jure Excommunicationem incurrunt, quæ quantum sit Christi fidelibus metuenda, ipsis plene poteris declarare. Idem sub pœna eadem te facere volumus cum Parlamentum inchoabitur, tam erga prædictos Consilarios quam Communitates, et alios qui vocem in ipso habuerint Parlamento. Insuper ut pluribus viis honori Dei et Sanctæ Matris Ecclesiæ, et animarum salutis provideatur, sub simili pœna mandes ac præcipias omnibus tam Rectoribus Ecclesiarum, quam aliis officium prædicationis obtinentibus, Secularibus et Religiosis, ut frequenter in sermonibus suis populos de prædicta materia instruere non omitant. Volumus autem ut quicquid super prædictis feceris per tuas literas (quibus saltem duæ graves personæ, quæ ipsis requisitionibus per te faciendis interfuerint, se subscribant) nos certos efficias. Dat. Rom. apud Sanctos Apostolos quinto die Decembris, Pontificatus nostri Anno decimo.

XXXVIII.—*A Letter to King Henry VI. for repealing that Statute.*

MARTINUS Episcopus, Servus Servorum Dei, Cha-
ristissimus in Christo Filio Henrico Regi Angliæ Illustri,
 salutem et Apostolicam Benedictionem. Quum post
 multos nuncios ad tuam Serenitatem pro abolitione
 illius detestabilis Statuti contra libertatem Ecclesiasti-
 cam editi olim transmissos, postremo dilectum filium
 Magistrum Julianum causarum curiæ Cameræ Aposto-
 licæ Auditorem, pro eadem causa destinasset; per
 ipsum tua Celsitudo tunc nobis respondit, quod
 quamprimum commode possit, Parliamentum, sine
 quo idem nequit aboleri Statutum, convocaret, et in
 eo quod sibi possibile foret pro nostræ requisitionis
 implemento faceret, Protestans quod Sanctæ Romanæ
 Ecclesiæ sedis; Apostolicæ Juribus ac Privilegiis
 nullo modo detrahare aut derogare intendebat: Nos
 ob hoc, sicut deinde aliis literis tibi significavimus,
 usq; ad id tempus cum patientia expectare decrevi-
 mus, sperantes quod in Verbo Regio nobis pollicitus
 fueris, id tempore suo exequi non differres; itaq;
 quicquid ex parte nostra hactenus faciendum fuit,
 omnem mansuetudinis et patientiæ modum experientes
 jam fecimus. Et licet gravibus interim per aliquos de
 Regno tuo lacesiti sumus injuriis, volumus tamen (ne
 quid contra promissum fieri videretur) usq; ad id tem-
 pus (non sine rubore Sedis Apostolicæ) expectare, ut
 merito illud verbum Evangelicum jam dici possit,
 Quid debui huic vinæ facere et non feci? Tu vero,
 Fili Charissime, cum ipsis Parliamenti jam tempus
 instet, quod ex tua parte agendum restat, juxta pro-
 missionem tuam ac verbum Regium implere non
 omittas, ad quod et Jure Divino et Humano tanquam
 Christianissimus Princeps obligatus, sine cujusvis
 requisitione pro tua et tuorum subditorum salute et
 honore facere teneris: præsertim quum talia obtu-
 leramus, ob quæ nec tibi nec dicto Regno ex
 prædicti Statuti abolitione præjudicium ullum redun-
 dare possit; providere enim iis omnibus quæ causam
 Statuto dedisse dicuntur, jam sæpe nostro nomine
 oblatum est, et nunc de novo offerimus. Jam igitur
 cum nulla quævis contradicendi occasio prætendi
 possit, speramus in dicto Parlamento tuam Serenita-
 tem ita facturam, ut prædictum tam execrabile Statu-
 tum penitus de eodem Regno tollatur. Quod si
 feceris, salvabis primum tuam, tum vero multorum
 animas, quæ ob dictum Statutum gravi crimine illa-
 queatæ tenentur: Providebis deinde tuo et ipsius
 Regni honori, quod utiq; propterea non modicum est
 notatum: Demum nos ac sedem ipsam semper tuis
 justis desideriis obligabis. Super iis autem omnibus
 et de nostra intentione plene per literas nostras
 instructo, dilecto Filio magistro Joanni de Obizis in
 dicto Regno Nuncio et Collectori nostro, dabis cre-
 dentis fidem plenam. Dat. Rom. die decimo tertio
 Octobris, Pontificatus nostri Anno decimo.

XXXIX.—*A Letter to the Parliament upon the same occasion.*

MARTINUS Episcopus, Servus Servorum Dei, vene-
 rabilibus Fratribus et dilectis Filiis, Nobilibus viris
 Parliamenti Regni Angliæ, salutem et Apostolicam
 Benedictionem. Multis nunciis ac frequentibus ex-
 hortationibus, pro debito pastoralis officii, vos ac
 Regnum vestrum hactenus admonuimus, ut pro salute
 animarum vestrarum, et ipsius Regni honore, quod-
 dam detestabile Statutum contra Divinum et Huma-
 num Jus editum, quod sine interitu salutis æternæ
 nullatenus servari potest, aboleretur. Et quoniam id
 sine Parlamento tolli non posse, ex parte Charissimi
 in Christo Filii nostri Henrici Regis Angliæ illustris,

Dilecto Filio Magistro Juliano Causarum curiæ
 Cameræ Apostolicæ Auditori, tunc Nuncio nostro,
 responsum extitit, in quo (quam primum posset) con-
 vocato, quod sibi possibile foret pro nostræ Requisi-
 tionis executione se facturum, idem Rex pollicitus est,
 protestans Juribus ac Privilegiis Sanctæ Romanæ
 Ecclesiæ et Sedis Apostolicæ in nullo velle detrahare
 aut derogare. Nos volentes solita erga vos mansuetu-
 dine uti, decrevimus usq; ad ipsius Parliamenti tem-
 pus expectare, sperantes quod tam Rex juxta suam
 Regiam Promiseionem, quam vos pro salute animarum
 vestrarum, Sanctæ ac Catholice secundum nostram
 Requisitionem concludetis. Itaq; cum Parliamentum
 (ut fertur) jam instet, vos omnes, quorum animas
 nostræ curæ Dominus noster Jesus Christus commisit,
 hortamur, monemus, obsecramus, ut unanimes vestra-
 rum animarum salutem, ac conscientiarum puritatem
 præ cæteris rebus amantes, prædictum abominabile
 Statutum (quod qui observat vel observari faciat sal-
 vari non potest) penitus tollatur, et de Regno in per-
 petuum aboleatis. Quod si quis forsitan vobis contra-
 rium persuadere audeat, quicumq; ille sit, Sæcularis
 vel Ecclesiasticus Status, tanquam hostem animarum
 vestrarum et honorum, nullatenus audite; nec eum
 virum Catholicum reputetis, qui adversus Romanæ
 Ecclesiæ Auctoritatem, Juraque et Privilegia Sedi
 Apostolicæ Divinitus concessa, aliquid machinari præ-
 sumpserit, quibus ipse Rex vester Illustris nolle ulla-
 tenus derogare publice protestatus est. Nos quidem
 ipsi sumus ab omnipotenti Deo Jesu Christo super
 vos et Universalem Ecclesiam constituti, cujus Doctri-
 næ ac persuasioni sine ulla contradicitione omnimo-
 dam fidem vos et quilibet Christianus habere debetis:
 Nos tamen, etsi indignos, oves suas pascere Christus
 voluit, clavesq; aperiendi ac solvendi Cœlos tradidit.
 Et si quis nos audit, servi Christi testimonium Chris-
 tianum audit; et si quis nos spernit, Christum sper-
 nere convincitur. Et quoniam de vobis ac singulis
 Christianis in districto Dei Judicio rationem reddituri
 sumus, ideo vos pro salute vestra tam sæpe tanq;
 efficaciter admonemus; et ne quicquam sub alicujus
 damni temporalis pretextu vos ab hac nostra Catholica
 Doctrina submoveat, ecce nos promptos paratosq;
 offerimus, omnibus causis, propter quas dictum Statu-
 tum conditum esse prætenditur, salubriter providere,
 ita ut nec Regno nec cuiquam privatæ personæ præ-
 judicium aliquod ex ipsius Statuti abolitione possit
 accidere. Super his omnibus et nostra intentione
 plene instructo dilecto Filio Magistro Joanni de
 Obizis, in dicto Regno Nuntio et Collectori nostro,
 dabitis Credentis plenam fidem. Dat. Romæ apud
 Sanctos Apostolos tertio die Octobris, Pontificatus
 nostri Anno decimo.

XL.—*An Instrument of the Speech the Archbishop of Canterbury made to the House of Commons about it.*

Dix Veneris, penultimo mensis Januarii, Anno
 Domini secundum cursum et computationem Ecclesiæ
 Anglicanæ millesimo quadringentesimo decimo septi-
 mo, indictione sexta, Pontificatus Sanctissimi in
 Christo Patris et Domini nostri Domini Martini
 Divina Providentia Papæ quinti Anno undecimo, Re-
 verendissimi in Christo Patris et Domini, Domini,
 Henricus Dei Gratia Cantuariensis et Johannes Ebor-
 acensis Archiepiscopi, necnon Reverendissimi Patres W.
 Londinensis, Benedictus Menevensis, Philippus Elien-
 sis, Jocheu et W. Norvicensis, Episcopi, et cum eis
 venerabiles Patres et viri religiosi Westmonasterii et
 Radingiæ Abbates de palatio regio Westmonasteriensis
 de Camera, viz. Ubi tam Domini Spirituales quam
 Temporales in Parlamento ad tunc tento negotia Regni

tractaverint et tractare solebant, recedentes, et dimissis ibi Dominis Temporalibus, in simul transierunt ad viros illos qui pro communitate Regni ad Parlamentum hujusmodi venerant in loco solito, viz. in Refectorio Abbatis Westmonasteriensis predictæ personaliter existentes, et incontinenti eisdem Dominis Spiritualibus cum reverentia debita, prout decuit a viris hujusmodi communitatem Regni facientibus et representantibus, receptis: Præfatus Reverendissimus Pater Archiepiscopus Cantuariensis causam adventus sui et con-fratrum suorum ad tunc exponere coepit in vulgari; Protestando primitus, et protestabatur idem Dominus Cantuariensis vice sua et confratrum suorum prædictorum, quod pro dicendo tunc ibidem non intendebat ipse Reverendissimus Pater, aut aliquis confratrum suorum, Domino Regi Angliæ aut Coronæ suæ vel communitati Regni in aliquo derogare, et sic adhærendo Protestationi suæ hujusmodi, idem Reverendissimus Pater prosequabatur et exposuit solemniter causam adventus sui et con-fratrum suorum, sumpto quasi pro themate, Reddito quæ sunt Cæsaris, Cæsari, et quæ sunt Dei Deo. Super quo procedendo, ea quæ ad Jurisdictionem Ecclesiasticam, et ea quæ ad Cæsaream pertinebant, notabiliter et ad longum declaravit, materiam Provisionis et pro Statuti illius contra Provisores editi abolitione, cum bona et matura deliberatione proseguendo, et in processu declarationis hujusmodi jura nonnulla et Sacræ Scripturæ Auctoritates convenientes allegavit, pro jure Domini nostri Papæ in Provisionibus habendis, sicut Sancti Prædecessores sui summi Pontifices in Regno Angliæ et alibi per universalem Christianitatem habuerunt, ipseq; Dominus Papa modernus in cæteris Regnis habet et possidet in præsentem: Unde præmissis, Bullisq; et literis Apostolicis, quas pro hac re idem Dominus Papa jam tarde ad Regnum transmiserat, diligenter consideratis, et quod dictus Dominus noster Papa tot Ambassiatas et nuncios solemnes ad proseguendum jus suum et Ecclesiæ libertatem in præmissis, non absq; laboribus magnis, periculis et expensis de Curia Romana ad Regnum Angliæ destinavit, idem Reverendissimus Pater Cantuar. Archiepiscopus, nomine suo et confratrum suorum ad tunc ibidem præsentium, et absentium in dicto Parlamento per Procuratores comparentium, ad quos ut asseruit divisim saltem principalis cura animarum totius Communitatis Regni pertinere dignoscitur, dictos viros omnes et singulos tunc præsentem, Communitatem (ut præmittitur) representantes, requisivit et in Domino exhortabatur, quatenus ob salutem animarum suarum totiusq; Regni prosperitatem et pacem, materiam prædictam sic ponderarent, et taliter in eodem Parlamento super eadem deliberarent, ut Sanctissimus Dominus noster Papa placari, ac Regis zelum ad Sedem Apostolicam totiusq; Regni devotionem in hac parte habere posset materiam commendandi. Et addidit ultra hujusmodi Requisitionem et Exhortationem præfatus Reverendissimus Pater Archiepiscopus Cantuariensis; et ex corde, ut apparuit, exposuit lacrymando, pericula per censurarum, viz. Ecclesiasticarum et etiam Interdicti fulminationem, et alias tam Regi quam Regno (quod absit) verisimiliter eventura alia, in casu quo responsio Parlamenti illius, in materia tunc declarata, grata non foret Domino Papæ et accepta, sic dicendo; Forte videtur quibusdam vestrum, quod hæc quæ Regni Prælatos potissime concernunt ex corde non profero, Sciatis pro certo, et in fide, qua Deo teneor et Ecclesiæ, affirmo coram vobis, quod magis mihi foret acceptum nunquam conferre aut etiam habere aliquid beneficium Ecclesiasticum, quam aliqua talia pericula seu processus meo tempore in Ecclesiæ Anglicanæ Scandalum venirent. Ulterius idem Reverendissimus Pater expresse declaravit, qualiter dictus Dominus noster Papa

in diversis Bullis suis obtulit et promisit, se et Sedem Apostolicam, ad quascunq; causas et occasiones editionis Statuti prædicti rationabile, remedium apponere, et materias causarum et occasionum hujusmodi Statuti in toto tollere et abolere; et sic Requisitionem, Exhortationem et periculum hujusmodi expositione fuitis, Reverendissimi Patres Cantuar. et Eborac. Archiepiscopi, cum confratribus suis Episcopis et Prælati prædictis, recesserunt Regni Communitate, seu saltem dictis viris Communitatem Regni representantibus remanentibus, et circa materiam eis expositam tractantibus, præsentibus, et Declarationem, Requisitionem, et Exhortationem, hujusmodiq; periculorum expositionem per dictum Dominum Archiepiscopum Cantuariensem (ut præmittitur) factas audientibus, venerabilibus viris Richardo Coudray Archidiacono Norwici in Ecclesia Norwicensi, Magistro Joanne Forster Canonico Lincolnensi, &c. et Johanne Bould Notario Publico et multis aliis.

XLII.—Act. 33. Anno Regni vicesimo tertio.

An Act concerning Restraint of payment of Annates to the See of Rome.

FORASMUCH as it is well perceived, by long approved experience, that great and inestimable sums of money have been daily conveyed out of this realm, to the impoverishment of the same; and specially such sums of money as the pope's holiness, his predecessors, and the court of Rome, by long time have heretofore taken of all and singular those spiritual persons which have been named, elected, presented, or postulated to be archbishops or bishops within this realm of England, under the title of annates, otherwise called first fruits; which annates, or first fruits, have been taken of every archbishopric or bishopric within this realm, by restraint of the pope's bulls, for confirmations, elections, admissions, postulations, provisions, collations, dispositions, institutions, installations, investitures, orders, holy benedictions, palli, or other things requisite and necessary to the attaining of those their promotions, and have been compelled to pay, before they could attain the same, great sums of money, before they might receive any part of the fruits of the said archbishopric or bishopric whereunto they were named, elected, presented, or postulated; by occasion whereof not only the treasure of this realm hath been greatly conveyed out of the same, but also it hath happened many times, by occasion of death, unto such archbishops and bishops so newly promoted, within two or three years after his or their consecration, that his or their friends, by whom he or they have been holpen to advance and make payment of the said annates, or first fruits, have been thereby utterly undone and impoverished: and for because the said annates have risen, grown, and increased, by an uncharitable custom grounded upon no just or good title, and the payments thereof obtained by restraint of bulls, until the same annates or first fruits have been paid, or surety made for the same, which declareth the said payments to be exacted and taken by constraint, against all equity and justice. The noblemen, therefore, of the realm, and the wise, sage, politic Commons of the same, assembled in this present parliament, considering that the court of Rome ceaseth not to tax, take, and exact the said great sums of money, under the title of annates or first fruits, as is aforesaid, to the great damage of the said prelates and this realm; which annates or first fruits were first suffered to be taken within the same realm, for the only defence of Christian people against the Infidels, and now they be claimed and demanded as mere duty, only for lucre, against all right and

conscience. Inasmuch that it is evidently known that there hath passed out of this realm unto the court of Rome, sithen the second year of the reign of the most noble prince, of famous memory, king Henry VII., unto this present time, under the name of annates or first fruits, paid for the expedition of bulls of archbishops and bishops, the sum of eight hundred thousand ducats, amounting, in sterling money, at the least to eight-score thousand pounds, besides other great and intolerable sums which have yearly been conveyed to the said court of Rome, by many other ways and means, to the great impoverishment of this realm. And albeit, that our said sovereign the king, and all his natural subjects, as well spiritual as temporal, been as obedient, devout, Catholic, and humble children of God, and holy church, as any people be within any realm christened, yet the said exactions of annates or first fruits be so intolerable and importable to this realm, that it is considered and declared, by the whole body of this realm now represented, by all the estates of the same assembled in this present parliament, that the king's highness before Almighty God is bound, as by the duty of a good christian prince, for the conservation and preservation of the good estate and commonwealth of this his realm, to do all that in him is to obviate, repress, and redress the said abusions and exactions of annates or first fruits. And because that divers prelates of this realm being now in extreme age, and in other debilities of their bodies, so that of likelihood, bodily death in short time shall or may succeed unto them; by reason whereof great sums of money shall, shortly after their deaths, be conveyed unto the court of Rome, for the unreasonable and uncharitable causes abovesaid, to the universal damage, prejudice, and impoverishment of this realm, if speedy remedy be not in due time provided: It is therefore ordained, established, and enacted, by authority of this present parliament, That the unlawful payment of annates, or first fruits and all manner contributions for the same, for any archbishopric, or bishopric, or for any bulls hereafter to be obtained from the court of Rome, to or for the foresaid purpose and intent, shall from henceforth utterly cease, and no such hereafter to be paid for any archbishopric, or bishopric, within this realm, other or otherwise than hereafter in this present act is declared; and that no manner person, nor persons hereafter to be named, elected, presented, or postulated to any archbishopric, or bishopric, within this realm, shall pay the said annates, or first fruits, for the said archbishopric, or bishopric, nor any other manner of sum or sums of money, pensions, or annates for the same, or for any other like exaction or cause, upon pain to forfeit to our said sovereign lord the king, his heirs and successors, all manner his goods and chattels for ever, and all the temporal lands and possessions of the same archbishopric, or bishopric, during the time that he or they which shall offend, contrary to this present act, shall have, possess, or enjoy, the archbishopric, or bishopric; wherefore he shall so offend contrary to the form aforesaid. And furthermore it is enacted, by authority of this present parliament, That if any person hereafter named and presented to the court of Rome by the king, or any of his heirs or successors, to be bishop of any see or diocese within this realm hereafter, shall be letted, deferred, or delayed at the court of Rome from any such bishopric, whereunto he shall be so represented, by means of restraint of bulls apostolic, and other things requisite to the same; or shall be denied, at the court of Rome, upon convenient suit any manner bulls requisite for any of the causes aforesaid, any such person or persons so presented, may be, and shall be, consecrated here in England by

the archbishop, in whose province the said bishopric shall be, so always that the same person shall be named and presented by the king for the time being to the same archbishopric: and if any persons being named and presented, as aforesaid, to any archbishopric of this realm, making convenient suit, as is aforesaid, shall happen to be letted, deferred, delayed, or otherwise disturbed from the same archbishopric, for lack of pall, bulls, or other to him requisite, to be obtained in the court of Rome in that behalf, that then every such person named and presented to be archbishop, may be, and shall be, consecrated and invested, after presentation made, as is aforesaid, by any other two bishops within this realm, whom the king's highness, or any of his heirs or successors, kings of England for the time being, will assign and appoint for the same, according and in like manner as divers other archbishops and bishops have been heretofore, in ancient time by sundry the king's most noble progenitors, made, consecrated, and invested within this realm: and that every archbishop and bishop hereafter, being named and presented by the king's highness, his heirs or successors, kings of England, and being consecrated and invested, as is aforesaid, shall be installed accordingly, and shall be accepted, taken, reputed, used, and obeyed, as an archbishop or bishop of the dignity, see, or place whereunto he so shall be named, presented, and consecrated requireth; and as other like prelates of that province, see, or diocese, have been used, accepted, taken, and obeyed, which have had, and obtained completely, their bulls, and other things requisite in that behalf from the court of Rome. And also shall fully and entirely have and enjoy all the spiritualities and temporalities of the said archbishopric, or bishopric, in as large, ample, and beneficial manner, as any of his or their predecessors had or enjoyed in the said archbishopric, or bishopric, satisfying and yielding unto the king our sovereign lord, and to his heirs and successors, kings of England, all such duties, rights, and interests, as before this time had been accustomed to be paid for any such archbishopric, or bishopric, according to the ancient laws and customs of this realm, and the king's prerogative royal. And to the intent our said holy father the pope, and the court of Rome, shall not think that the pains and labours taken, and hereafter to be taken, about the writing, sealing, obtaining, and other businesses sustained, and hereafter to be sustained, by the offices of the said court of Rome, for and about the expedition of any bulls hereafter to be obtained or had for any such archbishopric, or bishopric, shall be irremunerated, or shall not be sufficiently and condignly recompensed in that behalf. And for their more ready expedition to be had therein, it is therefore enacted by the authority aforesaid, That every spiritual person of this realm, hereafter to be named, presented, or postulated, to any archbishopric or bishopric of this realm, shall and may lawfully pay for the writing and obtaining of his or their said bulls, at the court of Rome, and ensembling the same with lead, to be had without payment of any annates, or first fruits, or other charge or exaction by him or them to be made, yielded, or paid for the same, five pounds sterling, for and after the rate of the clear and whole yearly value of every hundredth pounds sterling, above all charges of any such archbishopric, or bishopric, or other money, to the value of the said five pounds, for the clear yearly value of every hundredth pounds of every such archbishopric, or bishopric, and not above, nor in any other wise, any things in this present act before written notwithstanding. And forasmuch as the king's highness, and this his high court of parliament, neither have, nor do intend to use in this, or any other like cause, any manner of extremity or

violence, before gentle courtesy or friendship, ways and means first approved and attempted, and without a very great urgent cause and occasion given to the contrary, but principally coveting to disburden this realm of the said great exactions, and intolerable charges of annates, and first fruits, have therefore thought convenient to commit the final order and determination of the premises, in all things, unto the king's highness. So that if it may seem to his high wisdom, and most prudent discretion, meet to move the pope's holiness, and the court of Rome, amicably, charitably, and reasonably, to compound, other to extinct and make frustrate the payments of the said annates, or first fruits; or else by some friendly, loving, and tolerable composition to moderate the same in such wise as may be by this realm easily borne and sustained; that then those ways and compositions once taken, concluded, and agreed, between the pope's holiness and the king's highness, shall stand in strength, force, and effect of law, inviolably to be observed. And it is also further ordained, and enacted by the authority of this present parliament, That the king's highness at any time, or times, on this side the feast of Easter, which shall be in the year of our Lord God, one thousand five hundred and three and thirty, or at any time on this side the beginning of the next parliament, by his letters patents under his great seal, to be made, and to be entered of record in the roll of this present parliament, may and shall have full power and liberty to declare, by the said letters patents, whether that the premises, or any part, clause, or matter thereof, shall be observed, obeyed, executed, and take place and effect, as an act and statute of this present parliament or not. So that if his highness, by his said letters patents, before the expiration of the times above limited, thereby do declare his pleasure to be, that the premises, or any part, clause, or matter thereof, shall not be put in execution, observed, continued, nor obeyed, in that case all the said premises, or such part, clause, or matter, as the king's highness so shall refuse, disaffirm, or not ratify, shall stand and be from henceforth utterly void and of none effect. And in case that the king's highness, before the expiration of the times afore-prefixed, do declare by his said letters patents his pleasure and determination to be, that the said premises, or every clause, sentence, and part thereof, that is to say, the whole, or such part thereof as the king's highness so shall affirm, accept, and ratify, shall in all points stand, remain, abide, and be put in due and effectual execution, according to the purport, tenor, effect, and true meaning of the same; and to stand and be from henceforth for ever after, as firm, stedfast, and available in the law, as the same had been fully and perfectly established, enacted, and confirmed, to be in every part thereof, immediately, wholly, and entirely executed, in like manner, form, and effect, as other acts and laws; the which being fully and determinately made, ordained, and enacted in this present parliament: and if that upon the foresaid reasonable, amicable and charitable ways and means, by the king's highness to be experimented, moved, or compounded, or otherwise approved, it shall and may appear, or be seen unto his grace, that this realm shall be continually burdened and charged with this, and such other intolerable exactions and demands as heretofore it hath been. And that thereupon, for continuance of the same, our said holy father the pope, or any of his successors, or the court of Rome will, or do, or cause to be done at any time hereafter, so as is above rehearsed, unjustly, uncharitably, and unreasonably vex, inquiet, molest, trouble, or grieve our said sovereign lord, his heirs or successors, kings of England, or any of his or their spiritual or lay subjects, or this his realm, by excom-

munication, excommunication, interdiction; or by any other process, censures, compulsories, ways, or means; be it enacted by the authority aforesaid, that the king's highness, his heirs and successors, kings of England, and all his spiritual and lay subjects of the same, without any scruples of conscience, shall and may lawfully, to the honour of Almighty God, the increase and continuance of virtue and good example within this realm, the said censures, excommunications, interdictions, compulsories, or any of them notwithstanding, minister, or cause to be ministered, throughout this said realm, and all other the dominions or territories belonging or appertaining thereunto; all and all manner sacraments, sacramentals, ceremonies, or other divine services, of the holy church, or any other thing or things necessary for the health of the soul of mankind, as they heretofore at any time or times have been virtuously used or accustomed to do within the same; and that no manner such censures, excommunications, interdictions, or any other process or compulsories, shall be by any of the prelates, or other spiritual fathers of this region, nor by any of their ministers or substitutes, be at any time or times hereafter published, executed, nor divulged, nor suffered to be published, executed, or divulged in any manner of ways. *Cui quidem Bille prædictæ et ad plenum intellectæ per dictum Dominum Regem ex assensu et Autoritate Parlamenti prædicti taliter est Responsum.*
Le Roy le Volt. Soit Baille aux comunes.

A cest Bille Les comunes sont assentes.

MEMORAND. quod nono die Julii, Anno Regni Regis Henrici vicesimo quinto, idem Dominus Rex per Literas suas Patentes sub magno sigillo suo sigillat. Actum prædictum ratificavit et confirmavit, et actui illo assensum suum regium dedit, prout per easdem Literas Patentes, cujus tenor sequitur in hæc verba, magis apte constat.

Here follows the king's ratification, in which the act is again recited and ratified.

XLII — The King's last Letter to the Pope.

A Duplicate.

[Cott. Libr. Vitel. B. 13.]

To the Pope's Holiness, 1532.

AFTER most humble commendations, and most devout kissing of your blessed feet. Albeit that we have hitherto differed to make answer to those letters dated at Bonony, the 7th day of October; which letters of late were delivered unto us by Paul of Cassali: yet when they appear to be written for this cause, that we deeply considering the contents of the same, should provide for the tranquillity of our own conscience, and should purge such scruples and doubts conceived of our cause of matrimony; we could neither neglect those letters sent for such a purpose, nor after that we had diligently examined and perpended the effects of the same, which we did very diligently, noting, conferring and revolving every thing in them contained, with deep study of mind, pretermitt ne leave to answer unto them. Forsith that your holiness seemeth to go about that thing chiefly, which is to vanquish those doubts, and to take away inquietations which daily do prick our conscience; inasomuch as it doth appear at the first sight to be done of zeal, love, and piety, we therefore do thank you of your good will. Howsith it is not performed in deed, that ye preter have thought it expedient to require your holiness provide us other remedies; wherefore foras much your holiness would vouchsafe to write unto concerning this matter, we heartily thank you, greatly

lamenting also both the chance of your holiness, and also ours, unto whom both twain it hath chanced in so high a matter of so great moment to be frustrated and deceived; that is to say, That your holiness not being instructed, nor having knowledge of the matter, of yourself, should be compelled to hang upon the judgment of others, and so put forth and make answers, gathered of other men, being variable and repugnant among themselves. And that we being so long sick, and exagitate with this same sore, should so long time in vain look for remedy; which when we have augmented our ægritude and distress by delay and protracting of time, ye do so cruciate the patient and afflicted, as who seeth it should much avail to protract the cause, and through vain hope of the end of our desire to lead us whither ye will. But to speak plainly to your holiness; forasmuch as we have suffered many injuries, which with great difficulty we do sustain and digest; albeit that among all things passed by your holiness, some cannot be laid, alleged, nor objected against your holiness, yet in many of them some default appeareth to be in you, which I would to God we could so diminish, as it might appear no default; but it cannot be hid, which is so manifest, and though we could say nothing, the thing itself speaketh. But as to that that is affirmed in your letters, both of God's law and man's, otherwise than is necessary and truth, let that be ascribed to the temerity and ignorance of your counsellors, and your holiness to be without all default, save only for that ye do not admit more discreet and learned men to be your counsellors, and stop the mouths of them which liberally would speak the truth. This truly is your default, and verily a great fault, worthy to be alienate and abhorred of Christ's Vicar, in that ye have dealt so variably, yea rather so inconstantly and deceptively. Be ye not angry with my words, and let it be lawful for me to speak the truth without displeasure; if your holiness shall be displeased with that we do rehearse, impute no default in us, but in your own deeds; which deeds have so molested and troubled us wrongfully, that we speak now unwillingly, and as enforced thereunto. Never was there any prince so handled by a pope as your holiness hath entreated us. First, when our cause was proposed to your holiness, when it was explicated and declared afore the same; when certain doubts in it were resolved by your counsellors, and all things discussed, it was required that answer might be made thereunto by the order of the law. There was offered a commission, with a promise also that the same commission should not be revoked; and whatsoever sentence should be given, should straight without delay be confirmed. The judges were sent unto us, the promise was delivered to us, subscribed with your holiness's hand; which avouched to confirm the sentence, and not to revoke the commission, nor to grant anything else that might let the same; and finally to bring us in a greater hope, a certain commission-decretal, defining the cause, was delivered to the judge's hands. If your holiness did grant us all these things justly, ye did unjustly revoke them; and if by good and truth the same was granted, they were not made frustrate nor annihilate without fraud; so as if there were no deceit nor fraud in the revocation, then how wrongfully and subtilly have been done those things that have been done! Whether will your holiness say, That ye might do those things that ye have done, or that ye might not do them? If he will say ye might do them, where then is the faith which ye have promised? If he will say ye might not do them, yea, and much more a pope to have, those things not being performed, which lawfully were promised? And if ye will say that ye might not do them, have we not then very just cause to mistrust

those medicines and remedies with which in your letters ye go about to heal our conscience, especially in that we may perceive and see those remedies to be prepared for us, not to relieve the sickness and disease of our mind, but for other means, pleasures, and worldly respects? And as it should seem profitable, that we should ever continue in hope or despair, so always the remedy is attempted; so that we being always a-healing, and never healed, should be sick still. And this truly was the chief cause why we did consult and take the advice of every learned man, being free, without all affection, that the truth (which now with our labour and study we seem partly to have attained) by their judgments more manifestly divulged, we might more at large perceive; whose judgments and opinions it is easy to see how much they differ from that, that those few men of yours do show unto you, and by those your letters is signified. Those few men of yours do affirm the prohibition of our marriage to be inducted only by the law positive, as your holiness hath also written in your letters; but all others say the prohibition to be inducted, both by the law of God and nature: those men of yours do suggest, that it may be dispensed for avoiding of slanders; the others utterly do contend, that by no means it is lawful to dispense with that, that God and nature hath forbidden. We do separate from our cause the authority of the see apostolic, which we do perceive to be destitute of that learning whereby it should be directed; and because your holiness doth ever profess your ignorance, and is wont to speak of other men's mouths, we do confer the sayings of those with the sayings of them that be of the contrary opinion, for to confer the reasons it were too long. But now the universities of Cambridge, Oxford, in our realms; Paris, Orleans, Biturisen, Andegavon, in France; and Bonony in Italy, by one consent; and also divers other of the most famous and learned men, being freed from all affection, and only moved in respect of verity, partly in Italy, and partly in France, do affirm the marriage of the brother with the brother's wife, to be contrary both to the law of God and nature; and also do pronounce that no dispensation can be lawful or available to any Christian man in that behalf: but others think the contrary, by whose counsels your holiness hath done that, that sithence ye have confessed ye could not do in promising to us as we have above rehearsed, and giving that commission to the cardinal Campege to be showed unto us; and after, if it so should seem profitable to burn it, as afterwards it was done indeed as we have perceived. Furthermore, those which so do moderate the power of your holiness, that they do affirm, that the same cannot take away the appellation which is used by man's law, and yet is available to Divine matters everywhere without distinction. No princes heretofore have more highly esteemed, nor honoured the see apostolic than we have; wherefore we be the more sorry to be provoked to this contention, which to our usage and nature is most alienate and abhorred. Those things so cruel we write very heavily, and more glad would have been to have been silent if we might, and would have left your authority untouched with a good will, and constrained to seek the verity, we fell, against our will, into this contention; but the sincerity of the truth prohibited us to keep silence, and what should we do in so great and many perplexities? For truly if we should obey the letters of your holiness, in that they do affirm that we know to be otherwise, we should offend God and our conscience, and we should be a great slander to them that do the contrary, which be a great number, as we have before rehearsed: also, if we should dissent from those things which your holiness doth pronounce, we would account it not lawful, if there

were not a cause to defend the fact, as we now do, being compelled by necessity, lest we should seem to condemn the authority of the see apostolic. Therefore your holiness ought to take it in good part, though we do somewhat at large and more liberally speak in this cause, which doth so oppress us, specially forasmuch as we pretend none atrocity, nor use no rhetoric in the exaggerating and increasing the indignity of the matter; but if I speak of anything that toucheth the quick, it proceedeth of the mere verity, which we cannot nor ought not to hide in this cause, for it toucheth not worldly things but divine, not frail but eternal; in which things no feigned, false, nor painted reasons, but only the truth, shall obtain and take place: and God is the truth, to whom we are bound to obey rather than to men; and nevertheless we cannot but obey unto men also, as we were wont to do, unless there be an express cause why we should not; which by those our letters we now do to your holiness: and we do it with charity, not intending to spread it abroad, nor yet further to impugn your authority, unless ye do compel us; albeit also, that that we do, doth not impugn your authority, but confirmeth the same, which we revoke to its first foundations; and better it is in the middle way to return, than always to run forth headlong and do ill. Wherefore if your holiness do regard or esteem the tranquillity of our mind, let the same be established with verity, which hath been brought to light by the consent of so many learned men; so shall your holiness reduce and bring us to a certainty and quietness, and shall deliver us from all anxiety, and shall provide both for us and our realm, and finally shall do your office and duty. The residue of our affairs we have committed to our ambassadors to be propounded unto you, to whom we beseech your holiness to give credence, &c.

XLIII.—*A Promise made for engaging the Cardinal of Ravenna. An Original.*

[Cotton. Libr. Vitel. B. 13.]

Rome, Februar. 7. 1532.

Ego Willielmus Benet Serenissimi Domini mei D. Henrici Octavi Angliæ, &c. Regis, in Romana Curia Orator, habens ad inscripta ab ipso Rege potestatem et facultatem, prout constat per ipsius Majestatis Literas Patentes datas in Regia sua Greenwich die penultima Decemb. M.D.XXXI. manu sua propria suprascriptas, et secreto sigillo suo sigillatas; Quoniam in ipsius Regis arduis negotiis expertus sum singularem et præclaram operam Reverendissimi in Christo Patris et Domini D. Henrici Sancti Eusebii S. R. E. Presbyteri Cardinalis Ravennæ, quibus et deinceps uti cupio, ut eadem semper voluntatem et operam sua Dominatio Reverendissima erga ipsum regem præstet, libere promitto eidem Cardinali nomine dicti mei Regis, quod sua Majestas provideri faciet eidem Cardinali, de aliquo Monasterio seu Monasteriis aut aliis beneficiis Ecclesiasticis in Regno Galliæ primo vacaturis, usque ad valorem annuum sex millium ducatorum: Et insuper promitto quod Rex Angliæ prædictus præsentabit, seu nominabit eundem Cardinalem ad Ecclesiam Cathedralis primo quovis modo vacaturam, seu et ad præsens vacantem, in Regno Angliæ, et de illa ei provideri faciet; et casu quo Ecclesia primo vacatura hujusmodi, seu ad præsens vacans, non sit Ecclesia Eliensis, promitto etiam quod succedente postea vacatione Ecclesiæ Eliensis, Rex Angliæ transferri faciet eundem Cardinalem, si ipsi Cardinali magis placuerit, ab illa alia Ecclesia de qua provisus erit, ad Ecclesiam Eliensem: et dictorum Monasteriorum et Beneficiorum Ecclesiasticorum in

Regno Galliæ, et Ecclesiæ Cathedralis in Regno Angliæ possessionem pacificam, cum fructuum perceptione, ipsum Cardinalem assequi faciet: Et hæc omnia libere promitto, quod Rex meus supradictus plenissime et sine ulla prorsus exceptione ratificabit et observabit et exequetur; in quorum fidem præsentem manu mea propria scripsi et subscripsi, sigilloque munivi. Dat. Rom. die septimo Februarii, M.D.XXXII.

This is all written with his own hand, and was sent over by him to the king.

XLIV.—*Bonner's Letter about the proceedings at Rome. An original.*

[Cotton. Libr. Vitel. B. 13.]

Rome, April 29, 1532.

PLEASETH it your highness; this is to advertise the same, that sithen we William Benet, Edward Karne, and Edmond Bonner, sent our letters of the 7th of this present to your highness; there hath been two disputations public, the one the 13th of this, the other the 20th day of the same, according to the order given and assigned, which was three conclusions to be disputed every consistory; and what was spoken, as well by your highness's counsel, for the justification of the conclusion purposed the said 13th, as also for the impugnation thereof by the party adverse, with answers made thereunto by your highness's said counsel as fully as were anywise deduced, your said highness shall perceive by the books sent herewithal containing the same; and also the justifications, objections, and answers, made in the 6th of this present according as I Edward Karne in my said letters promised. The copies of all the which justifications, objections, and answers, after that they were fully noted and deduced in writing, and maturely considered by your highness's learned counsel, I Edward Karne did bring to the pope's holiness, and to the cardinals, for their better information; and likewise did of the first, alwise afore the consistory, according to the order assigned at the beginning; looking in likewise that the queen's counsel should do this same, but as yet they have done nothing therein, though your ambassadors and I have called upon the pope many times for the same. And as concerning such things as were spoken and done for either part in the disputation of the 20th day, it is not possible for us, by reason of the shortness of time, to reduce all in good order, and to send the same to your highness at this time; nevertheless with all speed it shall be made ready, and sent to your highness by the next courier. After the disputation done, the said 13th day of this present, the advocate of the party adverse did allege, that we did seek this disputation but only to defer the process; protesting therefore, that the queen's counsel would dispute no more; and desiring therefore the pope's holiness, and the whole consistory, to make process in the principal cause. Whereunto I Edward Karne said, that the pope's holiness, with the whole senate, had granted the disputations upon the matters, and given an order that the conclusions published should be disputed according to the same. Whereupon I desired that forasmuch as there remained sixteen conclusions not disputed, (which to propose and justify, with your highness's counsel, I would be ready at all times,) that if the party adverse, knowing the conclusions to be canonical, would not confess them, and thereby avoid disputations, that then the said party should dispute them, and upon the refusal of both the same, the matters excusatories to be admitted by his holiness, especially because the said party adverse hath nothing material that could be per-

ceived to let the same. The pope's holiness answered, that he would deliberate upon the demand of both parties. The 16th of this present, the datary on the pope's behalf sent unto me Edward Karne an intimation for disputation of the consistory to be kept the 20th of this present, and that I should send the conclusions not disputed, that they might be in the said consistory disputed; adding withal, that the said consistory should be *ultimus et peremptorius terminus quoad alias disputationes*. Of the which intimation your highness shall receive a copy herewith. Upon this, with the advice of your ambassadors and counsel here I repaired unto the said datary, and brought unto him three conclusions to be disputed, with a protestation, *de non recedendo ab ordine hactenus observato*, according to the proem of the said conclusions, the copy whereof your highness shall receive herewith. Afterwards with the same conclusions and protestation I went to cardinal de Monte, who said at the beginning that all the consistory crieth out upon the disputations, and that we had been heard sufficiently, and that it was enough that we should have the fourth disputation, adding withal that it was a thing never seen before after such sort, and that it stood not with the honour of the see to have such disputations in the consistory to the great disquieting of the pope and the cardinals, especially considering the manner that is used, and that all the conclusions be touched which should content us. To this I answered and desired his most reverend lordship to call to his remembrance what he had promised to your highness's ambassadors and me, in the Castel-Angel upon Shrove-Sunday, the pope being present and allowing the same, contented that all the conclusions should be disputed *singulariter*, and that I should at my pleasure from time to time choose the conclusions to be disputed. And how also afterward, viz. 17th February, the pope's holiness, cardinal Ancona and his lordship not going from that promise, gave direction for three conclusions to be disputed every consistory, the choice whereof to be at my liberty (according to the copy of the said order which I sent to your highness with my letters, of the date of the 22nd of the last); and furthermore, that what time the order to dispute three conclusions in a consistory was sent unto me, and I required to send the conclusions first to be disputed according to the said order, I did, to avoid all manner of doubts, protest afore I would accept it, and in the deliverance of the said conclusions that I would not otherwise accept it, but that all the conclusions according to the order promised in Castel-Angel should be disputed and examined *singulariter*, and that standing and not otherwise I delivered my said conclusions according to the order of the 17th of February, which order the pope's holiness hitherto had approved and observed, and from that I neither could nor would go from: and where he said that we had been heard sufficiently, I said that audience and information of less than the one half of a matter could not be sufficient; and if they intended to see the truth of the whole every point must be discussed. And as for the crying out of the cardinals, I said they had no cause so to do, for it was more for the honour of the see apostolic to see such a cause as this is well and surely tried, so that the truth may appear and the matters be well known, than to proceed *precipitanter*, as they did at the beginning of this matter afore they well knew what the matter was. And as touching the disquieting the pope's holiness and the said cardinals, I said your highness for their pains was much beholden unto them; nevertheless, I said that they might on the other side ponder such pains as your highness hath taken for them, in part declared by me, which was much more than for them

to sit in their chairs two or three hours in a week to hear the justice of your defence in this cause. And as touching the manner used in the said disputation, I said his lordship knew well that it was by the party adverse, which all manner of ways goeth about to fatigue and make weary the consistory of the disputations, specially in chiding, scolding, and alleging laws and decisions that never were, nor spoken of by any doctor, and vainly continuing the time, to the intent that the pope's holiness and the cardinals dissolving the consistory, and not giving audience, the said party, without law, reason, or any good ground, might attain their desire, and keep under the truth that it should not appear; and if anything was sharply spoken of our party, I said it was done only for our defence, and to show the errors and falsity of the queen's advocates in their allegations, wherein I said they should not be spared. And forasmuch as on the behalf of your highness there was nothing spoken but that which was grounded upon law, and declared in what place, so that it cannot be denied; I desired his lordship that he would continue his goodness in this matter, as your highness's especial trust was he would do; and that we might always, as we were accustomed, have recourse unto the same in all our business for his good help and counsel. His lordship, not yet satisfied, said that as concerning the order, the pope's holiness might interpretate and declare what he meant by it; and as touching the conclusions, they were superfluous, impertinent, and calumnious, only proposed to defer the matter. I answered and said, that to interpretate the said order, where it is clear out of doubt, the pope's holiness considering the promise made on Shrove-Sunday, with my protestation foresaid, and the execution of the said order to that time, in divers consistories observed, could not by right interpretate the said order, admitting disputation upon all the conclusions; and of this I said, that if such alterations were made, without any cause given of your highness's party, there was little certainty to be reckoned upon amongst them. And as touching the superfluity and impertinency of the said conclusions, I said, that that was the saying of the party adverse, that did not understand the same conclusions. And further, that such conclusions as were clamorously by the advocates of the party adverse alleged to be superfluous, his lordship in the disputation and trial thereof in the consistory did manifestly perceive that it was not so. And where it was alleged the said conclusions to be calumnious, and laid in to defer the process, I answered that we might well allege again the counsel of the party adverse, the thing against us alleged, and say truly that we were calumniously dealt withal, seeing the matters were so just and clear, and yet not admitted. Then his lordship went further, and said, that *impedimentum allegatum erat perpetuum*, because your highness, *ex causa ripublicæ*, could not come out your realm, and *quia dignitas vestra est perpetua*; and also *quod causa requirit celeritatem*. To this, I said that his lordship mistook the matter, for we said not in the matters that your highness could not go out of your realm to no place, but we said that the same could not go, *ad loca tam remota*, as Rome is; so that it was not *perpetuum impedimentum*. And to the other I showed him a text, and the common opinion of doctors in a cause of matrimony, being *inter Regem et Reginam*, which took away the thing that he had said. Then his lordship said, that it was enough that the place were sure to the procurator by the chapter, *cum olim de testibus*. I said that that chapter did not prove that allegation, and that they mistook the text that so did understand it, for the alternative that is in that text is not referred

ad locum tutum, but ad ordinem citationis inchoanda in persona principali, aut ejus procuratore; and so *Petrus de Anchorano* understandeth that text; and otherwise understanding the same it should be against the chapter, *Ex parte de appellatione*, and the common opinion there. Then he said that Aretine saith, *Quod sufficit quum locus sit tutus procuratori*. I said, that under his favour, Aretine saith the contrary, for he saith, *Quod partibus debet locus tutus assignari si poterit, et si non poterit partibus, delur procuratoribus*. Then his lordship said to me, that I knew well he began to set forward these disputations, and that he would do the best he could for the furtherance thereof.

The 19th of this present I went with your highness's ambassadors to the pope, and delivered his holiness in writing those things that were done in the disputation of the 13th of this: and then your ambassadors were in hand with the pope to alter the intimation, and to put out the term *peremptory*, and other that were exclusory of further disputations to be had upon the same conclusions. The pope's holiness said, that disputations was no act judicial requiring to be in the consistory; and therefore he said, he would call certain congregations of cardinals, on Friday and Monday following, to hear the disputations. Then I, William Benet, said, that that could not stand very well with the decree of the intimation, which was *peremptory* for any further disputations after the 20th of this present; and therefore I spake that the same term *peremptory* might be put out of the intimation, alleging withal, that upon the said Friday or Monday it was no time to hear the disputation, being so nigh after; and that his holiness hitherto hath observed the consistory for the disputations, which consistory cannot be unto after Easter, if the manner of the court be observed. Then the pope said, he might call a consistory when he would, as he hath done in making of cardinals, an act much more solemn than a disputation. To that I said, his holiness might do so if he would; howbeit, it should be *præter solitum morem*; and therefore desired his holiness to consider therein the order before assigned, and that this term *peremptory* would not stand with the order. His holiness then willed we should inform the cardinals Anchona and de Monte, and so we did; Anchona showed himself somewhat reasonable, and was contented the term *peremptory* should be put out. De Monte said that the pope would promise to hear the conclusions disputed in congregations, calling thereto certain cardinals, so that the term *peremptory* should not be prejudicial. Then I, Edward Karne, desired him, that if the said term should not be prejudicial, that it might be stricken out, for I told him plainly that I would not stand to words, the writing showing the contrary; adding withal, that I would not dispute in this term, *tanquam peremptorio*, but would manifestly show and protest, that I, with other your highness's counsel, were ready to defend the conclusions published, according to the order given, and hitherto observed; alleging also, that the conclusions being justified, the matters ought to be admitted; and that if the pope's holiness and the cardinals would not give audience to me and your highness's said counsel, for the manifest trial and showing of the truth, they should give us cause to complain upon them, and to cry out, *usque ad Sidera*, your highness's ambassadors all affirming the same. Then the said cardinal de Monte said, that the pope's holiness would provide for the disputations, notwithstanding the term *peremptory* assigned, and said also, that in the morning he would speak with the pope, and give your ambassadors and me an answer.

In the morning, which was the 20th of this present, the said cardinal would that nothing of the decree of Intimation should be manifested, because the other part had a copy thereof, but would the pope's holiness to give an order that the word *peremptory* should be only for disputations to be had in the consistory, and not in congregations, in which congregations the conclusions remaining might be disputed; and though they had drawn out this order, yet because it was nothing plain, neither certain to be conformable to the former order, I would have had the said cardinal to speak to the said datary for to make it as afore: and he was then contented, howbeit the pope's holiness commanded all the cardinals to their places, so that I could not have the said order, and was driven thereby either to dispute and accept the term, *tanquam peremptorium*, or else to fly the disputations; giving occasion to the adverse party to say, that I diffided in the justice of the matters, and defence of the conclusions. Whereupon your highness's ambassadors and we, with other your learned counsel, concluded, that I Edward Karne should protest, *De non consentiendo in termino, tanquam peremptorio*, and afterward to proceed to the proposing of the conclusions, and so I did by mouth according to the tenor of a copy, which herewithal your highness shall receive. When I had protested, and the pope had spoken this word *Acceptamus*, the queen's advocate began to protest that they would dispute no more, and desired his holiness to proceed in the principal cause. Then I Edward Karne said, that the pope's holiness did well perceive that the conclusions were published and proposed, not only for them to dispute, but also for all other, come who would, for the information of his holiness, and the whole consistory. And therefore I said, that though they would not dispute, yet I was there, with other your highness's learned counsel, to propose the conclusions, according to the order given, justifying them to be canonical, and ready to defend them against all those that would gainsay them; and thereupon desired the pope's holiness, that though the counsel of the party adverse would not dispute, yet I, with your highness's learned counsel, might be heard again; against which my desire the queen's advocate made great exclamations, till at the last the pope commanded him to silence, and willed us to go to the conclusions, which we did.

And here now it is determined, that we shall have no more disputations in the consistory, but the rest of the conclusions to be disputed in congregations before the pope, purposely made for the same; and what therein shall be determined or done, your highness from time to time shall thereof by us be advertised, and of all other our doings in that behalf.

And as concerning the letters which your highness sent by Francis the courier, of the last of February, as well to the pope as to me Edward Karne, for the admission of me and the matter excusatory, we shall, according to your highness's pleasure and order assigned, in the common letter sent unto us by your said highness, proceed and do therein as may be most beneficial and profitable for the same.

And thus most humbly we commend us to your highness, beseeching Almighty God to preserve the same in felicity and health many years. At Rome the 28th of March, 1532.

Your highness's most humble subjects,
servants, and chaplains,
WILLIAM BENET,
EDWARD KARNE,
EDMOND BONNER.

XLV.—*Another Letter concerning the Process at Rome. An Original.*

[Cotton. Libr. Vitel. B. 13.]

PLEASETH it your highness, sithen our letters of the 23rd of March, here hath been great labour and soliciting, to bring the disputation public out of the consistory, kept once in the week, into the congregations, to be observed and kept before the pope's holiness and the cardinals, in such place, and as oft as should please them; to the intent, as we perceived, that the said disputation might be the sooner ended, and not take such effect as it was devised for. And upon this great importune labour, I, Edward Karne, was monished oftentimes to send conclusions to be proposed in the said congregations, as well in Palm-Sunday week as in Easter-week, as appeareth by the copies of the intimations sent herewithal to your highness: upon which intimations I delivered certain conclusions, according to the order taken at the beginning, with a protestation devised by your grace's counsel here, *De non recedendo ab eodem ordine, et de proponendo eandem Conclusiones in Consistorio, juxta eundem ordinem et non aliter*. That, notwithstanding, the pope's holiness caused me to be monished again, *cum Comminatione*, that if I would not come in, *cum Advocatis*, the 3rd day of April, *procederet ad ulteriora protestatione me a prævia non obstante*. Whereupon, with the advice of your said learned counsel, I conceived a protestation, and the same delivered to the pope's holiness the said third day in the morning, protesting as it was therein contained, and causing it to be registered by the datary; of the which protestation your highness shall also receive a copy herewithal. This notwithstanding, the pope's holiness, the said third day in the afternoon, made a congregation, where the said protestation was examined; and, after the treaty had upon the same, we were in conclusion remitted again to the consistory, there to be heard, as much as the consistory intendeth to hear, upon the conclusions that are published; which was much more beneficial to us than to have had all proposed in congregations to have been kept as is afore. And by this means the matter was shifted off, and deferred unto the 10th of this month; at which time the pope's holiness kept the consistory. And one Mr. Providel, a singular good clerk, which came from Bonony for the furtherance of your highness's cause, very compendiously, and after good fashion and handling, to the great contentation, as appeared, of the audience there, purposed three conclusions, of the which two concerned the habilitation of me, Edward Karne, to lay in the matters excusatory: and the third was, that the cause ought to be committed, *extra curiam, ad locum tutum utrique parti*: of the which conclusions, and also his sayings, the said 10th day, your highness shall receive a copy herewithal. And forasmuch as at the said consistory, neither the imperials, neither yet the queen's counsel, did appear; I, Edward Karne, with the advice of your highness's counsel, said to the pope's holiness, after the proposition made by Mr. Providel, that his holiness might perceive well, that if the party adverse had any good matter to allege, against such things as were deduced for the justification of the conclusions and matter excusatory, and did not diffide of their part, they would not have absented themselves or shrunk from the disputations, which they afore had accepted and taken; wherefore I accused their contumacy and absence, desiring that it might be enacted, and thereupon departed from the consistory, for that day dissolved.

The 14th of this present, the pope's holiness caused intimation to be made unto me, of the consistory to be

kept the 17th of the same; willing me to be there, *cum Advocatis*, to dispute all the conclusions not proposed and disputed: upon the which intimation, I delivered to the datary three conclusions, the 19th, the 20th, and the 21st in order, with a protestation devised by your learned counsel, sent herewithal to your highness: and in the said consistory, Mr. Providel did also allege for the justification of the matters and conclusions; and over that answered to such objections as he thought the party adverse to make foundation upon, and that very compendiously, being sorry that the imperials and queen's counsel did not come in to dispute the said conclusions, and the sayings of the said Mr. Providel in the said consistory, with my protestation also, in not agreeing to the term, as peremptory, your highness shall perceive in writing sent herewithal.

As concerning the seven conclusions yet remaining undisputed, we think the pope's holiness will bear us no further in the consistory, saying that the part adverse will not abide the disputations, nor come into the same; nevertheless to take otherwise out of the consistory, with the cardinal's information, his holiness is well contented.

And verily, sir, to study, labour, set forward, and call upon such things as may confer to the advancement of the matter and your highness's purpose, there shall not want neither good will, neither diligence to the uttermost, that we can excogitate or desire; as hitherto surely neither party hath failed; trusting in God that thereby, if justice be not oppressed, some good effect shall follow, to the good contentation of your highness. With these presents your highness shall also receive a copy of all things that were spoken, as well for your highness's behalf as by the party adverse in the consistory, the 20th day of March.

And thus most humbly we commend us to your highness, beseeching Almighty God long to continue the same in his most royal estate. At Rome, the 29th of April.

Your highness's most humble subjects,
and poor servants,

EDWARD KARNE.
EDMOND BONNER.

XLVI.—*A Letter from Benet and Cassali about the Process. An Original.*

[Cott. Libr. Vitel. B. 13.]

SERENISSIME et Invictissime Domine noster Supreme, salutem. Tribus Superioribus Consistoriis ante vacationes habitis, de Causa Excusatoria actum fuit; sed quid illud fuerit quod in primo egerunt rescire non potuimus, quia Cardinales pœna Excommunicationis prohibiti fuerant quicquam revelare. Secundo etiam aliquod super eadem causa tractarunt, quod itidem nos celaverunt. Sed ultimo illo, quod die octavo Julii Congregatum fuit, ita ut inferius patebit, constituerunt. Quam ergo postero die Pontificem advisavimus, ut quod decretum foret cognosceremus, ab eo sic accepimus; nolle se ore suo, propterea quod Jurisperitus non sit, Consistorii deliberationem pronunciare; quocirca die sequenti ad ipsum rediremus, quoniam vellet Cardinales Montem et Anconitanum id ipsum nobis proferre: Et nihilominus idem quod deinde ex ipsis Cardinalibus audivimus tunc explicavit, noluit tamen nobis esse Responsi loco. Igitur sicut dixerat, rediimus, et nobis duo illi Cardinales sic retulerunt summum Dominum et Cardinales decrevisse, literas Exhortatorias cum a Pontifice, tum a Collegio Cardinalium, Majestati vestræ scribendas esse, quibus vestram Majestatem adhortarentur, ut velit hic ad

Causam Procuratorem constituere, idq; per totum Octobrem proximum facere. Pontifex præterea suadebat ut ad idem nos Majestatem Vestram cohortaremur, iidemq; fecerunt Cardinales, volentes omnes ambiguitates et dubitationes tollere. Respondimus, velle quod nobis injungebatur Majestati Vestræ scribere; verum illud non posse reticere quod erga Majestatem Vestram inique actum videbatur; quum neq; Excusator admissus, neq; ipsius allegationes forent probatæ ac receptæ, id quod tam sæpe instantissime petitum fuerat. Præterea non posse nos non valde mirari, ac etiam summopere conqueri, quod quum pro comperto haberemus juris esse id fieri, esset nihilominus denegatum; quum præsertim petendo Mandatum procuratorium, tacite viderentur rejicere Excusatorem, et per ipsum allegata. Sic autem illi nobis responderunt, neque Excusatorem fuisse rejectum, neq; per ipsum allegata, sed in eodem, quo prius, statu permanere; hoc autem excusatorium negotium minime, ut nobis iudiciis clarum, sed dubium videri. Ibiq; Anconitanus quædam nostris contraria adduxit, quæ D. Karne suis literis recenset. Dicebant quoq; in hac re favorabilius nos, quam adversarios fuisse tractatos; illud etiam addentes, quod si procuratorium mandatum mittatur, justitia optime ministrabitur, ac etiam quatenus fieri possit, favorabiliter; idque et Pontifex et Cardinales ambo constanter asseverabant. Quum vero nos sæpius diceremus, excusatorem admitti debuisse, dixerunt, si recte considerare velimus, nos idem ipsum re habuisse; si enim (aibant), Procurator hic constituatur, literæ Remissoriæ et Compulsoriæ decernentur, ad testes in partibus examinandos. Itemq; vir aliquis probus ad id delegabitur ad utramq; partem, testesque scil. examinandos, ita ut processus in partibus fiat; Atque hoc pacto nos id consequi quod desideramus, quoniam quod ad totius causæ decisionem pertinet, ex eo quod de Pontificis potestate cognoscendum, et de jure Divino disceptandum sit, ac aliis etiam de causis, ipsam Decisionem Pontifici integram semper reservari nihilominus oporteret, quamvis causam alibi quam Romæ cognosci permissum fuisset. Nobis certe visum est, haud parum esse quod obtinimus, longe enim pejora timebamus, quum nemo in urbe esset, qui non crederet Excusatorem una cum suis allegationibus rejectum iri. Hunc quidem eventum rei Cæsariani sægerime tulerunt. Optime valeat Majestas Vestra. Romæ die 13 Julii 1532.

Vestræ Regiæ Majestatis

Hier. Episcopus Wigornien.

W. BENET.

GREGORIO CASSALI.

XLVII.—*The Sentence of Divorce.*

[In an Inspecimus, Rot. Pat. 25 Reg. 2d Part.]

Anno Incarnationis millesimo quingentesimo tricesimo tertio, Indictione sexta, Clementis Papæ decimo, mensis Maii vicesimo tertio, in Ecclesia Conventuali Monasterii Sancti Petri Dunstabliæ, Ordinis Sancti Augustini Lincoln. Dioces. nostri Cantuarien. Provinciae.

IN Dei Nomine, Amen. Nos Thomas Permissione Divina Cantuarien. Archiepiscopus, totius Angliæ Primas, et Apostolicæ Sedis Legatus, in quadam causa inquisitionis de et super viribus Matrimonii inter Illustrissimum et Potentissimum Principem et Dominum nostrum Henricum Octavum Dei Gratia Angliæ et Franciæ Regem, Fidei Defensorem et Dominum Hiberniæ, ac Serenissimam Dominam Catharinam nobilis memoriæ Ferdinandi Hispaniarum Regis Filiam contracti et consummati, quæ coram nobis in iudicio ex officio nostro mero aliquandiu vertebatur, et adhuc

vertitur, et pendet indecisa, rite et legitime procedentes, visis primitus per nos et diligenter inspectis, articulis sive capitulis in dicta causa objectis et ministratis, una cum responsis eis ex parte dicti Illustrissimi et Potentissimi Principis Henrici Octavi factis et redditis, visisque et similiter per nos inspectis plurimorum Nobilium et aliorum testium fide dignorum dictis et dispositionibus in eadem causa habitis et factis, visisq; præterea et similiter per nos inspectis, quamplurium fere totius Christiani orbis Principalium Academicarum Censuris ceu Conclusionibus Magistralibus, etiam tam Theologorum quam Jurisperitorum responsis et opinionibus, utriusq; deniq; Provinciæ Anglicanæ Consiliorum Provincialium assertionibus et affirmationibus, aliisque salutaribus monitis et doctrinis super dicto matrimonio desuper respective habitis et factis; visisq; ulterius, et pari modo per nos inspectis, pactis seu fœderibus pacis et amicitie inter perennis famæ Henricum septimum nuper Regem Angliæ, et dictum nobilis memoriæ Ferdinandum nuper Regem Hispaniæ desuper initis et factis; visi, quoque peramplius, et diligenter per nos inspectis, omnibus et singulis actis, actitatis, literis, processibus, instrumentis, scripturis, monumentis, rebusq; aliis universis in dicta causa quomodolibet gestis et factis, ac aliis omnibus et singulis per nos visis et inspectis, atq; a nobis cum diligentia et maturitate ponderatis et recensitis, servatisq; ulterius per nos in hac parte de jure servandis, necnon partibus prædictis, videlicet præfato illustrissimo et potentissimo Principe Henrico Octavo per ejus Procuratorem idoneum coram nobis in dicta causa legitime comparente, dicta vero Serenissima Domina Catharina per contumaciam absente, cujus absentia Divina repleatur præsentia, de Consilio Jurisperitorum et Theologorum, cum quibus in hac parte communicavimus, ad sententiam nostram definitivam sive finale Decretum nostrum in dicta causa ferendum sive ferendum sic duximus procedendum, et procedimus in hunc modum. Quia per acta actitata, deducta, proposita, exhibita, et allegata, probata pariter et confessata, articulataque, capitulata, partis responsa, testium depositiones, et dicta instrumenta, monumenta, literas, scripturas, censuras, conclusiones Magistrales, opiniones, consilia, assertiones, affirmationes, tractatus et fœdera pacis, processus, res alias, et cætera promissa coram nobis in dicta causa respective habita, gesta, facta, exhibita et producta; Necnon ex eisdem, et diversis aliis ex causis et considerationibus, argumentisq; et probationum generibus variis, et multiplicibus, validis quidem et efficacibus, quibus animum nostrum hac in parte ad plenum informavimus, plene et evidenter invenimus et comperimus dictum Matrimonium inter præfatos Illustrissimum et Potentissimum Principem et Dominum nostrum Henricum Octavum, ac Serenissimam Dominam Catharinam, ut præmittitur, contractum et consummatum, nullum et omnino invalidum fuisse et esse, et Divino Jure prohibente contractum et consummatum extitisse: Idcirco nos Thomas Archiepiscopus Primas et Legatus antedictus, Christi nomine primitus invocato, ac solum Deum præ oculis nostris habentes, pro nullitate et invaliditate dicti Matrimonii pronunciamus, decernimus et declaramus, ipsamq; prætersum Matrimonium fuisse et esse nullum et invalidum, ac Divino Jure prohibente contractum et consummatum, nulliusq; valoris aut momenti esse, sed viribus et firmitate juris caruisse et carere, præfatoq; Illustrissimo et Potentissimo Principi Henrico Octavo et Serenissimæ Domine Catharinæ non licere in eodem præterito Matrimonio remanere, et pronunciamus, decernimus et declaramus; ipsosq; Illustrissimū et Potentissimum Principem Henricum Octavum ac Serenissimam Dominam Catharinam, quatenus de facto et non de jure dictum prætersum Matrimonium ad invicem contraxerunt et

PART I.—BOOK II.

consummarunt, ab invicem separamus et divorciamus, atq; sic separatos et divorciatos, necnon ab omni vinculo Matrimoniali respectu dicti prætensi Matrimonii liberos et immunes fuisse et esse, pronunciamus, decernimus et declaramus, per hanc nostram sententiam definitivam, sive hoc nostrum finale Decretum, quam sive quod ferimus et promulgamus in his scriptis. In quorum præmissorum fidem et testimonium, has literas nostras testimoniales, sive præsens publicum sententiæ vel Decreti instrumentum, exinde fieri ac per Notarios Publicos subscriptos, scribas et actuarios nostros in ea parte specialiter assumptos, subscribi et signari, nostriq; sigilli appensione jussimus et fecimus communiri.

He likewise passed judgment (confirming the king's marriage with queen Anne) at Lambeth, May 28, 1533, which is in the same Inspeimus.

XLVIII.—Act 5, Anno Regni 25.

An Act concerning the Deprivations of the Bishops of Salisbury and Worcester.

WHERE before this time the church of England, by the king's most noble progenitors, and the nobles of the same, have been founded, ordained, and established, in the estate and degree of prelatie dignities, and other promotions spiritual, to the intent and purpose that the said prelates, and other persons, having the said dignities and promotions spiritual, continually should be abiding, and reseants upon their said promotions within this realm; and also keep, use, and exercise hospitality, divine services, teaching and preaching of the laws of Almighty God to such persons as were and have been within the precinct of their promotions or dignities, for the wealth of the souls of their givers and founders, greatly to the honour of Almighty God. Of the which said spiritual persons, the king's highness, and his most noble progenitors, have had right honourable and well-learned personages, apt, meet, and convenient, for to guide and instruct his highness, and his most noble progenitors, in their counsels, concerning as well their outward as inward affairs, to be devised and practised for the utility and preservation of this realm; by reason whereof the issues, revenues, profits, and treasure, rising and coming of the said spiritual promotions and dignities, were and should be spent, employed, and converted within this realm, to the great profit and commodity of the king's subjects of the same. And where also by the laudable laws and provisions of this realm, before this time made, it hath been ordained, used, and established, that no person nor persons, of whatsoever estate, degree, or quality he or they were, should take or receive within this realm of England, to farm, by any procuracy, writ, letter of attorney, administrations, by indenture, or by any other mean, any benefice, or other promotion within this realm, of any person or persons, but only of the king's true and lawful subjects, being born under the king's dominions. And also that no person or persons, of what estate and degree soever he or they were, by reason of any such farm, procuracy, letter of attorney, administration, indenture, or by any other mean, as is aforesaid, should carry, convey, or cause to be carried and conveyed out of this realm, any gold, silver, treasure, or other commodity, by letter of exchange, or by way of merchandise, or otherwise, for any of the causes aforesaid, to the profit or commodity of any alien, or other stranger, being born out of this realm, having any such promotion spiritual within the same, without license of the king's highness, by the advice of his council, as by the same laws, statutes, and provisions, more plainly at large it may appear; which said laudable laws, statutes, and provisions, were made, devised, and ordained by great policy and

foresight of the king's most noble progenitors, (i.e. nobles and commons of this realm, for the great profit, utility, and benefit of the same, to the intent that the gold, silver, treasure, riches, and other commodity of the same, by the occasion aforesaid, should not be exhausted, employed, converted, and otherwise transported out of this realm and dominions of the same, to the use, profit, and commodity of any stranger being born out of this realm, or the dominions of the same; but only to be spent, and used, and bestowed within the same, to the great comfort and consolation of the subjects of this realm. Notwithstanding which said wholesome laws, statutes, and provisions, the king's highness being a prince of great benignity and liberality, having no knowledge, nor other due information, or instruction of the same laws, statutes, and provisions, heretofore hath nominated, and preferred, and promoted Laurence Campegius bishop of Sarum, with all the spiritual and temporal possessions, promotions, and other emoluments and commodities in anywise belonging or appertaining to the same: and also hath nominated, preferred, and promoted Hierome, being another stranger, born out of the king's said realm and dominions, to the see and bishopric of Worcester, with all the spiritual and temporal promotions, and other emoluments and commodities, in anywise belonging or appertaining to the same. Which said two bishops, and namely the bishop of Sarum, nothing regarding their duties to Almighty God, nor their cures of the said bishoprics, ever sith or for the more part of the time of their said promotions or profections into the same, have been, and yet be resident, dwelling and abiding at the see of Rome, or elsewhere, in other parts beyond the sea, far out and from any of the king's said dominions; by reason whereof, the great hospitality, divine service, teaching and preaching the laws, and examples of good living, and the other good and necessary effects before rehearsed, have been many years by-past, and yet continually be, not only withdrawn, decayed, hindered, and minished, but also great quantity of gold, silver, and treasure, to the yearly sum and value of 3000*l.* at the least, have been yearly taken and conveyed out of this realm, to the singular profit and great enriching of the said bishops, and daily is like to be conveyed, transported, and sent, contrary to the purport and effect of the said former wholesome laws and statutes, to the great impoverishing of this realm, as well presently as for to come, if speedy remedy be not had therefore in brief time provided. In consideration whereof, be it enacted by the authority of this present parliament, that the said two several sees and bishoprics of Salisbury and Worcester, and either of them from henceforth, shall be taken, reputed, and accounted in the law to be utterly void, vacant, and utterly destitute of any incumbent or prelate, &c.

XLIX.—*A Letter from Cromwell to Fisher, about the Maid of Kent, Anno 34, or end of 35.*

[Cotton. Libr. Cleop. E. 4.]

My lord, in my right hearty wise I commend me to your lordship, doing you to understand, that I have received your letters, dated at Rochester the 18th day of this month; in which ye declare what craft and cunning ye have to persuade, and to set a good countenance upon an ill matter, drawing some Scriptures to your purpose; which well weighed, according to the places whereout they be taken, make not so much for your purpose as ye allege them for; and where in the first leaf of your letters ye write, that ye doubt nothing, neither before God nor before the world, if

need shall that require, so to declare yourself, whatsoever hath been said of you, that ye have not deserved such heavy words or terrible threats, as hath been sent from me unto you by your brother.

How ye can declare yourself afore God and the world, when need shall require, I cannot tell; but I think verily that your declaration made by these letters is far insufficient to prove that ye have deserved no heavy words in this behalf. And, to say plainly, I sent you no heavy words, but words of great comfort, willing your brother to show you how benign and merciful the prince was: and that I thought it expedient for you to write unto his highness, and to recognise your offences, and desire his pardon, which his grace would not deny you now in your age and sickness; which my counsel I would you had followed, rather than to have written these letters to me, excusing yourself although there were no manner of default in you. But, my lord, if it were in another manner of case than your own, and out of the matter which ye favour, I doubt not but that ye would think him that should have done as ye have done, not only worthy heavy words, but also heavy deeds; for where ye labour to excuse yourself of your hearing, bribing, and concealing of the maiden's false and feigned revelations, and of your manifold sending of your chaplains unto her, by a certain intent which ye pretend yourself to have had, to know by communing with her, or by sending your chaplains to her, whether her revelations were of God or no, alleging divers Scriptures that ye were bound to prove them, and to receive them after they were proved. My lord, whether ye have used a due means to try her and her revelations or no, it appeareth by the process of your own letters. For where you write that ye had conceived a great opinion of the holiness of this woman, for many considerations rehearsed in your letters, comprised in six articles; whereof the first is grounded upon the bruit and fame of her; the second, upon her entering into religion after her trances and diffiguration; the third, upon the rehearsal that her ghostly father, being learned and religious, should testify that she was a woman of great holiness; the fourth, upon the report that divers other virtuous priests, men of good learning and reputation, should so testify of her, with which ghostly father and priests ye never spake, as ye confess in your letters; the fifth, upon the praises of my late lord of Canterbury, which showed you, as ye write, that she had many great visions; the sixth, upon the saying of the prophet Amos, *Non faciet Dominus Deus Verbum, nisi revelaverit secretum suum ad servos suos Prophetas*. By which considerations ye were induced to the desire to know the very certainty of this matter, whether these revelations, which were pretended to be showed to her from God, were true revelations or not. Your lordship, in all the sequel of your letters, show not that ye made no further trial upon the truth of her and her revelations, but only in communing with her, and sending your chaplains to her with idle questions, as of the three Mary Magdalens, by which your communication and sending, ye tried out nothing of her falsehood, neither (as it is credibly supposed) intended to do as ye might have done, in anywise more easily than with communing with her, or sending to her; for little credence was to be given to her, affirming her own feigned revelations to be from God; for if credence should be given to every such lewd person as would affirm himself to have revelations from God, what readier way were there to subvert all common-weals and good orders in the world?

Verily, my lord, if ye had intended to trace out the truth of her and of her revelations, ye would have taken

another way with you; first, you would not have been converted with the vain voices of the people, making bruits of her trances and diffiguration, but like a wise, discreet, and circumspect prelate, ye should have examined (as other since) such sad and credible persons as were present at her trances and diffigurings, not one or two but a good number, by whose testimony ye should have proved whether the bruits of her trances and diffigurings were true or not. And likewise ye should have tried by what craft and persuasion she was made a religious woman; and if ye had been so desirous, as ye pretended, to inquire out the truth or falsehood of this woman and of her revelations, it is to be supposed ye would have spoken with her good, religious, and well-learned ghostly father ere this time, and also with the virtuous and well-learned priest, (as they were esteemed,) of whose reports ye would have been informed by them which heard them speak; or ye would also have been minded to see the book of her revelations which was offered you, of which ye might have had more trial of her and her revelations than of a hundred communications with her, or of as many sendings of your chaplains unto her. As for the late lord of Canterbury's saying unto you, that she had many great visions, it ought to move you never a deal to give credence unto her or her revelations; for the said lord knew no more certainty of her or of her revelations than he did by her own report. And as touching the saying of Amos the prophet, I think verily the same moved you but a little to hearken unto her; for sithence the consummation and the end of the Old Testament, and sithen the passion of Christ, God hath done many great and notable things in the world, whereof he showed nothing to his prophets that hath come to the knowledge of men. My lord, all these things moved you not to give credence unto her, but only the very matter whereupon she made her false prophecies; to which matter ye were so affected, as ye be noted to be in all matters which ye enter once into, that nothing could come amiss that made for that purpose. And here I appeal your conscience, and instantly desire you to answer, Whether if she had showed you as many revelations for the confirmation of the king's grace's marriage, which he now enjoyeth, as she did to the contrary, ye would have given as much credence to her as the same done, and would have let the trial of her and her revelations to overpass those many years, where ye dwelt not from her but twenty miles in the same shire where her trances, and diffigurings, and prophecies in her trances, were surmised and reported. And if percase, ye will say, (as it not unlike but ye will say, minded as ye were wont to be,) that the matter be not like, for the law of God, in your opinion, standeth with the one and not with the other: surely, my lord, I suppose there had been no great cause more to trust the one more than the other; for ye know by Scriptures of the Bible, that God may by his revelation dispense with his own law, as with the Israelites spoiling the Egyptians, and with Jacob to have four wives, and such other. Think you, my lord, that any indifferent man, considering the quality of the matter, and your affections, and also the negligent passing over of such lawful trials as ye might have had of the said maiden, and her revelations, is so dull, that cannot perceive and discern that your communing, and often sending to the said maid, was rather to hear and bruit many of her revelations than to try out the truth or falsehood of the same. And in this business, I suppose, it will be hard for you to purge yourself before God or the world, but that ye have been in great default in hearing, believing, and concealing such things as tended to the destruction of the prince; and

that her revelations were bent and purposed to that end, it hath been duly proved afore as great assembly and council of the lords of this realm as hath been seen many years meet out of a parliament. And what the said lords deemed them worthy to suffer, which said, heard, believed, and concealed those false revelations, be more terrible than any threats spoken by me to your brother.

And where ye go about to defend, that ye be not to be blamed for concealing the revelations concerning the king's grace, because ye thought it not necessary to rehearse them to his highness, for six causes following in your letters; afore I show you my mind concerning these causes, I suppose that albeit you perchance thought it not necessary to be showed to the prince by you, yet that your thinking shall not be your trial, but the law must define whether ye ought to utter it or not.

And as to the first of the said seven causes; Albeit she told you that she had showed her revelations concerning the king's grace to the king herself; yet her saying or others discharged not you, but that ye were bound by your fidelity, to show to the king's grace that thing which seemed to concern his grace and his reign so nighly: for how knew you that she showed these revelations to the king's grace but by her own saying, to which she should have given no such credence, as to forbear the utterance of so great matters concerning a king's weal? And why should you so sinisterly judge the prince, that if he had showed the same unto him, he would have thought that ye had brought that tale unto him, more for the strengthening and confirmation of your opinion than for anything else? Verily, my lord, whatsoever your judgment be, I see daily such benignity and excellent humanity in his grace, that I doubt not but his highness would have accepted it in good part if ye had showed the same revelations unto him, as ye were bounden by your fidelity.

To the second cause; Albeit she showed you not that any prince, or other temporal lord, should put the king's grace in danger of his crown; yet there were ways enough by which her said revelations might have put the king's grace in danger, as the aforesaid council of lords have substantially and duly considered: and therefore albeit she showed you not the means whereby the danger should ensue to the king, yet ye were nevertheless bounden to show him of the danger.

To the third; Think you, my lord, that if any person would come unto you and show you that the king's destruction were conspired against a certain time, and would fully show you that he were sent from his master to show the same to the king, and will say further unto that, he would go straight to the king; were it not yet your duty to certify the king's grace of this revelation, and also to inquire whether the said person had done his foresaid message or no? Yes verily, and so were ye bound, though the maiden showed you it was her message from God to be declared by her to the king's grace.

To the fourth; Here ye translate the temporal duty that ye owe to your prince, to the spiritual duty of such as be bound to declare the word of God to the people, and to show unto them the ill and punishment of it in another world; the concealment whereof pertaineth to the judgment of God, but the concealment of this matter pertaineth to other judges of this realm.

To the fifth; There could no blame be imputed to you, if ye had showed the maiden's revelation to the king's grace, albeit they were afterward found false, for no man ought to be blamed doing his duty: and if a man would show you secretly, that there were a great mischief intended against the prince, were ye to be blamed if ye showed him of it; albeit, it was a feigned talk, and the same mischief were never imagined.

To the sixth; Concerning an imagination of Mr. Pary, it was known that he was beside himself, and therefore they were not blamed that made no report thereof; but it was not like in this case, for ye took not this maiden for a mad woman, for if ye had, ye would not have given unto her so great credence as ye did.

To the final and seventh cause; Where ye lay unto the charge of our sovereign, that so hath unkindly entreated you with grievous words and terrible letters, for showing his grace truth in his great matter, whereby ye were discomforted to show unto him the maiden's revelations: I believe that I know the king's goodness and natural gentleness so well, that his grace would not so unkindly handle you, as your unkindly writings him, unless ye gave him other causes than be expressed in your letters. And whatsoever the king's grace hath said or written unto you heretofore, yet notwithstanding ye were nevertheless bounden to utter to him those pernicious revelations.

Finally; Where ye desire, for the passion of Christ, that ye be no more twitched in this matter, for if ye be put to that strait, ye will not lose your soul, but ye will speak as your conscience bindeth you, with many more words of great courage. My lord, if ye had taken my counsel sent unto you by your brother, and followed the same, submitting yourself by your letters, at the king's grace, for your offences in this behalf, I would have trusted that ye should never be quykkrand in this matter more. But now, where ye take upon you to defend the whole matter, as ye were in no default, I cannot so far promise you: and surely, my lord, if the matter come to trial, your own confession in this letter, besides the witness which be against you, will be sufficient to condemn you: wherefore, my lord, I will eftsoons advise you, that laying apart all such excuses as ye have alleged in your letters, which in my opinion be of small effect, as I have declared, ye beseech the king's grace by your letters to be your gracious lord, and to remit unto you your negligence, oversight, and offence committed against his highness in this behalf; and I dare undertake that his highness shall benignly accept you into his gracious favour, all matters of displeasure past afore this time forgotten and forgiven. As touching the speaking of your conscience, it is thought that ye have written and have spoken as much as ye can, and many things, as some right probably believes, against your own conscience: and men report that at the last convocation, ye spake many things which ye could not well defend; and therefore it is not greatly feared what ye can say or write in that matter, howsoever ye be quykkrane and startled. And if ye had taken, &c.

L.—A Renunciation of the Pope's Supremacy; signed by the heads of six Religious Houses.

QUM ea sit non solum Christianæ Religionis et pietatis ratio, sed nostræ etiam obedientiæ regula, ut Domino nostro Henrico ejus nominis pro Domino Regio Octavo, cui uni et soli post Christum Iesum Salvatore nostrum debentur omnia, non modo omnimodam in Christo, et eandem sinceram perpetuamque animi devotionem, fidem, observantiam, honorem, cultum, reverentiam præstemus, sed etiam de eadem fide et observantia nostra rationem quotiescunq; postulabitur reddamus, et palam omnibus si res poscat libentissime testemur: Norint universi ad quos præsens scriptum pervenit, quod nos Priores et Conventus fratrum, viz. prædicatoris Langley Regis ordinis Sancti Dominici, Minorum de Ailsbury Ordinis Sancti Francisci, prædicatorum Dunstonsiæ Ordinis ante-

dicti, Minorum de Bedford Ordinis Sancti Francisci, Fratrum Carmelitarum de Hechyng Ordinis Beatæ Mariæ, Minorum de Morea Ordinis Sancti Francisci, uno ore et voce, atque unanimi omnium et singulorum consensu et assensu, hoc scripto nostro sub sigillis nostris communibus, et in domibus nostris capitularibus dato, pro nobis et successoribus nostris omnibus singulis, in perpetuum profitemur, testamur et fideliter promittimus et spondemus, nos dictos Priores et Conventus et successores nostros, omnes et singulos, integram, inviolatam, sinceram perpetuamque fidem, observantiam et obedientiam semper præstituros erga Dominum Regem nostrum Henricum Octavum, et erga Serenissimam Reginam Annam Uxorem ejusdem, et erga castrum Sanctamque Matrimonium nuper non solum inter eosdem juste et legitime contractum, ratum et consummatum, sed etiam tam in duobus Convocationibus Cleri, quam in Parlamento Dominorum Spiritualium et Temporalium atque Communium in eodem Parlamento Congregatorum et presentium determinatum, et per Thomam Cantuarien. Episcopum solenniter confirmatum, et erga quancunque aliam ejusdem Henrici Regis nostri Uxorem post mortem prædictæ Annæ nunc Uxoris suæ legitimæ ducendam, et erga sobolem dicti Domini Regis Henrici ex prædicta Anna legitime tam progenitam quam progignendam, et erga sobolem dicti Domini Regis ex alia quacunque legitima uxore post mortem ejusdem Annæ legitime progignendam, et quod eadem populo notificabimus, prædicabimus et suadebimus, ubicunque dabitur locus et occasio. Item, quod confirmatum ratumque habemus semperque perpetuo habituri sumus, quod prædictus Rex noster Henricus est Caput Ecclesiæ Anglicanæ. Item, quod Episcopus Romanus, qui in suis Bullis Papæ nomen usurpat et summi Pontificis Principatum sibi arrogat, nihilo majoris neque Auctoritatis aut jurisdictionis habendus sit, quam cæteri quivis Episcopi in Anglia alibi in sua cujusque Diocese. Item, quod soli dicto Domino Regi et Successoribus suis adharebimus, atque ejus et Proclamationes, insuper omnes Angliæ leges atque etiam Statuta omnia, in Parlamento et per Parlamentum decreta, confirmata, stabilita et ratificata, perpetuo manutenebimus, Episcopi Romani legibus, decretis et Canonibus, si qui contra legem Divinam et Sacram Scripturam esse inveniuntur, in perpetuum renunciantes. Item, quod nullus nostrum omnium in ulla vel privata vel publica concione quicquam ex Sacris Scripturis desumptum ad alienum sensum detorquere præsumet, sed quisquis Christum ejusque vera, prædicabit Catholice et Orthodoxe. Item, quod unusquisque in suis orationibus et comprecationibus de more faciendis, primum omnium Regem, tanquam Supremum Caput Ecclesiæ Anglicanæ, Deo et populi precibus commendabit; deinde Reginam cum sua sobole, tum deum Archiepiscopum Cantuarien. cum cæteris Cleri Ordinibus, prout videbitur. Item, quod omnes et singuli prædicti Priores et Conventus et Successores nostri, Consentientes et Jurisjurandi Sacro firmiter obligamur, quod omnia et singula prædicta fideliter et in perpetuum observabimus. In cujus rei testimonium huic Instrumento, vel scripto nostro, communia sigilla nostra appendimus, et nostra nomina propria quisque manu subscripsimus, Sacris in Domibus nostris Capitularibus, die quinto Mensis Maii, Anno Christi millesimo quingentesimo trigesimo quarto, Regni vero Regis nostri Henrici Octavi vicesimo sexto.

Ego Frater Richardus Ingerth Prior Conventus, et Prædicator Langley Regis, cum consensu omnium Fratrum Conventus prædicti, non coactus sed sponte subscribo.

Ego Frater Joannes Cotton, Prior Conventus Prædicatorum Dunstabliæ, cum assensu omnium Fratrum

Conventus prædicti, non coactus sed sponte subscribo.

Ego Frater Joannes Sutler, Prior Conventus Carmelitarum Hicchiæ, cum assensu omnium Fratrum Conventus prædicti, non coactus sed sponte subscribo.

Ego Frater Edwardus Tryley Sacræ Theologiæ Baccalaureus, et Conventus Ailsberię, cum assensu omnium Fratrum Conventus prædicti, non coactus sed sponte subscribo.

Ego Frater Joannes Wyatt, Sacræ Theologiæ Doctor Conventus Bed. una cum assensu omnium Fratrum, sponte hoc scribo et non coactus.

Ego Frater Joannes Chapmanus, Sacræ Theologiæ Baccalaureus, Magister immerito Conventus Mare, cum assensu omnium Fratrum, mea sponte subscribo.

Another Declaration to the same purpose, mutatis mutandis, is made by the priores of Bedford in Kent, of the order of St. Dominic, May 4, 1534. Regn. vicessimo sexto. Rot. Clausa.

LI.—A Mandate for the Consecration of a Suffragan Bishop.

[Rot. Pat. 2, par. 27 Regni.]

REX Reverendissimo in Christo Patri et per dilecto Consiliario nostro Thomæ Cantuariensi Episcopo salutem. Reverendus Pater et dilectus Consiliarius noster Richardus Norwicensis Episcopus nobis significavit, quod Diocesis sua Episcopi Suffraganei solatio, qui suæ sollicitudinis partem sustinere consuevit, destituta est et existit; et ideo reverendos Patres Gregorium Abbatem Monasterii Beatæ Mariæ de Leystone, et Thomam Mannyng Priorem Monasterii Beatæ Mariæ de Butley, Norwicen. Dioc. Ordine Sacerdotali rite insignitos, et legitimo Matrimonio natos, et in ætate legitima constitutos, virosque in spiritualibus et temporalibus multum circumspectos, quibus de Canonici nihil obviant instituta, quo minus (ut asserunt) ad Episcopalem Suffraganei Dignitatem admitti possint et deberent, nobis per suas literas suo magno sigillo munitas præsentavit, humiliter et devote supplicans, quatenus nos alterum ipsorum sic præsentatorum ad aliquam sedem Episcopi Suffraganei infra Provinciam Cantuariensem existentem nominare, ipsique sic nominato stylum, Titulum et Dignitatem hujusmodi sedis donare dignaremur: unde nos ex gratia nostra speciali et mero motu nostris, dictum Reverendum Patrem Thomam Mannyng Priorem Monasterii Beatæ Mariæ de Butley prædicti, alterum ex dictis, Præsentamus in Episcopum Suffraganeum Sedis Gips vici Norwicen. Diocesis. antedictæ, nominamus, eique Stilum, Titulum et Dignitatem ejusdem Sedis Episcopi Suffraganei damus et conferimus. Atque hæc vobis tenore præsentamus, significamus, requirentes vos, quatenus eundem Patrem sic per nos nominatum, in Episcopum Suffraganeum ejusdem Sedis Gips vici consecratis, eique Benedictionem ac omnia Episcopalia Insignia conferatis; cæteraque omnia et singula quæ vestro in hac parte incumbunt officio pastoralis, juxta modum et formam Statuti Parlamenti in vicesimo sexto Anno Regni nostri apud Westmonasterium nuper editi peragetis.

T. R. apud Westm. 6. die Martii 27. Regn.

AD LIBRUM TERTIUM.

I.—Instructions for the General Visitation of the Monasteries.

[Cotton. Libr. Cleop. E. 4.]

Articuli Regiæ Inquisitionis, in Monasticam vitam agentes, exponendi, et præcipue in exemptos a jurisdictione Diocæsana, jam tantum Regiæ Majestati et ejus jurisdictioni subditos et subjectos, ac hujus inelyti sui Regni Statutis et legibus, nullisq; aliis penitus, obnoxios et astrictos.

1. *In primis*, Whether divine service be solemnly sung, said, observed, and kept, in this monastery, according to the number and the abilities thereof, by night and by day, in due time and hours? and how many be present commonly at mattins, and other service, and who be absent, and so accustomed to be, without cause or sickness?

2. *Item*, How many monks, canons regulars, or nuns, be within this monastery, and how many there ought to be, and whether the number be complete according to the founder's will, or the statutes, ordinances, and laudable custom of this house; and whether the number be augmented or diminished now of late?

3. *Item*, Who were the first founders of this house?

Foundationem primam, secundam, tertiam, et quotquot habent, exhibeant.

4. *Item*, Whether this house hath had any increase of lands given to it sithence the first foundation thereof? by whom? by how many? and when?

5. *Item*, To what sum of money those revenues and rents of this house do extend and amount unto yearly.

6. *Item*, Whether this house was ever translated from one habit and order to another? by whose authority? and for what cause?

Translationem exhibeant.

7. *Item*, How the lands and possessions appertaining unto this monastery, given by the first founder, and all other lands given sithence the first foundation, were granted, given, and established, and so first brought to *morte main*? whether by the only authority of the giver, or by the authorization of the prince for that time reigning, and by what tenor and form ye hold them?

Donationem et Confirmationem exhibeant.

8. *Item*, What evidence have you to show for all and singular your lands, manors, tenements, and other your possessions mortisate, and given unto you, and this your monastery?

9. *Item*, Wherefore, for what causes and considerations ye were exempt from your diocesan? and what was your suggestion and motive at the obtaining of your said exemption?

Exemptionem exhibeant.

10. *Item*, Whether ye have any private, peculiar, or local statutes, confirmations, ordinances, or rules, made only for the behoof, good order, and singular weal of this house, besides the rules of your profession? and whether they were made either by your founders before your exemption, or by the good fathers of this house, with the whole consent of the brethren, being sinneth your exemption; to what use they were made, and how ye observe them?

Statuta illa localia, et alia quotquot habent, exhibeant.

11. *Item*, By what way and form the master of this house was elected and chosen? And whether all the brethren having, or ought to have by the law, statutes, or laudable custom of this house, voices in the election, were present in the same election, or lawfully called or cited to it?

12. *Item*, Whether any persons excommunicate, suspended, or interdicted, did give voices in the same election?

13. *Item*, Within what time after the election was made and done, the master of this house was confirmed? and by whom?

14. *Item*, Whether unto the confirmation, all that had interest, or that would object against the same, were lawfully cited, monished, and called?

Exhibeat Electionem, Confirmationem, et Titulum suæ Incumbentie.

15. *Item*, What rule the master of this house, and other the brethren, do profess?

16. *Item*, How many be professed, and how many be novices; and whether the novices have like habit, or use to wear an habit distinct from the habit of the brethren professed?

17. *Item*, Whether ye do use to profess your novices in due time, and within what time and space after they have taken the habit upon them?

18. *Item*, Whether the brethren of this house do know the rule that they have professed, and whether they keep their profession according to that their rule and custom of this house; and in especial, the three substantial and principal vows, that is to say, *poverty, chastity, and obedience*?

19. *Item*, Whether any of the brethren use any propriety of money or of plate in their chambers; or of any other manner thing unwarre of the master, and without his knowledge and license, or by his sufferance and knowledge? and for what cause?

20. *Item*, Whether ye do keep chastity, not using the company of any suspect woman within this monastery, or without? And whether the master, or any brother of this house, be suspected upon incontinency, or defamed for that he is much conversant with women?

21. *Item*, Whether women useth and resorteth much to this monastery by back ways or otherwise? and whether they be accustomedly or at any time lodged within the precinct thereof?

22. *Item*, Whether the master, or any brother of this house, useth to have any boys or young men laying with him?

23. *Item*, Whether the brethren of this house keep their obedience, being ready at their master's commandment, in all things honest, lawful, and reasonable?

Sequuntur Regula Cæremoniales.

24. *Item*, Whether ye do keep silence in the church, cloister, frairy, and dormitory, at the hours and time specified in your rule?

25. *Item*, Whether ye do keep fasting and abstinence, according to your rules, statutes, ordinances, and laudable customs of this house?

26. *Item*, Whether ye abstain from flesh in time of Advent, and other times declared and specified by the law, rules, and laudable customs of this house?

27. *Item*, Whether ye wear shirts and sheets of woollen, or that ye have any constitution, ordinance, or dispensation, granted or made to the contrary, by sufficient and lawful authority?

Proflantes Regulam Benedicti quam arctissime tenentur ad prædicta Cæremonialia observanda.

28. *Item*, Whether ye do sleep altogether in the dormitory, under one roof, or not?

29. *Item*, Whether ye have all separate beds, or any one of you doth lay with another?

30. *Item*, Whether ye do keep the frairy at meals, so that two parts, or the least, the two part of the whole covent be always there, unless the master at every one time dispense with you to the contrary?

31. *Item*, Whether ye do wear your religious habit

continually, and never leave it off but when ye go to bed?

32. *Item*, Whether every brethren of this house have lightly departed hence, and hath gone to any other house of like order and profession, without special letters and license of their master?

33. *Item*, Whether the master and brethren of this house have received and admitted any brother of another house, without special license and letters of his master and head?

34. *Item*, Whether any of you, sithence the time of your profession, hath gone out of this house to his friends, or otherwise?

35. *Item*, How oftimes he did so, and how long at every time ye tarried forth?

36. *Item*, Whether ye had special license of your master so to go forth, or not?

37. *Item*, Whether at every time of your being forth, ye changed or left off your habit, or every part thereof?

38. *Item*, Whether ye, or any of you be, or hath been, in manifest apostacy, that is to say, fugitives or vagabonds?

39. *Item*, For what cause or occasion ye have so gone forth and been in apostacy? and whether the cause of your going forth was by reason of the great cruelty of your master, or by his negligence, not calling you home to your cloister?

40. *Item*, Whether ye be weekly shaven, and do not nourish or suffer your hair to be long? and whether ye wear your apparel according to the rule, not too excessive nor too exquisite; and in likewise the trappos of your horses, and other your bearing beasts?

41. *Item*, Whether the master and head of this house do use his brethren charitably, without partiality, malice, envy, grudge, or displeasure, more showed to one than to another?

42. *Item*, Whether he do use his disciplines, corrections, and punishments upon his brethren, with mercy, pity, and charity, without cruelty, rigorousness, and enormous hurt, no more favouring one than another?

43. *Item*, Whether any brother, or religious person of this house, be incorrigible?

44. *Item*, Whether the master of this house do use his brethren charitably when they be sick and diseased? and whether in time of their sickness he do procure unto them physicians, and all other necessities?

45. *Item*, Whether he make his accmpts (as he ought to do) once every year before his brethren, and chiefly the seniors and officers, to the intent they may be made privy to the state and condition of the house, and know perfectly the due administration thereof?

46. *Item*, Whether the prior, subprior, sellarar, kitchener, terrure, sacristen, or any such like officer, having administration of every manner revenues of this house, do make his whole and true accmpt, according as he is bound to do, not applying anything by him received to his own proper use or commodity?

47. *Item*, Whether any religious person of this house do bear, occupy, or exercise more offices than one, for, and to his own singular commodity, advantage, or profit, by the partial dealing of the master?

48. *Item*, Whether all and singular the revenues and profits of this house be converted and employed to the behove and use thereof, and of the brethren, and according to the founder's mind and giver?

49. *Item*, Whether the master do make sufficient reparations upon his monastery, as the church and all other housing thereto adjoined, and also upon all other the lands, granges, farms, and tenements belonging to the same; and whether he suffer any dilapidation, decay, or ruin in any part of them?

50. *Item*, Whether there be any inventory made of

all and singular the moveables, goods, which from time to time have been, and yet be in this house, as of jewels, reliques, ornaments, vestiments, ready money, plate, bedding, with other utensils; also of corn, chattels, and other commodities, to the intent the state and condition of this house may be always known?

51. *Item*, That ye express truly and sincerely the whole state and condition of this house, as in money, plate, cattle, corn, and other goods?

52. *Item*, Whether this monastery be indebted? to whom? and for what cause?

53. *Item*, Whether any of the lands be sold, or mortgaged? and for what sums?

54. *Item*, Whether any be let to farm by the master of this house for term of years, and for how many years? and specially, whether they be letten for small sums, or for less sums than they were wont to be letten for, to the intent to have great sums of ready money beforehand?

55. *Item*, Whether he do enforce, compel or constrain his brethren, or any of them, to consent to the sealing of any leases, grants, farm-holds, annuities, corrodies, or any other alienations?

56. *Item*, Whether the plate and jewels, or any part or parcel thereof, or of any other moveable goods of this house be laid to pledge, sold, or alienated for a time, or for ever? for what cause, and to whom? or otherwise embezzled, or consumed?

57. *Item*, Whether the master of this house be wont to give under his seal or office, or convent-seal, farms, corrodies, annuities, or offices, to his kinsfolk, allies, friends, or acquaintance, for term of years, or otherwise, to the hurt, hindrance, damage, and impoverishment of this house?

58. *Item*, Whether he be wont to grant any patent, or convent-seal, without the consent of his brethren?

59. *Item*, Whether the convent-seal of this house be surely and safely kept under three keys; that is to say, one remaining and being in the custody of the master, and the other two in the custody of two seniors?

60. *Item*, Whether the muniments and evidences of the lands, rents, and revenues of this house, be safely kept from vermin and moistness?

61. *Item*, Whether the master do keep hospitality according to the ability of his house, and in like manner as other fathers hereof have done heretofore?

62. *Item*, Whether the master of this house in receiving any novice, being of willing and toward mind to enter into religion, hath demanded or received, or consented to receive any money, rewards, or any other temporal commodities of him so entering, or willing to enter, or of any other his friends? and whether for not promising, granting, or giving such rewards or gifts, any hath been repelled and not received?

63. *Item*, Whether the novices, and other received into religion, have a preceptor and master deputed unto them to teach them grammar and good letters?

64. *Item*, Whether any senior of this house be deputed to declare, inform, and instruct them their rules, and whereunto they shall be bounden to observe and keep after their profession?

65. *Item*, Whether any of you have taken upon him the habit and profession of your religion, chiefly for the intent, hope, or trust to be made head and master of this house?

66. *Item*, Whether the master of this house, in giving any advocacy, nomination, presentation, or collation of any parsonage, vicarage, chapel, or benefice of the patronage and gift of this house, do take or use to take any manner pension, portion, or other commodity or gains; or else doth make any convention or compac-

behalf?

67. *Item*, Whether he do receive, or use to receive, the fruits and revenues of every such benefice vacant, or use to borrow any money of him to whom he intendeth to give such benefice unto, expressly covenanting or intending, that he so obtaining the said benefice shall freely and clearly remit the said money so borrowed?

68. *Item*, What and how many benefices the master of this house doth occupy and keep in his own hands?

69. *Item*, Whether the same benefices be appropriate and united to this house by sufficient authority?

70. *Item*, Whether the master of this house doth make distributions amongst the parishioners of the benefices appropriate, and doth keep and observe all and singular other provisions and ordinances specified and expressed in the appropriations of the same benefices?

Exhibeant omnes et singulas Appropriationes, unam cum Ordinationibus et Donationibus Vicariatuum.

71. *Item*, Whether he do promote unto such benefices as be of his gift sufficient and able persons in learning, manners, and virtue?

72. *Item*, Whether any brother of this house do serve any parish-church, being appropriate and united to the same, and how many churches appropriate to be so served?

73. *Item*, Whether the master of this house hath and possesseth any benefice with cure, or any other dignity with his abbey?

Si aliquod tale habet, Dispensationem exhibeat.

74. *Item*, Whether the master of this house at any time since he was first made abbot, or master, did know or believe that he was suspended, or excommunicate, either by the law, or by any judge; and whether he knowing or supposing himself so to be, did sing mass in the mean time, and before he was absolved?

In Visitatione Monialium ad Præmissa addantur hæc.

75. *Item*, Whether this monastery hath good and sufficient enclosure, and whether the doors and windows be diligently kept shut, so that no man can have any entry into the same or any part thereof at inconvenient times?

Propter quod necessarium erit Visitatori circumire Monasterium, ac videre et rhinare dispositionem ædificiorum, et an sint aliqua loca periculi per quæ secreta intrari possit; et una secum habeat Abbatissam cum duabus aut tribus senioribus Monialibus, a quibus tum interroget, an ostia Monasterii singulis quibusque noctibus sub clavibus clausa teneantur, et quæ carum Monialium senio confectarum, vel an Abbas ipsa clarum custodiam tempore nocturno habeant et teneant: nam non est tutum clavium custodiam Junioribus committere.

76. *Item*, Whether strangers, both men and women, useth commonly to have communication with the sisters of this house, without license of the abbess or prioress, specially in secret places, and in the absence of their sisters?

77. *Item*, Whether any sister of this house were professed for any manner of compulsion of her friends and kinsfolks, or by the abbess or prioress?

78. *Item*, Whether any of the sisters of this house useth to go forth any whither out of the precinct thereof, without special license of their abbess or prioress?

79. *Item*, Whether any sister doth use her habit continually out of her cell?

80. *Item*, Whether every one of you occupieth herself, beside the time of divine service?

81. *Item*, Whether any sister of this house hath

lay-men, being not near or kin unto them?

82. *Item*, Whether any sister of this house hath been taken and found with any such accustomedly so communing, and could not shew any reasonable cause why they so did?

83. *Item*, Whether any of you doth use to write any letters of love or lascivious fashion to any person, or receive any such, or have any privy messengers coming and resorting unto you, or any of you, with token or gifts, from any manner secular person or other?

84. *Item*, Whether any of you doth use to speak with any manner of person, by night or by day, by grates or back windows, or other privy places within this monastery, without license of your head?

85. *Item*, Whether the confessor of this house be a discreet man, of good learning, virtue and honest behaviour, of good name and fame, and whether he hath been always so taken?

86. *Item*, How oft times in the year the sisters of this house useth to be confessed and communicate?

Restat pro Ecclesiis Collegiatis, Hospitalibus, Ecclesiis Cathedralibus, Parochialibus, Ecclesiis, Episcopo, et Archiepiscopo, pro ordine Jerusalemitarum?

Exhibeant omnia scripta, monumenta, Inventaria, Seculas quasque, unde aliquid cognitionis eorum reformationi Monasteriorum, sive domorum utilitati, necessariae explicari, aut quoque modo colligi possit.

II.—General Injunctions to be given on the King's Highness's behalf, in all Monasteries and other Houses, of whatsoever order or religion they be.

[Cotton. Libr. Cleop. E. 4.]

FIRST; That the abbot, prior, or president, and all other brethren of the place that is visited, shall faithfully, truly, and heartily keep and observe, and cause teach, and procure to be kept and observed of other, as much as in them may lie, all and singular contents, as well in the oath of the king's highness' succession, given heretofore by them, as in a certain profession lately sealed with the common seal, and subscribed and signed with their own hands: also that they shall observe and fulfil, by all the means that they best may, the statutes of this realm, made, or to be made, for the suppression and taking away of the usurped and pretended jurisdiction of the bishop of Rome within this realm: and for the assertion and confirmation of the authority, jurisdiction, and prerogative of our most noble sovereign lord the king, and his successors; and that they shall diligently instruct their juniors and youngers, and all other committed to their cure, that the king's power is by the laws of God most excellent of all under God in earth; and that we ought to obey him afore all other powers, by God's prescript; and that the bishop of Rome's jurisdiction or authority heretofore usurped by no means is founded or established by Holy Scripture: but that the same, partly by the craft and deceit of the same bishop of Rome, and by his evil and ambitious canons and decretals; and partly by the toleration and permission of princes, by little and little hath grown up; and therefore now, of most right and equity, is taken away and clean expelled out of his realm.

Also, that the abbot, prior, or president and brethren may be declared, by the king's supreme power and authority ecclesiastical, to be absolved and loosed from all manner obedience, oath, and profession by them heretofore perchance promised, or made, to the said bishop of Rome, or to any other in his stead, or occupying his authority; or to any other foreign

prince, or person : and nevertheless let it be enjoined to them, that they shall not promise or give such oath or profession to any such foreign potentate hereafter. And if the statutes of the said order religious, or place, seem to bind them to obedience, or subjection, or any other recognizance of superiority to the said bishop of Rome, or to any other foreign power, potentate, person or place, by any ways ; such statutes, by the king's grace's visitors, be utterly annihilate, broken, and declared void and of none effect ; and that they be in no case bounden or obligate to the same, and such statutes to be forthwith utterly put forth and abolished out of the books or muniments of that religion, order or place, by the president and his brethren.

Also, that no monk, or brother of this monastery, by any means go forth of the precinct of the same.

Also, that women, of what state or degree soever they be, be utterly excluded from entering into the limits or circuits of this monastery, or place, unless they first obtain license of the king's highness, or his visitor.

Also, that there be no entering into this monastery but one, and that by the great fore-gate of the same, which diligently shall be watched and kept by some porter specially appointed for that purpose, and shall be shut and opened by the same both day and night, at convenient and accustomed hours ; which porter shall repel all manner women from entrance into the said monastery.

Also, that all and singular brethren, and monks of this monastery, take their refectiions altogether in a place called the Misericorde, such days as they eat flesh, and all other days in their refectory ; and that at every mess there sit four of them, not of duty demanding to them any certain, usual, or accustomed duty or portion of meat as they were wont to do ; but that they be content with such victuals as is set before them, and there take their refectiions soberly, without excess, with giving due thanks to God ; and that at every such refectiion, some chapter of the New Testament, or Old, by some of the said brethren, be read and recited to the other, keeping silence, and giving audience to the same.

Also, that the abbot and president do daily prepare one table for himself and his guests thither resorting, and that not over-sumptuous, and full of delicate and strange dishes, but honestly furnished with common meats ; at which table, the said abbot, or some senior in his stead, shall sit to receive, and gently entertain the strangers, the guests.

Also, that none of the brethren send any part of his meat, or the leavings thereof, to any person, but that there be assigned an almoner, which shall gather the leavings, both of the convent and strangers' tables, after that the servants of the house have had their convenient refectiions, and distribute the same to poor people ; amongst whom special consideration be had of such, before other, as be kinsfolk to any of the said brethren, if they be of like power and debility as other be ; and also of those which endeavour themselves, with all their will and labour, to get their living with their hands, and yet cannot fully help themselves for their chargeable household, and multitude of children : yet let not them be so cherished, that they shall leave labour and fall to idleness ; with consideration also specially to be had of them, which by weakness of their limbs and body be so impotent that they cannot labour ; and by no means let such alms be given to valiant mighty and idle beggars and vagabonds, as commonly use to resort about such places ; which rather, as drove-beasts and mychers, should be driven away and compelled to labour, than in their idleness

and lewdness, against the form of the king's grace's statute in this behalf made, cherished, and maintained, to the great hindrance and damage of the common-weal.

Also, that all other almses or destributions due, or accustomed to be made, by reason of the foundation, statutes, or customes of this place, be made and given, as largely and as liberally as ever they were at any time heretofore.

Also, that the abbot, prior, or president, shall find wood and fewel sufficient to make fire in the refectory, from Allhallow-even to Good-Friday.

Also, that all the brethren of this house, except the abbot and such as be sick, or evil at ease, and those that have fulfilled their jubilee, lie together in the dormitory, every one by himself in several beds.

Also, that no brother, or monk, of this house, have any child or boy laying, or privily accompanying with him, or otherwise haunting unto him, other than to help him to mass.

Also, that the brethren of this house, when they be sick, or evil at ease, be seen unto, and be kept in the infirmary duly, as well for their sustenance of meat and drink, as for their good keeping.

Also, that the abbot, or president, keep and find in some university, one or two of his brothers, according to the ability and possessions of this house ; which brethren, after they be learned in good and holy letters, when they return home, may instruct and teach their brethren, and diligently preach the word of God.

Also, that every day, by the space of one hour, a lesson of Holy Scripture be kept in this convent, to which all, under pain by this said president to be moderated, shall resort ; which president shall have authority to dispense with them, that they, with a low and treatable voice, say their long hours, which were wont to be sung.

Also, that the brethren of this house, after divine service done, read or hear somewhat of Holy Scripture, or occupy themselves in some such like honest and laudable exercise.

Also, that all and every brethren of this house, shall observe the rule, statutes, and laudable customs of this religion, as far as they do agree with Holy Scripture and the Word of God. And that the abbot, prior, or president of this monastery, every day shall expound to his brethren, as plainly as may be, in English, a certain part of the rule that they have professed, and apply the same always to the doctrine of Christ, and not contrariwise ; and he shall teach them, that the said rule, and other their principles of religion (so far as they be laudable) be taken out of Holy Scripture ; and he shall show them the places from whence they were derived ; and that their ceremonies, and other observances of religion, be none other things than as the first letters or principles, and certain introductions to true Christianity, or to observe an order in the church. And that true religion is not contained in apparel, manner of going, shaven heads, and such other marks ; nor in silence, fasting, up-rising in the night, singing, and such other kind of ceremonies, but in cleanness of mind, pureness of living, Christ's faith not feigned, and brotherly charity, and true honouring of God in spirit and verity : And that those above said things were instituted and begun, that they being first exercised in these, in process of time might ascend to those as by certain steps, that is to say, to the chief point and end of religion : and therefore let them be diligently exhorted, that they do not continually stick and surcease in such ceremonies and observances, as though they had perfectly fulfilled the chief and utmost of the whole true religion ; but

that when they have once passed such things, they endeavour themselves to higher things, and convert their minds from such external matters, to more inward and deeper considerations, as the law of God and Christian religion doth teach and show. And that they assure not themselves of any reward or commodity anywise, by reason of such ceremonies and observances, except they refer all such to Christ, and for his sake observe them; and for that they might thereby the more easily keep such things as he hath commanded, as well to them as to all Christian people.

Also, that the abbot and president of this place shall make a full and true reckoning and account of his administration every year to his brethren, as well of his receipts as expences; and that the said account be written in a great book remaining with the convent.

Also, that the abbot and president of this house shall make no waste of the woods pertaining to this house, nor shall set out unadvisedly any farmes or reversions, without the consent of the more part of the convent.

Also, that there be assigned a book and a register that may copy out into that book all such writings, word by word, as shall pass under the convent-seal of this house.

Also, that no man be suffered to profess or to wear the habit of religion in this house ere he be twenty-four years of age complete; and that they entice nor allure no man with suasions and blandiments to take the religion upon him.

Item, that they shall not show no reliques, or feigned miracles, for increase of lucre; but that they exhort pilgrims and strangers to give that to the poor, that they thought to offer to their images or reliques.

Also, that they shall suffer no fairs or markets to be kept or used within the limits of this house.

Also, that every brother of this house that is a priest, shall, every day in his mass, pray for the most happy and most prosperous estate of our sovereign lord the king, and his most noble and lawful wife queen Anne.

Also, that if either the master, or any brother of this house, do infringe any of the said injunctions, any of them shall denounce the same, or procure to be denounced, as soon as may be, to the king's majesty, or to his visitor-general, or his deputy. And the abbot, or master, shall minister spending-money and other necessities, for the way to him that shall so denounce.

Other spiritual injunctions may be added by the visitor, as the place and nature of the comperts shall require, after his discretion.

Reserving power to give more injunctions, and to examine and discuss the comperts, to punish and reform them that be convict of any notable crime, to search and try the foundations, charters, donations, appropriations, and muniments of the said places; and to dispose all such papistical escripts as shall be there found, to the right honourable Mr. Thomas Cromwell, general visitor to the king's said highness, as shall seem most expedient to his high wisdom and discretion.

III.—Some Particulars relating to the Dissolution of Monasteries.

Sect. I.—The Preamble of the Surrender of the Monastery of Langden.

OMNIBUS Christi fidelibus, &c. Willielmus Dyer, Abbas Monasterii Beatæ Mariæ Virginis et S. Thomæ Martyris de Langden, in Com. Kent, et ejusdem loci Conventus, Ordinis Præmonstrat. capitulum dictæ domus plene facientes, ejusdemq; domus (quæ in suis fructibus, redditibus, provenien. even. et emolumen. non mediocriter deteriorata est, et quasi in totum

diminuta, ingentiq; ære alieno obruta, oppressa, et gravata extitit) statum usq; adeo matura deliberatione, et diligenti tractatu, considerantes, ponderantes, et pensantes, quod nisi celeri remedio, regia provisione huic monasterio sive Prioratui (quippe quod de ejus fundatione et personatu existit) brevi succurratur et provideatur, funditus in spiritualibus et temporalibus annihilaretur, per præsentés damus et concedimus, &c.

The rest follows in the ordinary form of law: but the ordinary preamble in most surrenders is,

Om nibus Christi fidelibus, &c. Nos—Salutem. Scia-tis quod nos, deliberate, certa scientia, et mero motu, nostris, ex quibusdam causis, justis, et rationabilibus, nos, animas et conscientias nostras, specialiter moven-tibus, ultro et sponte dedisse et concessisse, Domino Regi, &c.

But it seems some few houses, though they were prevailed with to surrender, yet would not do it with such a preamble; for there are about twenty surrenders without any preamble at all, made to John London, clerk, ad usum Domini Regis.

Sect. II.—A List of Religious Houses, which, by the King's Letters Patents, were of new founded and preserved from the Dissolution of Lesser Monasteries.

[Anno Regni 28.]

Aug. 17. St. Mary of Betlesden, Buckinghamshire, Cistercians.

St. Mary of Huntington, Augustians.

Chertsey, Cambridgeshire, Benedict. nuns.

St. Mary in Winton, Southamptonshire, Benedict. nuns.

Grace-dieu, Leicestershire, August. nuns.

27. St. Michael, Hull, Yorkshire, Carthusians.

28. St. Clare of Denby, Cambridgeshire, nuns.

Sept. 2. Kymme, Lincolnshire, Augustin.

9. St. Ann, Marrick, Yorkshire, Benedict. nuns.

Nov. 16. St. Mary of Bindon, Dorsetshire, Cistercians.

16. St. Mary Harpa, Westm. Præmonstrat.

27. St. Mary of Hynnings, Lincolnshire, Cister-cian nuns.

Dec. 13. St. Mary de-la-Pray, Northamptonsh. nuns.

14. St. Mary of Kelling, Yorkshire, nuns.

19. St. Mary of Cockersand, Lancash. Præmon-strat. nuns.

Jan. 2. De-la-val, Yorkshire, Carthus.

2. St. Mary Newstead, Nottinghamsh. August. nuns.

27. Wormsley, Herefordsh. August.

30. St. Mary of Aluwick, Northumb. Præmonst.

30. Bellalanda, Yorksh. Cisterc.

30. St. John Bapt. Egglestone, Yorksh.

30. St. Mary de Nith, Glamorgansh. Cisterc.

30. St. Mary Ulnestock, Leicestersh.

30. St. Mary of Dale, Derbysh. August.

30. St. Katharine of Polesloo, Devonshire, Benc-dict. nuns.

30. St. Mary Lacock, Wiltsh. August. nuns.

30. St. Mary Chester, nuns.

30. St. Mary of Studley, Oxfordsh. nuns.

Feb. 12. St. Mary of Canon Leigh, Devonsh. nuns

Mar. 5. Cockhill, Worcestersh. August. nuns.

30. St. Bartholomew, Newcastle, nuns.

Apr. St. Mary of Wallingwells, Yorksh.

The grants for these houses are all in the twenty-eighth year of the king, to be held in perpetuum elemosynam, and are enrolled in the first, second, third, fourth, and fifth parts of the Patent Rolls for that year.

Sect. III.—A List of all the Surrenders of Abbies, which are yet extant in the Augmentation Office.

Regni 27.

Nov. 13. Langden, Præmonst. signed by the abbot and 10 monks, com. Kent.

15. Folkeston, Benedict. the prior, Kent.
 16. Dover, the prior, 8 monks, Kent.
 Feb. 9. Merten, August. the prior, and 5 friers, Yorksh.
 23. Hornby, Premonst. the prior and 2 monks.
 28. Tilty, Cisterc. the abbot and 5 monks, Essex.
 21. Bilsington, the prior and 2 monks, Kent.

These are all enrolled Rot. Claus. Part 1st.

Regni 28.

- Apr. 9. Furnesse, the abbot and 30 monks, Lancashire.
 June 1. Bermondsey, the abb. Surrey.
 July 5. Bushlissam, Bp. of St. David's, Commendator, Berk.

The originals of these two last are lost, but enrolled Rot. Claus. part 2d. Regni. 28.

Regni 29.

- May 10. Lanthony, August. the prior and 21 monks, Gloucestersh.
 29. Abbingdon, Bened. the abbot and 25 monks, Berksh.
 June 10. Charterhouse, the prior, London.
 July 6. Chertsey, the abbot and 14 monks.
 Dec. 4. Wardon, Cisterc. the abbot and 14 monks, Bedfordsh.
 5. St. Austin's Canterbury, the abbey seal.
 Jan. 14. Westacre, August. the prior and 8 monks, Norfolk.
 Feb. 1. Kingswood, Cisterc. Gloucestersh. the abbot and 13 monks.
 5. Coxhall, Cisterc. the abbot, Essex.
 Mar. 2. St. Andrew, Bened. Northampton, the prior and 12 friars.
 6. Holmcultrin, the abbot and 25 monks, Cumberland.
 .. Butley, August. the Commend. and 8 monks, Suffolk.
 8. Stradford-Langthorn, Cisterc. the abbot and 14 monks, Essex.
 Apr. 7. Southwick, August. Hampsh.
 14. Kennelworth, Bened. the prior and 16 monks, Warwicksh.
 16. Merton, August. the abbot and 14 monks, Surrey.
 16. Pont-Robert, Cisterc. the abbot and 8 monks, Sussex.
 17. Belloloco, Cisterc. the abbot and 19 monks, Hampshire.

Besides these, the following Surrenders are enrolled :

- Nov. 16. Lewes, Cluniac, Sussex, the prior.
 22. Castle-Acre, Cluniac, Norfolk, the prior.
 Dec. 18. Titchfield, Præmonst. the Commend. Southamptonsh.
 Jan. 3. Muchelling, Bened. Sommersetsh. the abbot.
 26. Boxley, Cisterc. Kent, the abbot.
 Mar. 22. Walden, Bened. Essex, the Bpp. Suffr. of Colchester, Commend.

Almost all these Abbies were above the value of two hundred pound, so that they were not within the Statute for suppressing the lesser Abbies, but the Abbots were prevailed on by other motives to surrender their houses to the king.

Regni 30.

- May 27. Batle, Bened. Sussex, the abbot and 16 monks.
 June 14. Thurgarton, August. Yorksh. the prior and 8 frat.
 19. Bushlissam, Bened. Berksh. the abbot and 15 monks.

- June 23. Axiholm, Carthus. Lincolnsh. the prior and 8 monks.

23. Rupa, Cisterc. Yorksh. the abbot and 17 monks.

20. Walbeck, Præmonst. Nottingsh. the abbot and 18 monks.

- July 11. Huntingdon Canons, Aug. the prior and 8 can.

14. Lincoln, Gilbertines, the prior and 15 monks.

8. Feversham, Cluniac. Kent, the abbot and 8 monks.

17. Bordesley, Cisterc. Worcestersh. the abbot and 19 monks.

27. Cumbermore, August. Chesh. the abbot.

30. St. Austin's, Canterb. Bened. the abbot and 30 monks.

- Aug. 25. St. James, Northamptonsh. Bened. the abbot elect and 5 monks.

- Sep. 1. Fordham, Gilbertines, Cambridgesh. the prior and 3 frat.

3. Chateras, black nuns, Cambridgesh. the abbess and 10 nuns.

7. Val-royal, Chesh. the abbot and 14 monks.

8. Croxton, Præmonst. Leicestersh. the abbot and 22 monks.

9. Haughmond, Canons, Shropsh. the abbot and 10 monks.

14. Tudbury, Bened. Staffordsh. the prior and 8 monks.

16. De-la-pray, no subscriptions, only the common seal.

16. Rostiter, August. Staffordsh. the abbot and 8 monks.

17. Crockesden, Cisterc. Staffordsh. the abbot and 12 monks.

18. Hilton, Cisterc. Staffordsh. the abbot and 8 monks.

18. Semperingham *, Gilbertines, the prior and 8 monks.

20. Sulby, Præmonst. Northamptonsh. the abbot and 11 mon.

24. Haberholm, Gilb. Lincolnsh. the prior and 6 canons.

25. Betlesden, Cisterc. Bedfordsh. abbot and 11 monks.

25. Cately, Gilb. Lincolnsh. the prior.

26. Bolington, Gilb. Lincolnsh. the prior and 9 monks.

26. Thelsford, the Holy Trinity, Warwicksh. prior and 3 monks.

27. Sixhill, Gilb. Lincolnsh. the Commend. and 8 monks.

27. Thetford, August. Norfolk, the prior.

29. Alvinghame, Gilb. Lincolnsh. the prior and 27 monks.

30. Ormesby, Gilb. the prior and 6 frat.

- Linn { Carmelites, } the prior and 10 frat.

30. Linn { Dominicans, } the prior and 11 frat.

- Linn { August. } the prior and 14 frat.

- Oct. 1. Linn, Francisc. the Warden and frat.

1. Ailesbury, Francisc. Buckinghamsh. the warden and 6 frat.

1. Coventry, Carm. Warwicksh. the prior and 13 frat.

2. Newstead Gilb. the prior and 5 monks.

3. Mattersey, Gilb. the prior and 4 monks.

5. Coventry, Franc. warden and 10 frat.

5. Marmond, Cannons, Cambridgesh. the prior and 1 monk.

* In the houses of this order there were cloisters for both sexes. St. Gilbert L. of Semperingham founded it; the Bpp. of Landaff was at this time Commendator of the whole order.

- Oct. 6. Stamford, August. Lincolnsh. the prior and 5 frat.
 7. Stamford, Dominic. the prior and 9 frat.
 9. Grinsbey, Francisc. Lincolnsh. the prior and 5 frat.
 13. Miravel, Cisterc. Warwicksh. the abbot and 9 monks.
 15. Shouldham, Gilb. Norfolk, the prior, 9 monks, 7 nuns.
 16. Braywood, Black-Nuns, Staffordsh. the prioress.
 16. Lilleshull, August. Shropsh. the abbot and 10 monks.
 16. Stafford, August. the prior and 5 monks.
 16. Northampton, Dominic. the prior and 7 frat.
 17. Northallerton, Carmel, Yorksh. the prior and 9 frat.
 20. Warwick, Dominic. the prior and 6 frat.
 20. Northampton, Carmel. the prior and 8 frat.
 20. Weatheral, Dominic. Cumberland, the prior.
 22. Chicksand, Gilb. Bedfordsh. the prior, 6 monks, 18 nuns.
 22. Darley, August. Derbysh. the abbot and 13 monks.
 24. Dale, Premonst. Derbysh. the abbot and 16 monks.
 25. Repton, August. Derbysh. the subprior and 8 monks.
 27. Grace-Dieu, August. Nuns, Leicestersh. the prioress.
 28. Northampton, Francisc. the warden and 10 frat.
 28. Northampton, August. the prior and 9 frat.
 29. Mallen Nuns, Kent, the abbess and 10 nuns.
- Nov. 1. Bardeny, Bened. Lincolnsh. the abbot and 13 monks.
 8. Barnwell, August. Can. Cambridgsh. the prior and 6 monks.
 10. Leicester, Francis. the warden and 7 frat.
 10. Dominic. the prior.
 10. August. the prior.
 10. London, Dominic. the Bp. of Rochest. Commend. and 15 frat.
 12. August. the prior and 12 frat.
 12. Francis. the warden and 25 frat.
 13. Cross-Friars, 6 frat.
 13. Doncaster, Carm. Yorksh. the prior and 6 friars.
 14. Werksop, August. Nottingsh. the prior and 15 friars.
 15. Pipewell, Lincolnsh. the abbot and 13 monks.
 18. Wigemore, Herefordsh. the Commend. and 10 friars.
 18. York, August. the prior and 7 friars.
 20. Doncaster, Francisc. Guardian, 6 friars, 3 novices.
 21. Monkbreton, Bened. Yorksh. the prior and 13 monks.
 25. St. Helens London, a Nunnery, no hands, only the seal.
 26. Pomfret, Dominic. Yorksh. the prior, 7 friars, 1 novice.
 27. York, Carmel. the prior, 9 friars, 3 novices.
 27. Francisc. the Guardian, 15 friars, 5 novices.
 27. Dominic. the prior, 6 friars, 4 novices.
 28. Gilbertines, the prior, 3 monks.
 28. August. the prior, 9 friars, 4 novices.
 30. Bellalanda, Cisterc. Yorksh. the abbot and 24 monks.
 30. Dunnington, the Order of the Trinity, Berksh. the minister.
- Dec. 3. Ryeval, Cisterc. Yorksh. the abbot and 23 monks.
 5. St. Albans, Bened. Herfordsh. the abbot and 37 monks.
 4. Ansham, Bened. Oxfordsh. the prior and 8 monks.
 8. Kirkham, August. Yorksh. the prior and 17 friars.
 9. Notely—Yorksh. the abbot and 17 monks.
 11. Ellerton, Gilber. Yorksh. the prior and 4 friars.
 York, the II. Trin. the minister and 10 priests.
 Yarom, Dominic. the prior, and 5 friars, 6 novices.
- Jan. 3. Darby, Dominic. the prior and 5 friars.
 6. Semperingham, Gilber. the Commend. and 3 monks.
 9. Newcastle, Francisc. the warden, with 8 friars, and 2 novices.
 9. Newcastle, August.
 10. Newcastle, Dominic. the prior, and 12 friars.
 10. Newcastle, Carmel. the prior, 7 friars, and 2 novices.
 10. Walknell, Newcastle, II. Trin. the prior.
 12. Tinnmouth, Bened. Northumberl. prior, 15 prebend. 3 Nov.
 15. Warwick, Bened. the prior and 12 monks.
 16. Coventry, Carthus. the prior, and 7 monks.
 17. York, August. the prior, and 17 fellows.
 18. Brednestock, Wiltsh. the prior, and 13 monks.
 19. Richmond, Yorksh. Francis. the prior and 14 friars.
 21. Lacock, Wiltsh. Nunnery, the abbess.
 21. Come, Warwicksh. Cisterc. the quondam abbot, 13 monks.
 23. Kenisham, Somersetsh. August. the abbot and 10 monks.
 29. Bolton, Yorksh. August. the prior and 14 friars.
 29. Cockersand, Lanksh. Premons. the abbot and 22 monks.
 31. Pollsworth, Warwicksh. Nunnery, no hands, only the seal.
- Feb. 5. Nottingham, Carmel. the prior and 6 friars.
 5. Francisc. the prior and 7 friars.
 8. Athelny, Somersetsh. Bened. the abbot and 8 monks.
 10. Taunton, Somersetsh. August. the prior and 12 monks.
 10. Buckland, Somersetsh. Nunnery, the prioress.
 12. Dunkeswell, Somersetsh. Cisterc.
 14. Polleslow, Devonsh. Nunnery, the prioress.
 15. Witham, Somersetsh. Carthus. the prior and 12 monks.
 19. Busham, Devonsh.
 19. Cannonleigh, Devonsh. Nunnery, no hands but the seal.
 21. Hartland, Devonsh. August. the abbot and 4 monks.
 23. Torry, Premonst. Devonsh. the abbot and 15 monks.
 24. Launceston, Cornwall, August. the prior and 8 monks.
 25. Buckfast, Devonsh. Cister. the abbot, with 10 monks.
 27. Buckland, Devonsh. Cister. the abbot.
 27. Bodmyn, Cornwall, August. the prior and 8 monks.
 28. Edingdon, Wiltsh. August. the rector and 12 monks.

- Mar. 1. Plimptone, Canons, August. Devonsh. the prior and 18 monks.
 2. St. Germans, Can. August, Cornwall, the prior and 7 monks.
 8. Ford, Cister. Devon. the abbot and 13 monks.
 11. Middleton, Bened. Devonsh. abbot and bp. Suff. of Shaft. 12 monks.
 12. Abbotsbury, Bened. Dorsetsh. the prior and 10 monks.
 13. Tarent, Nunnery, Dorsetsh. the abbess and 18 nuns.
 14. Bindon, Cisterc. Dorsetsh. the abbot and 7 monks.
 15. Cerne, Bened. Dorsetsh. the abbot and 16 monks.
 18. Sherburne, Bened. Dorsetsh. the abbot and 16 monks.
 20. Montecute, Cluniac. Sommer.sh. the abbot and 13 monks.
 20. Tavenstock, Bened. Sommer.sh. the abbot and 20 monks.
 23. Shaftsbury Nunnery, Dorsetsh. the abbess.
 25. Willton Nunnery, Wiltsh. the abbess.
 31. Hinton, Carthus. Somersetsh. the prior and 19 monks.
- April 1. Brutton Cannons-August. Somer.sh. the abbot and 14 monks.
 Hide, Bened. Hampsh. Bp. Bangor Commend. and Mon. in April, but no date.
Without date there are four.
 Franciscans Cambr. the guardian and 23 frat.
 Dominicans Cambr. the prior and 15 fr.
 Thetford Dominic. the prior.
 Sancta Maria de Pratis, the abbot and 19 monks.
- Hospitals resigned this year.*
- July 25. St. Thomas Southwark, the master and one brother.
- Feb. 3. St. John Wells, the master and 3 brothers.
 3. Bridgwater, the master and 7 brothers.
 20. St. John Exon, the master and 2 brothers.
- All the former resignations have the Covent Seals put to them, except those of some few Houses of Begging Friars, which perhaps had no Seals; they are also enrolled in the 1st, 2d, 3d and 5th Claus. Rolls of that year. There are likewise some few more enrolled, of which the Originals are lost, which follow.*
- June 9. Hales-Owen, Premonst. Sallop. the abbot.
 Aug. 22. Clattercott. Gilbert. the prior.
 Oct. 3. Bedford, Francis. the warden.
 8. Stamford, Francis. the warden.
 20. Derleyghs, Cisterc. Staffordsh. the abbot.
 Nov. 5. Pipeldeth, Cisterc. Northam.sh. the abbot.
 Dec. 16. De-la-pray Nunnery, Northam.sh. the abbess.
 20. Northallerton. Carmel. Yorksh. the prior.
 Jan. 16. Pulton Gilbert. the prior.
 22. Newburg, August. Yorksh.
 27. Bath Cathedral, Bened.
- Feb. 17. Brusyard Nunnery, Suffolk, the abbess.
 Mar. 8. Newham, Cisterc. Devonsh. the abbot.
- Here follow the Resignations made in the 31 year of the King's Reign, of which the Originals are yet extant.*
- July 6. Kimme Can. August. Lincolnsh. the prior and 9 monks.
 8. Bevoll Carthus. Notting.sh. the prior and 7 monks.
 9. Irthforth Nunnery, Lincolnsh. the prioress and 17 nuns.
 11. Nuncotton Nunnery, Yorksh. without subscriptions.
 11. Hynings Nunnery, Lincolnsh. no subscriptions.
- July 11. Fosse Nunnery, Lincolnsh. the prioress.
 21. Newstead Premonst. Notting.sh. the prior and 11 monks.
 28. St. Osith. Can. August. Essex. the abbot and 16 monks.
- Aug. 26. Elistu Nunnery, Bedfordsh. the abbess.
 31. Hamond, a commission to the Bp. of Chester to take the surrender of it.
- Sep. 3. Swine Nunnery, Yorksh. no subscriptions.
 9. Haughmond Can. August. Sallop. the abbot and 10 monks.
 10. Nunnkeling Nunnery, Yorksh. no subscription but the seal.
 12. Nunniton Nunnery, the prioress, 27 crosses for subscript.
 15. Ulnescroft, Leicestersh. the prior and 11 friars.
 15. Marrick Nunnery, Yorksh. the prioress.
 19. Burnham Nunnery, Bucks, the abbess and 9 nuns.
- Oct. 25. St. Bartholomew Smithfield, the prior.
- Nov. 4. Edmundsbury Bened. Suffolk, the abbot and 44 monks.
 7. A commission for the surrender of St. All-borough, Chesh.
 14. Berkin Nunnery, Essex, the abbess.
 16. Tame, Oxfordsh. Bp. * Reonen. and 16 monks.
 17. Osney, *ibid. id.* and 12 monks.
 17. Godstow Nunnery, Oxfordsh. subscribed by a notary.
 19. Studley Nunnery, Oxfordsh. signed as the former.
- Feb. 16. Thelsford, Norfolk, the prior and 13 monks.
- Jan. 16. Westminster Bened. the abbot and 27 monks.
 20. A commission to the archbp. of Canterb. for taking the surrender of Christ's-church Canterb.
 20. And another for the surrender of Rochester, both dated.
 23. Waltham Benedict. Essex, the abbot and 17 monks.
 St. Mary Watte, Gilber. Bpp. of Landaffe Commend. 8 friars and 14 nuns.
- There is also in the Augmentation-Office, a Book concerning the Resignations and Suppressions of the following Monasteries.*
- Nov. 15. St. Swithins Winchester.
 17. St. Mary Winchester.
 21. Wherewell, Hampshire.
 28. Christ's church, Twinham, the commendator thereof is called *Episcopus Neopolitanus*.
- Dec. 3. Winchelcomb.
 4. Ambrose Bury.
 9. St. Austins, near Bristol.
 9. Billesswick, near Bristol.
 15. Malmesbury.
 19. Cirencester.
 24. Hales.
- Jan. 2. St. Peter's, Gloucester.
 9. Teuksbury.
- There are also several other Decds enrolled, which follow.*
- Oct. 14. St. Mary-Overhay, in Southwark.
- Nov. 9. St. Michael, near Kingston upon Hull, Carthus.
 14. Burton upon Trent. Staffordsh.
 19. Hampol Nunnery, Yorksh.
 20. St. Oswald, Yorksh.
 22. Kirkstall, Yorksh.
 23. Pomfret, Yorksh.
 24. Kirkelles, Yorksh.
 26. Ardyngton, Yorksh.

* Perhaps Roanen. King, Abbot of Osney, had the title *Episcopus Roanensis*.—STURGE'S CORRECTIONS.

- Nov. 26. Fountains, Yorksh.
 29. St. Mary York.
 Dec. 1. St. Leonard York.
 5. Nunnapeleton Nunnery, Yorksh.
 6. St. Gelmans Selbe, Yorksh.
 11. Melsey, Yorksh.
 11. Malton, Yorksh.
 14. Whitby, Yorksh.
 18. Albalanda, Northumb.
 18. Montgrasse Carthus. Yorksh.
 22. Alnewick Premonstrat. Northumb.
 22. Gisburne August. Yorksh.
 29. Newshame, Dunelme.
 31. St. Cuthberts Cathedral of Duresme.
 Jan. 3. St. Bartholomew Nunnery, in Newcastle.
 5. Egleliston, Richmondsh.
 9. St. Mary Carlile, Cumber.
 14. Hoppa Premonst. Westmorland.
 20. St. Werburg, Chester.
 21. St. Mary Chester, a Nunnery.
 24. St. Peters Shrewsbury.
 26. St. Milburg Winlock, Salop.

Sect. IV.

It seems there was generally a confession made with the surrender : of these some few are yet extant, though undoubtedly great care was taken to destroy as many as could be in queen Mary's time. That long and full one made by the prior of St. Andrews in Northampton, the preamble whereof is printed by Fuller, and is at large printed by Weaver, is yet preserved in the Augmentation-office. There are some few more also extant : six of these I have seen, one of them follows :—

Forasmuch as we Richard Green, abbot of our monastery of our blessed Lady St. Mary of Betlesden, and the convent of the said monastery, do profoundly consider, That the whole manner and trade of living, which we and our pretended religion have practised, and used many days, does most principally consist in certain dumb ceremonies, and other certain constitutions of the bishops of Rome, and other forinsecal potentates, as the abbot of Cistins, and therein only nosed, and not taught in the true knowledge of God's laws, procuring always exemptions of the bishops of Rome from our ordinaries and diocesans : submitting ourselves principally to forinsecal potentates and powers, which never came here to reform such disorders of living and abuses, as now have been found to have reigned amongst us. And therefore now assuredly knowing, that the most perfect way of living is most principally and sufficiently declared unto us by our master Christ, his evangelists and apostles, and that it is most expedient for us to be governed and ordered by our Supreme Head, under God, the king's most noble grace, with our mutual assent and consent, submit ourselves, and every one of us, to the most benign mercy of the king's majesty ; and by these presents do surrender, &c.

The Surrender follows in common form, signed by the Abbot, Sub-prior, and 9 Monks, 25 Septemb. Regni 30.

There are others to the same purpose signed by the guardian and seven Franciscans at Alisbury, the 1st of October. By the Franciscans at Bedford the 3d of October. The Franciscans in Coventry the 5th of October. And the Franciscans in Stamford the 8th of October. And the Carmelites in Stamford on the same day, which I shall also insert, the former four agreeing to it.

Forasmuch as we the prior and friars of this house of Carmelites in Stamford, commonly called the white friars in Stamford, in the county of Lincoln, do profoundly consider that the perfection of Christian living doth not consist in some ceremonies, wearing of a white coat, disguising ourselves after strango fashions, dockying and beeking, wearing scapulars and hoods, and other like papistical ceremonies, wherein we have

been most principally practised and nosed in times past ; but the very true way to please God, and to live a true Christian man, without all hypocrisy and feigned dissimulation, is sincerely declared to us by our master Christ, his evangelists, and apostles : being minded hereafter to follow the same, conforming ourself to the will and pleasure of our Supreme Head, under God, on earth, the king's majesty ; and not to follow henceforth the superstitious traditions of any forinsecal potentate or power, with mutual assent and consent, do submit ourselves unto the mercy of our said sovereign lord, and with the like mutual assent and consent do surrender, &c. Signed by the prior and 6 friers.

Sect. V.—Of the manner of suppressing the Monasteries after they were surrendered.

THE reader will best understand this by the following account of the suppression of the monastery of Tewksbury, copied from a book that is in the Augmentation-office, which begins thus :—

The certificate of Robert Southwell, esquire, William Petre, Edward Kairne, and John London, doctors of law ; John Aprice, John Kingsman, Richard Paulet, and William Bernars, esquires, commissioners assigned by the king's majesty, to take the surrenders of divers monasteries, by force of his grace's commission to them, 6, 5, 4, or 3 of them, in that behalf directed ; bearing date at his highness's palace of Westminster, the 7th day of November in the 31 year of the reign of our most dread sovereign lord Henry VIII, by the grace of God, king of England, and of France, defender of the faith, lord of Ireland, and in earth immediately under Christ supreme head of the church of England, of all and singular their proceedings, as well in and of these monasteries by his majesty appointed to be altered, as of others to be dissolved, according to the tenour, purport, and effect of his grace's said commission ; with instructions to them likewise delivered, as hereafter ensueth.

COM. GLOCESTER.

Tewksbury late Monastery.

Surrendered to the use of the king's majesty, and of his heirs and successors for ever made ; bearing date under the covent-seal of the same late monastery, the 9th day of January, in the thirty-first year of the reign of our most dread victorious sovereign lord, king Henry VIII. : and the said day and year clearly dissolved and suppressed.

The clear yearly value of all the Possessions belonging to said late Monastery.

As well spiritual as temporal, over and besides 13*l.* 8*s.* 1*d.* in fees, annuities and custodies, granted to divers persons by letters patents under the covent-seal of the said late monastery

	£	s.	d.
for the term of their lives	1595	15	6

Pensions assigned to the late Religious dispatched : that is to say, to

	£	s.	d.
John Witch late abbot there	266	13	4
John Beley late prior there	16	0	0
J. Bromesgrove late prior of Delehurst	13	6	8
Robert Cirester prior of St. James	13	6	8
Will. Didcote prior of Cranborne	10	0	0
Robert Cheltenham B. D.	10	0	0
Two monks 8 <i>l.</i> a piece	16	0	0
One monk	7	0	0
27 monks 6 <i>l.</i> 13 <i>s.</i> 4 <i>d.</i> each	180	0	0
	751	6	8

And so remains clear

f 2

1014 8 10

Records and Evidences belonging to the late Monastery.

Remains in the treasury there under the custody of John Whittington, knight, the keys whereof being delivered to Richard Paulet, receiver.

Houses and Buildings assigned to remain undefaced.

The lodging called the Newark, leading from the gate to the late abbot's lodging, with buttery, pantry, cellar, kitchen, larder, and pastry thereto adjoining. The late abbot's lodging, the hostery, the great gate entering into the court, with the lodging over the same; the abbot's stable, bakehouse, brewhouse and slaughterhouse, the almshouse, barn, dairyhouse, the great barn next Aven, the maltinghouse, with the garners in the same, the oxhouse in the Barton, the Barton-gate, and the lodging over the same.

Committed to the custody of John Whittington, knight.

Deemed to be superfluous.

The church, with chapels, cloister, chapter-house, misericord, the two dormitories, the infirmary, with chapels and lodgings within the same; the work-hay, with another house adjoining to the same, the convent-kitchen, the library, the old hostery, the chamberers lodging, the new-hall, the old parlour adjoining to the abbot's lodging; the cellarers lodging, the poultry-house, the gardener, the almshouse, and all other houses and lodgings not above reserved.

Committed as abovesaid.

Leads remaining upon.

The quire, iles, and chapels annex the cloister chapter-houser, frater, Saint Michaels chappel, halls, fermory, and gate-house, esteemed to . . . 180 foder.

Bells remaining.

In the steeple there are eight poize by estimation . . . 14600 weight.

Jewels reserved to the use of the King's Majesty.

Miters garnished with gilt, rugged pearls, and counterfeit stones . . . 2

Plate of silver reserved to the same use.

Silver gilt 329 oz.—silver parrel gilt 605—silver white 497—1431 oz.

Ornaments reserved to the said use.

One cope of silver tissue, with one clesible, and one tunicle of the same; one cope of gold tissue, with one cles. and two tunicles of the same.

Sum of all the Ornaments, Goods, and Chattels belonging to the said late Monastery.

Sold by the said commissioners, as in a particular book of sales thereof made ready to be shewed, as more at large may appear . . . £194 8s. 0d.

Payments to the late Religious and Servants dispatcht.

To 38 late religious persons of the said late monastery of the king's mat. reward	£.	s.	d.
	80	13	4

To an 144 late servants of the said late monastery, for their wages and liveries	75	10	0
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Payments for Debts owing by the said late Monastery.

To divers persons for victuals and necessities of them had to the use of the said monastery, with 10 <i>l.</i> paid to the late abbot there, for and in full payment of 124 <i>l.</i> 5 <i>s.</i> 4 <i>d.</i> by him to be paid to certain creditors of the said late monastery, by covenants made with the aforesaid commissioners	18	12	0
	174	15	4

And so remains clear

19 12 8

Then follows a List of some small Debts owing to and by the said Monastery.

Then follows a List of the Livings in their Gift.

Com. Glocest. Four parsonages and ten vicarages.
Com. Wigorn. Two parsonages and two vicarages.
Com. Warwic. Two parsonages.
Com. Will. Bristol. Five parsonages and one vicarage.
Com. Wilts. Two vicarages.
Com. Oxon. One parsonage and two vicarages.
Com. Dors. Four parsonages and two vicarages.
Com. Sommers. Three parsonages.
Com. Devon. One vicarage.
Com. Corub. Two vicarages.
Com. Glamorg. and Morgan. Five vicarages.

In all twenty-one parsonages and twenty-seven vicarages.

IV.—*Queen Ann Boleyn's last Letter to King Henry.*

[Cotton. Libr. Otho. C. 10.]

SIR,

Your grace's displeasure, and my imprisonment, are things so strange unto me, as what to write, or what to excuse, I am altogether ignorant. Whereas you send unto me (willing me to confess a truth, and so obtain your favour) by such an one whom you know to be mine ancient professed enemy. I no sooner received this message by him, than I rightly conceived your meaning; and if, as you say, confessing a truth indeed may procure my safety, I shall with all willingness and duty perform your command.

But let not your grace ever imagine that your poor wife will ever be brought to acknowledge a fault, where not so much as a thought thereof preceded. And to speak a truth, never prince had wife more loyal in all duty, and in all true affection, than you have ever found in Ann Boleyn, with which name and place I could willingly have contented myself, if God, and your grace's pleasure had been so pleased. Neither did I at any time so far forget myself in my exaltation, or received queenship, but that I always looked for such an alteration as now I find; for the ground of my preferment being on no surer foundation than your grace's fancy, the least alteration, I knew, was fit and sufficient to draw that fancy to some other subject. You have chosen me, from a low estate, to be your queen and companion, far beyond my desert or desire. If then you found me worthy of such honour, good your grace let not any light fancy, or bad counsel of mine enemies, withdraw your princely favour from me; neither let that stain, that unworthy stain of a disloyal heart towards your good grace, ever cast so foul a blot on your most dutiful wife and the infant-princess your daughter: try me, good king, but let me have a lawful trial, and let not my sworn enemies sit as my accusers and judges; yea, let me receive an open trial, for my truth shall fear no open shame; then shall you see, either mine innocence cleared, your suspicion and conscience satisfied, the ignominy and slander of the world stopped, or my guilt openly declared. So that whatsoever God or you may determine of me, your grace may be freed from an open censure; and mine offence being so lawfully proved, your grace is at liberty, both before God and man, not only to execute worthy punishment on me as an unlawful wife, but to follow your affection, already settled, on that party, for whose sake I am now as I am, whose name I could some good while since have pointed unto: your grace being not ignorant of my suspicion therein.

But if you have already determined of me, and that not only my death, but an infamous slander must bring you the enjoying of your desired happiness; then I desire of God, that he will pardon your great sin therein

and likewise mine enemies, the instruments thereof; and that he will not call you to a strict account for your unprincipally and cruel usage of me, at his general judgment-seat, where both you and myself must shortly appear, and in whose judgment I doubt not (whatsoever the world may think of me) mine innocence shall be openly known, and sufficiently cleared.

My last and only request shall be, that myself may only bear the burden of your grace's displeasure, and that it may not touch the innocent souls of those poor gentlemen, who (as I understand) are likewise in strait imprisonment for my sake. If ever I have found favour in your sight, if ever the name of Ann Boleyn hath been pleasing in your ears, then let me obtain this request; and I will so leave to trouble your grace any further, with mine earnest prayers to the Trinity to have your grace in his good keeping, and to direct you in all your actions. From my doleful prison in the Tower this 6th of May,

Your most loyal and ever faithful wife,

ANN BOLEYN.

V.—*The Judgment of the Convocation concerning General-Councils. Published by the L. Herbert from the Original.*

As concerning general councils, like as we (taught by long experience) do perfectly know that there never was, nor is, anything devised, invented, or instituted by our forefathers more expedient or more necessary for the establishment of our faith, for the extirpation of heresies, and the abolishing of sects and schisms; and finally, for the reducing of Christ's people unto one perfect unity and concord in his religion, than by the having of general councils. So that the same be lawfully had and congregated in *Spiritu Sancto*, and be also conform and agreeable, as well concerning the surety and indifferency of the places, as all other points requisite and necessary for the same, unto that wholesome and godly institution and usage, for the which they were at first devised and used in the primitive church. Even so on the other side, taught by like experience, we esteem, repute, and judge, that there is, ne can be, anything in the world more pestilent and pernicious to the common-weal of Christendom, or whereby the truth of God's word hath in times past, or hereafter may be sooner defaced or subverted, or whereof hath and may ensue more contention, more discord and other devilish effects, than when such general councils have or shall be assembled, not christianly nor charitably, but for and upon private malice and ambition, or other worldly and carnal respects and considerations, according to the saying of Gregory Nazianzenus, in his epistle to one Procopius, wherein he writeth this sentence following; *Sic sentio, si verum scribendum est, omnes Conventus Episcoporum fugiendos esse, quia nullius Synodi finem vidi bonum, neque habentem magis solutionem malorum, quam incrementum: Nam cupiditates contentionum, et gloria (sed ne putes me odiosum ista scribentem) vincunt rationem.* That is to say, "I think this, if I should write truly, that all general councils be to be eschewed, for I never saw that they produced any good end or effect, nor that any provision or remedy, but rather increase of mischiefs proceeded of them. For the desire of maintenance of men's opinions and ambition of glory (but reckon not that I write this of malice) hath always in them overcome reason." Wherefore we think that Christian princes, especially and above all things, ought and must, with all their wills, power, and diligence, foresee and provide; *Ne Sanctissima hac in parte majorum Instituta, ad improbißimos ambitionis aut malitiæ effectus explendos,*

diversissimo suo fine et scleratisimo pervertantur: Neve ad alium prætextum possint valere, et longe diversum effectum orbi producere quam Sanctissima rei facies præ se ferat. That is to say, "Lest the most noble wholesome institutions of our elders in this behalf be perverted to a most contrary and most wicked end and effect; that is to say, to fulfil and satisfy the wicked affections of men's ambition and malice; or, lest they might prevail for any other colour, or bring forth any other effect than their most virtuous and laudable countenance doth outwardly to the world show or pretend." And first of all, we think that they ought principally to consider who hath the authority to call together a general council. Secondly, whether the causes alleged be so weighty and so urgent, that necessarily they require a general council, nor can otherwise be remedied. Thirdly, who ought to be judges in the general council. Fourthly, what order of proceeding is to be observed in the same, and how the opinions or judgments of the fathers are to be consulted or asked. Fifthly, what doctrines are to be allowed or defended, with divers other things which in general councils ought of reason and equity to be observed. And as unto the first point, we think that neither the bishop of Rome, nor any one prince, of what estate, degree, or pre-eminence soever he be, may by his own authority, call, indict, or summon any general council without the express consent, assent, and agreement of the residue of Christian princes, and especially such as have within their own realms and seigniories, *Imperium merum*, that is to say, of such as have the whole, entire, and supreme government and authority over all their subjects, without knowledging or recognising of any other supreme power or authority. And this to be true, we be induced to think, by many and sundry, as well examples as great reasons and authority. The which, forasmuch as it should be over-long and tedious to express here particularly, we have thought good to omit the same for this present. And in witness that this is our plain and determinate sentence, opinion, and judgment, touching the premises, we the prelates and clergy under-written, being congregated together in the convocation of the province of Canterbury, and representing the whole clergy of the same, have to these presents subscribed our names the 20th of July, in the year of our Lord 1536, 28 Hen. 8.

Signed by THOMAS CROMWEL, THOMAS CANTUARIENSIS, JOHANNES LONDON, with thirteen bishops and of abbots, priors, archdeacons, deans, proctors, clerks, and other ministers, forty-nine.

There were then but seventeen bishops in the province of Canterbury, and Rochester being vacant of the other sixteen, fourteen did sign this.

VI.—*Instructions for the King's Commissioners, for a new Survey and an Inventory to be made of all the Demesnes, Lands, Goods, and Chattels, appertaining to any House of Religion of Monks, Canons, and Nuns, within their Commission, according to the Articles hereafter following. The number of which Houses in every County limited in their Commission, being annexed to the said Commission. An Original.*

[Ex MSS. Nob. D. G. Pierpoint.]

HENRY R.

FIRST, After the division made, one auditor, one particular receiver, one clerk of the register of the last visitation, with three other discreet persons to be named by the king in every county where any such houses be; after their repair to such house, shall declare to the governor and religious persons of the same

the statute of dissolution, the commission, and the cause and purpose of their repair for that time.

Item, That after the declaration made, the said commissioners shall swear the governors of the houses, or such other the officers of the same house, or other, as ye shall think can best declare the state and plight of the same, to make declaration and answer to the articles there under-written.

Item, Of what order, rule, or religion, the same house is, and whether it be a cell or not; and if it be a cell, then the commissioners to deliver to the governors of the house a privy seal, and also to enjoin him, in the king's name, under a great pain, to appear without delay before the chancellor of the augmentations of the revenues of the king's crown and the council; and in the mean time not to meddle with the same cell, till the king's pleasure be further known.

Item, What number of persons of religion be in the same, and the conversation of their lives, and how many of them be priests, and how many of them will go to other houses of that religion; or how many will take capacities; and how many servants or linds the same house keepeth commonly, and what other persons have their living in the same house.

Item, To survey the quantity or value of the lead and bells of the same house, as near as they can, with the ruin, decay, state, and plight of the same.

Item, Incontinently to call for the covent-seal, with all writings and charters, evidences and muniments, concerning any of the possessions to be delivered to them, and put the same in sure keeping, and to take a just inventory betwixt them and the governor, or other head officer, by indenture, of the ornaments, plate, jewels, chattels, ready money, stuff of household, coin, as well signed as not signed, stock and store in the farmer's hands, and the value thereof, as near as they can, which were appertaining to the same houses the first day of March last past; and what debts the house doth owe, and to what person; and what debts be owing to them, and by whom.

Item, After, to cause the covent, or common-seal, the plate, jewels, and ready money, to be put in safe keeping, and the residue of the particulars specified in the inventory, to be left in the keeping of the governor or some other head officer, without wasting or consumption of the same, unless it be for necessary expense of the house.

Item, That they command the governor, or other receiver of the same house, to receive no rents of their farms until they know further of the king's pleasure, except such rents as must needs be had for their necessary food or sustenance, or for payment of their servants' wages.

Item, To survey discreetly the demesnes of the same house; that is to say, such as have not been commonly used to be letten out, and to certify the clear yearly value thereof.

Item, To examine the true yearly value of all the farms of the same house, deducting thereof rents reserved, pensions and portions paid out of the same, syndals, and proxies; bailiffs, receivers, stewards, and auditors' fees, and the names of them to whom they be paid and due, and to none other.

Item, What leases hath been made to any farmer, of the farms pertaining to the same house; and what rent they reserved, and to whom, and for how many years, and a copy of the indenture if they can get it, or else the counterpane.

Item, To search and inquire what woods, parks, forests, commons, or other profit belonging to any of the possessions of the same houses, the number of the acres, the age and value, as near as they can.

Item, What grants, bargains, sales, gifts, aliena-

tions, leases of any lands, tenements, woods, or offices, hath been made by any the said governors, of any of the said houses, within one year next before the 4th day of February last past, and of what things, or to what value, and to whom, and for what estate.

Item, If there be any house of the religion aforesaid omitted and not certified in the exchequer, then the said commissioners to survey the same, and to make certificate accordingly.

Item, That they straitly command every governor of every such house limited in their commission, to sow and till their grounds as they have done before, till the king's pleasure be further known.

Item, If there be any house given by the king to any person, in any of the said several limits of the said commission, the names whereof shall be declared to the said commissioners, then the said commissioners shall immediately take the covent from the governor, and take an inventory indented of the lead, bells, debts, goods, chattels, plate, jewels, ornaments, stock and store, to the king's use; and to make sale of the goods, chattels, and other implements, plate and jewels only excepted.

Item, The said commissioners in every such house, to send such of the religious persons that will remain in the same religion, to some other great house of that religion, by their discretion, with a letter to a governor for the receipt of them; and the residue of them that will go to the world, to send them to my lord of Canterbury and the lord chancellor for their capacities, with the letter of the same commissioners.

Item, The said commissioners to give the said persons that will have capacities, some reasonable rewards, according to the distance of the place, by their discretions to be appointed.

Item, The said commissioners to command the governor to resort to the chancellor of the augmentation for his yearly stipend and pension.

Item, If there be any house dissolved or given up to the king by their deed, then the commissioners shall order themselves in every point and purpose, as the houses given by the king to any other person in form aforesaid.

Item, Every of the said commissioners having in charge to survey more than one shire within the limits of their commission, immediately after they have perused one shire, parcel of their charge, in form aforesaid, shall send to the chancellor of the court for the augmentation of the revenues of the king's crown, a brief certificate of all these comperts, according to the instructions aforesaid, what they have done in the premises, and in every county so surveyed, then to proceed further to another county; and so as they pass the said counties to make like certificate, and so forth, till their limits be surveyed, and there to remain till they know further of the king's pleasure.

Item, If the said commissioners have but one county in charge, then to certify the said chancellor in form aforesaid, and there to remain till they know further of the king's pleasure.

VII.—*Injunctions given by the Authority of the King's Highness to the Clergy of this Realm.*

[Register, Craunm. fol. 47.]

In the name of God, amen. In the year of our Lord God one thousand five hundred thirty-six, and of the most noble reign of our sovereign lord, Henry the Eighth, king of England and France, the twenty-eighth year, and the day of I Thomas Cromwell knight, lord Cromwell, keeper of the privy seal of our said sovereign lord the king, and vicegerent unto the

PART I.—BOOK III.

same, for and concerning all his jurisdictions ecclesiastical within the realm, visiting by the king's highness's supreme authority ecclesiastical, the people and clergy of this deanery of _____ by my trusty commissary

lawfully deputed and constitute for this part, have, to the glory of Almighty God, to the king's highness's honour, the public weal of this his realm, and increase of virtue in the same, appointed and assigned these injunctions ensuing to be kept and observed, of the dean, parsons, vicars, curates, and stipendiaries, resiant or having cure of soul, or any other spiritual administrations within this deanery, under the pains hereafter limited and appointed.

The first is, that the dean, parsons, vicars, and other, having cure of soul anywhere within this deanery, shall faithfully keep and observe, and, as far as in them may lie, shall cause to be observed and kept of other, all and singular laws and statutes of this realm, made for the abolishing and extirpation of the bishop of Rome's pretended and usurped power and jurisdiction within this realm. And for the establishment and confirmation of the king's authority and jurisdiction of the same, as of the supreme head of the church of England; and shall, to the uttermost of their wit, knowledge, and learning, purely, sincerely, and without any colour or dissimulation, declare, manifest, and open, for the space of one quarter of a year next ensuing once every Sunday, and after that at the leastwise twice every quarter, in their sermons and other collations, that the bishop of Rome's usurped power and jurisdiction, having no establishment nor ground by the law of God, was of most just causes taken away and abolished; and therefore they owe unto him no manner of obedience or subjection; and that the king's power is within his dominion the highest power and potentate, under God, to whom all men within the same dominions, by God's commandment, owe most loyalty and obedience, afore and above all other powers and potentates in earth.

Item, Whereas certain articles were lately devised and put forth by the king's highness's authority, and condescended upon by the prelates and clergy of this his realm in convocation, whereof part are necessary to be holden and believed for our salvation, and the other part do concern and teach certain laudable ceremonies, rites, and usages of the church, meet and convenient to be kept and used for a decent and politic order in the same; the said dean, parsons, vicars, and other curates, shall so open and declare in their said sermons, and other collations, the said articles unto them that be under their cure, that they may plainly know and discern which of them be necessary to be believed and observed for their salvation, and which be not necessary, but only do concern the decent and politic order of the said church: according to such commandment and admonition as hath been given unto them heretofore, by authority of the king's highness in that behalf.

Moreover, that they shall declare unto all such as be under their cure, the articles likewise devised, put forth, and authorised of late, for and concerning the abrogation of certain superfluous holy-days, according to the effect and purport of the same articles: and persuade their parishioners to keep and observe the same inviolable, as things honestly provided, decreed, and established, by common consent and public authority, for the weal, commodity, and profit of all this realm.

Besides this, to the intent that all superstition and hypocrisy crept into divers men's hearts may vanish away, they shall not set forth or extol any images, relics, or miracles, for any superstition or lucre; nor allure the people by any enticements to the pilgrimages of any

saint otherwise than is permitted in the articles lately put forth by the authority of the king's majesty, and condescended upon by the prelates and clergy of this his realm in convocation; as though it were proper or peculiar to that saint to give this commodity or that: seeing all goodness, health, and grace, ought to be both asked and looked for only of God, as of the very author of the same, and of none other, for without him it cannot be given: but they shall exhort, as well their parishioners as other pilgrims, that they do rather apply themselves to the keeping of God's commandments, and fulfilling of his works of charity; persuading them that they shall please God more by the true exercising of their bodily labour, travail, or occupation, and providing for their families, than if they went about to the said pilgrimages; and that it shall profit more their souls' health if they do bestow that on the poor and needy which they would have bestowed upon the said images or relics.

Also in the same their sermons and other collations, the parsons, vicars, and other curates, aforesaid, shall diligently admonish the fathers and mothers, masters and governors of youth, being within their cure, to teach or cause to be taught their children and servants, even from their infancy, their *pater noster*, the articles of our faith, and the ten commandments, in their mother tongue: and the same so taught, shall cause the said youth oft to repeat and understand. And to the intent that this may be the more easily done, the said curates shall in their sermons deliberately and plainly recite of the said *pater noster* the articles of our faith, and the ten commandments, one clause or article one day, and another another day, till those be taught and learned by little; and shall deliver the same in writing, or show where printed books containing the same be to be sold to them that can read or will desire the same. And thereto that the said fathers and mothers, masters and governors, do bestow their children and servants, even from their childhood, either to learning or some other honest exercise, occupation, or husbandry: exhorting, counselling, and by all the ways and means they may, as well in their said sermons and collations as otherwise, persuading the said fathers, mothers, masters, and other governors, being under their cure and charge, diligently to provide and foresee that the said youth be in no manner-wise kept or brought up in idleness, lest at any time afterwards they be driven, for lack of some mystery or occupation to live by, to fall to begging, stealing, or some other unthriftiness; forasmuch as we may daily see, through sloth and idleness, divers valiant men fall, some to begging, and some to theft and murder; which, after brought to calamity and misery, impute a great part thereof to their friends and governors which suffered them to be brought up so idly in their youth; where if they had been well educated and brought up in some good literature, occupation, or mystery, they should, being rulers of their own family, have profited as well themselves as divers other persons, to the great commodity and ornament of the common-weal.

Also, that the said parsons, vicars, and other curates, shall diligently provide that the sacraments and sacramentals be duly and reverently ministered in their parishes; and if at any time it happened them, either in any of the cases expressed in the statutes of this realm, or of special licence given by the king's majesty to be absent from their benefices, they shall leave their cure, not to a rude and unlearned person, but to an honest, well-learned, and expert curate, that may teach the rude and unlearned of their cure wholesome doctrine, and reduce them to the right way that do err; and always let them see, that neither they nor

RECORDS.

their vicars do seek more their own profit, promotion, or advantage, than the profit of the souls that they have under their cure or the glory of God.

Item, That every parson or proprietary of any parish church within this realm, shall on this side the feast St. Peter *ad vincula* next coming, provide a book of the whole Bible, both in Latin and also in English, and lay the same in the quire, for every man that will to read and look therein, and shall discourage no man from the reading any part of the Bible, either in Latin or in English; but rather comfort, exhort, and admonish every man to read the same as the very word of God, and the spiritual food of man's soul, whereby they may the better know the duties to God, to their sovereign lord the king, and their neighbour: ever gently and charitably exhorting that, using a sober and a modest haviour in the reading and inquisition of the true sense of the same, they do in no wise stiffly or eagerly contend or strive one with another about the same, but refer the declaration of those places that be in controversy to the judgment of them that be better learned.

Also, the said dean, parsons, vicars, curates, and other priests, shall in no wise, at any unlawful time, nor for any other cause than for their honest necessity, haunt or resort to any taverns or ale-houses; and after their dinner and supper, they shall not give themselves to drinking or riot, spending their time idly, by day or by night, at tables or cards-playing, or any other unlawful game; but at such times as they shall have such leisure, they shall read or hear somewhat of Holy Scripture, or shall occupy themselves with some other honest exercise; and that they alway do those things which appertain to good congruence and honesty, with profit of the common-weal, having always in mind, that they ought to excel all others in purity of life, and should be examples to all other to live well and christianly.

Furthermore; because the goods of the church are called the goods of the poor, and in these days nothing is less seen than the poor to be sustained with the same; all parsons, vicars, pensionaries, prebendaries, and other beneficed men within the deanery, not being resident upon their benefices which may dispense yearly 20*l.* or above within this deanery, or elsewhere, shall distribute hereafter yearly amongst their poor parishioners, or other inhabitants there, in the presence of the church-wardens, or some other honest men of the parish, the fortieth part of the fruits and revenues of the said benefices: lest they be worthily noted of ingratitude, which reserving so many parts to themselves, cannot vouchsafe to impart the fortieth portion thereof amongst the poor people of that parish that is so fruitful and profitable unto them.

And to the intent that learned men may hereafter spring the more for the execution of the premises, every parson, vicar, clerk, or beneficed man within this deanery, having yearly to dispend in benefices and other promotions of the church, an 100*l.* shall give competent exhibition to one scholar; and for as many hundred pounds more as he may dispend to so many scholars more, shall give like exhibition in the university of Oxford or Cambridge, or some grammar school; which after they have profited in good learning, may be partners of their patron's cure and charge as well in preaching as otherwise in the execution of their offices; or may, when need shall be, otherwise profit the common-weal with their counsel and wisdom.

Also, that all parsons, vicars, and clerks, having churches, chapels, or mansions within this deanery, shall bestow yearly hereafter upon the same mansions, or chancels of their churches being in decay, the fifth part of their benefices till they be fully repaired; and

the same so repaired shall always keep and maintain in good state.

All which and singular injunctions shall be inviolably observed of the said dean, parsons, vicars, curates, stipendiaries, and other clerks and beneficed men, under the pain of suspension and sequestration of the fruits of their benefices, until they have done their duty according to these injunctions.

VIII.—*Cromwell's Letter to Shaxton, bishop of u, taken from a copy writ by Morison, his Secretary.*

[Cotton, Libr. Cleop. E. 4.]

My lord, after hearty commendations I cannot but both much marvel that you whom I have taken as my trusty friend should judge me, as I perceive by your letters you do, and also be glad that ye so frankly utter your stomach to me. I would thank you for your plain writing and free monitions, saving that you seem fuller of suspicion than it becometh a prelate of your sort to be: and (to say that maketh me more sorry) much worse persuaded of me than I thought any of your learning and judgment could have been. I took a matter out of your hands to mine; if upon considerations mine office bind me to do so, what cause have ye to complain? if I had done this either upon affection, or intending prejudice to your estimation, you might have expostulated with me; and yet if ye then had done it after a gentler sort, I should both sooner have amended that I did amiss, and also have had better cause to judge your writing to me to be of a friendly heart towards me. If ye be offended with my sharp letters, how can your testy words (I had almost given them another name) delight me? I required you to use no extremity in your office, *durus est hic sermo*, ye call it; and when ye have done, ye begin again, even as though all being said all were still behind. If ye have used none extremity, I am, I ensure you, as glad of it as I ought to be: and though ye do not, yet upon a complaint my office bindeth me to succour him that saith he is over-matched, and is compelled to sustain wrong. I was thus informed, and by persons to whom I gave more credit than I intend to do hereafter, if they have abused me as ye would make me believe they have. They thus complaining, could I do less than grant unto them such remedies as the king's highness and his laws give indifferently to all his subjects? Might I not also somewhat gather, that ye proceeded the sorer against the reader, Roger London, when I had seen how much you desired the preferment of your servant to that revenue? My lord, you had showed yourself of much more patience, I will not say of much more prudence, if ye had contented yourself with their lawful appeal, and my lawful injunctions; and rather have written somewhat fully to instruct us in this matter, than thus to desire to conquer me by shrewd words, to vanquish me by sharp threp of Scripture, which as I know to use travel, so I trust to God as great a clerk as ye be is done already. Thus out of their place it becometh me not, neither yet I am wont to vaunt myself of well-doing, I know who worketh all that is well wrought by me; and whereas he is the whole doer, I intend not to offer him this wrong to labour, and I to take the thanks; yet as I do not cease to give thanks that it hath pleased his goodness to use me as an instrument, and to work somewhat by me, so I trust I am as ready to serve him in my calling to my little power, as ye are pressed to write worse of me than ye ought to think. My prayer is, that God give me no longer life than I shall be glad to use mine office *for*

edificationem, and not in destructionem, as ye hear me in hand I do. God, ye say, will judge such using of authority, meaning flatly, that I do abuse such power as hath pleased God and the king's highness to set me in; God, I say, will judge such judges as ye are, and charge all such thoughts as ye misuse: ye do not so well as I would ye should do, if ye so think of me as your letters make me think ye do. The crime that ye charge me withal, is greater than I may or ought to bear, untruer, I trust, than they that would faintest, shall be able to prove. It is a strange thing, you say, that I neither would write nor send you word by mouth, what ye should do with the popish monks of Abington; and that the abbot of Reading could get straightway my letters to inhibit your just doings: that was not my mind which I wrote, I did not intend to let your just doings, but rather to require you to do justly; neither I was swift in granting my letters to him, albeit I am much readier to help him that complains of wrong, than prest to further on him that desireth punishment of a person whom I am not sure hath offended. I made you no answer, a strange thing! my lord, I thought ye had better known my business than for such a matter to esteem me not your friend; you might have better judged that I was too much cumbered with other affairs, that those which sued for the abbot could better espy their time than you could. Some man will think it rather utter displeasure conceived before, than that ye have any urgent occasion here to misjudge my mind towards you. As concerning your manor you must use your privileges as things lent unto you, so long as ye shall occupy them well, that is according to the mind and pleasure of them that gave you them. I took neither the monk's cause, nor any other, into my hands to be a bearer of any such whom their upright dealings is not able to bear. No, you know I think that I love such readers of Scripture as little as ye do: would God men of your sort were as diligent to see that in all their dioceses good were made, as I am glad to remove things when I know them; if ye had taken even then but half the pains to send up such things against him as ye now send, neither you should have had cause, nor nor occasion thus easily to divide of my good or evil will towards you, nor I have been cumbered with this answer. My lord, I pray you, while I am your friend, take me to be so; for if I were not, or if I knew any cause why I ought not, I would not be afraid to show you what had alienated my mind from you; so you should well perceive that my displeasure should last no longer than there were cause. I pass over your *Nemo lædatur nisi a seipso*. I pray with you this first part, Our Lord have pity upon me; the other part is not in my prayers, That God should turn my heart, for he is my judge, I may err in my doings for want of knowledge, but I willingly bear no misdoers, I willingly hurt none whom honesty and the king's laws do not refuse. Undo not you yourself, I intend nothing less than to work you any displeasure. If hitherto I have showed you any pleasure, I am glad of it: I showed it to your qualities and not to you; if they tarry with you, my good-will cannot depart from you, except your prayer be heard, that is, My heart be turned. I assure you I am right glad ye are in the place ye are in, and will do what shall lie in me to aid you in your office to maintain your reputation, to give you credit among your flock, and elsewhere; as long as I shall see you faithful to your duty, according to your calling. I will not become your good lord, as your desire is; I am and have been your friend, and take you to be mine; cast out vain suspicion, let rash judgment rule men of less wit and discretion; wilfulness becometh all men better than a bishop, which

should always teach us to lack gladly our own will, because you may not have your own will. Here is *Christus paup. facit et ditat, cum Dominus dedit et Dominus abstulit*, to what purpose? *Sit nomen Domini benedictum*, can never lack his place, it becometh alwise in season; or else as great a divine as ye are, I would say, it were not the best placed here, except you wist better, you had rather lose all than any part of your will. I pray you teach patience better in your deeds, or else speak as little of it as ye can. My lord, you might have provoked an other in my place, that would have used less patience with you, finding so little in you; but I can take your writings, and this heat off your stomach, even as well as I can, I trust, beware of flatterers. As for the abbot of Redding, and his monk, if I find them as ye say they are, I will order them as I shall think good; ye shall do well to do your duty; if you so do, ye have no cause to mistrust my friendship; if ye do not, I must tell it you, and that somewhat after the plainest sort: to take a cause out of your hands into mine, I do but mine office, you meddle further than your office will bear you thus roughly to handle me for using of mine. If ye do so no more, I let pass all that is past, and offer you such kindness as ye shall lawfully desire at my hands. Thus fare you well.

IX.—*The Sentence given out by Pope Paul the Third against King Henry.*

Damnatio et Excommunicatio Henrici VIII. Regis Angliæ, ejusque Factorum et Complicum, cum aliarum personarum adjectione.

[Cherubini Bullarium, Tom. 2. pag. 704.]

Paulus Episcopus Servus Servorum Dei ad perpetuam rei memoriam.

Ævus qui immobilis permanens sua providentia ordine mirabili dat cuncta moveri, disponente clementia, vices, licet immeriti gerentes in terris, et in sede justitiæ constituti, juxta prophetæ quoque Hieremiæ vaticinium dicentis: Ecce te constitui super gentes et Regna, ut evellas et destruas, ædifices, plantes, præcipuum super omnes Reges Universæ Terræ cunctosque populos obtinentes principatum: ac illum qui pius et misericors est, et vindictam ei qui illum prævenit paratam temperat, nec quos impetientes videt severa ultione castigat, quin prius comminetur, in assidue autem peccantes et in peccatis perseverantes, cum excessus misericordiæ fines prætereant, ut saltem metu poenæ ad cor reverti cogantur, justitiæ vires exercet, imitantes: ex incumbenti nobis Apostolicæ sollicitudinis studio per-urgemur, ut cunctarum personarum nostræ curæ cælitus commissarum salubri statui solertius intendamus, ac erroribus et scandalis, quæ Hostis antiqui versutia imminere conspiciamus, propensius obviamus, excessusque et enormia ac scandalosa crimina congrua severitate coerceamus, et juxta Apostolum inobedientiam ovium promptius ulciscendo, illorum perpetratores debita correctione sic compescamus, quod eos Dei iram provocasse poeniteat, et ex hoc aliis exemplum cautelæ salutaris accedat.

Sane cum superioribus diebus nobis relatum fuisset, quod Henricus Angliæ Rex, licet tempore Pontificatus fæl. record. Leonis Papæ X. Prædecessoris nostri diversorum hæreticorum errores, sæpe ab Apostolica Sede et Sacris Conciliis præteritis temporibus damnatos, et novissime nostra ætate per perditionis alumnus Martinum Lutherum suscitatos et innovatos, zelo Catholicæ Fidei, et erga dictam Sedem devotionis fervore inductus, non minus docte quam pie, per quandam librum per eum desuper compositum, et eidem Leoni Prædecessori ut eum examinaret et approbaret obla-

tum, confutasset, ob quod ad eodem Leone Prædecessore ultra dicti libri, cum magna ipsius Henrici Regis laude et commendatione, approbationem, titulum Defensoris Fidei reportaverit, a recta Fide et Apostolico tramite devians, ac propriæ salutis, famæ, et honoris immemor, postquam Charissima in Christo Filia nostra Catharina Angliæ Regina illustri sua progenie conjuge, cum qua publice in facie Ecclesiæ Matrimonium contraxerat, et per plures annos continuaverat, ac ex qua, dicto constante Matrimonio, prolem pluries suscepit; nulla legitima subsistente causa, et contra Ecclesiæ prohibitionem dimissa, cum quadam Anna Bolena, Muliere Anglica, dicta Catharina adhuc vivente, de facto Matrimonium contraxerat, ad deteriora prosiliens, quasdam leges ceu generales Constitutiones edere non erubuit, per quas subditos suos ad quosdam hæreticos et schismaticos Articulos tenendos, inter quos et hoc erat quod Romanus Pontifex Caput Ecclesiæ, et Christi Vicarius non erat, et quod ipse in Anglica Ecclesia supremum Caput existeret, sub gravibus etiam mortis poenis cogeat. Et his non contentus, Diabolo sacrilegii crimen suadente, quamplures Prælatos, etiam Episcopos, aliasque personas Ecclesiasticas, etiam Regulares, necnon Sæculares, sibi ut hæretico et schismatico adherere, ac Articulos prædictos Sanctorum Patrum decretis et Sacrorum Conciliorum Statutis, imo etiam ipsi Evangelicæ veritati contrarios, tanquam tales alios damnatos approbare, et sequi nolentes, et intrepide recusantes, capi et carceribus mancipari. Hisque similiter non contentus, mala malis accumulando, bonæ memoriæ Jo. H. S. Vitalis Presbyteri Cardinalis Roffen. quem ob fidei constantiam et vitæ Sanctimoniam ad Cardinalatus dignitatem promoveramus, cum dictis hæresibus et erroribus consentire nollet, horrenda immaniter et detestanda sævitia, publice miserabili supplicio tradi et decollari mandaverat, et fecerat, Excommunicationis, et Anathematis, aliasque gravissimas sententias, censuras, et penas in literis et constitutionibus recolendæ mem. Bonifacii VIII. Honorii III. Roman. Pontificum prædecessorum nostrorum desuper editis contentas, et alias in tales a jurc latas damna biliter incurrendo, ac Regno Angliæ, et dominiis quæ tenebat, necnon regalibus fastigijs celsitudine ac præfati tituli prærogativa, et honore se indignum reddendo.

2. Nos licet ex eo, quod prout non ignorabamus, idem Henricus Rex certis censuris Ecclesiasticis, quibus a piæ memoriæ Clemente Papa VII. etiam prædecessore nostro, postquam humanissimis literis et paternis exhortationibus, multisque nunciis et mediis, primo et postremo etiam judicialiter, ut præfatam Annam a se dimitteret, et ad prædictæ Catharinæ sive veræ Conjugis consortium rediret, frustra monitus fuerat, innodatus extiterat, Pharaonis duritiam imitando, per longum tempus in clavium contemptum insorduerat, et insordescerat, quod ad cor rediret, vix sperare posse videbamus, ob paternam tamen Charitatem, qua in minoribus constituti donec in obedientia, et reverentia Sedis prædictæ permansit, eum prosecuti fuëramus, utque clarius videre possemus, an clamor qui ad nos delatus fuerat, (quem certe etiam ipsius Henrici Regis respectu falsum esse desideramus) verus esset, statim ab ulteriori contra ipsum Henricum Regem processu ad tempus abstinendo, hujus rei veritatem diligentius indagare.

3. Cum autem debitis diligentius desuper factis clamorem ad nos, ut præfertur, delatum, verum esse, simulque, quod dolenter referimus, dictum Henricum Regem ita in profundum malorum descendisse, ut de ejus resipiscencia nulla penitus videatur spes haberi posse, repererimus: Nos attendentes vetere lege, crimen adulterii notatum lapidari mandatum, ac auctores Schismatis halitu terre absorptos, eorumque sequaces

cœlesti igne consumptos, Elimamque Magum viis Domini resistentem per Apostolum æterna severitate damnatum fuisse, volentesque; ne in districto examine ipsius Henrici Regis et subditorum suorum, quos secum in perditionem trahere videmus, animarum ratio a nobis exposcatur, quantum nobis ex alto conceditur, providere contra Henricum Regem, ejusque complices, fautores, adhærentes, et sequaces, et in præmissis quomodolibet culpabiles, contra quod ex eo quod excessus, et delicta prædicta adeo manifesta sunt et notoria, ut nulla possint tergiversatione celari, absque ulteriori mora ad executionem procedere possemus, benignius agendo, decrevimus infrascripto modo procedere.

4. Habita itaque super his cum venerabilibus fratribus nostris S. R. E. Cardinalibus deliberatione matura, et de illorum consilio et assensu, præfatum Henricum Regem, ejusque complices, fautores, adhærentes, consultores et sequaces, ac quoscunque alios in præmissis, ceu eorum aliquo quoque modo culpabiles, tam laicos quam clericos, etiam regulares cujuscunque dignitatis, status, gradus, ordinis, conditionis, præeminentię, et excellentię existant, (quorum nomina et cognomina, perinde ac si præsentibus insererentur, pro sufficienter expressis haberi volumus) per viscera misericordiæ Dei nostri hortamur, et requirimus in Domino, quatenus Henricus Rex a prædictis erroribus prorsus absteat, et constitutiones, seu leges prædictas, sicut de facto eas fecit, revocet, casset, et annullet, et coactione subditorum suorum ad eas servandas, necnon carceratione, captura, et punitioe illorum, qui ipsis constitutionibus seu legibus adherere, aut eas servare noluerint, et ab aliis erroribus prædictis penitus, et omnino absteat, et si quos præmissorum occasione captivos habeas, relaxet.

5. Complices vero, fautores, adhærentes, consultores, et sequaces dicti Henrici Regis in præmissis, et circa ea ipsi Henrico Regi super his de cetero non adsistant, nec adhæreant, vel favcant, nec ei consilium, auxilium, vel favorem, desuper præstent.

6. Alias si Henricus Rex, ac fautores, adhærentes, consultores, et sequaces, hortationibus et requisitionibus hujusmodi non annuerint cum effectu, Henricum Regem, fautores, adhærentes, consultores et sequaces, ac alios culpabiles prædictos, auctoritate Apostolica, ac ex certa nostra scientia, et de Apostolicę potestatis plenitudine, tenore presentium, in virtute sanctę obedientię, ac sub majoris Excommunicationis lata sententia, a qua etiam prætextu cujuscunque privilegii, vel facultatis, etiam in forma confessionalis, cum quibuscunque efficacissimis clausulis nobis et Sede prædicta quomodolibet concessis, et etiam iteratis vicibus innovatis, ab alio quam a Romano Pontifice, præterquam in mortis Articulo constituti, ita tamen, quod si aliquem absolvi contingat, qui postmodum convalescerit, nisi post convalescentiam, monitioni et mandatis nostris hujusmodi paruerit cum effectu, in eandem Excommunicationis sententiam reincidat, absolvi non possint.

7. Necnon rebellionis, et quoad Henricum Regem, etiam perditionis Regni, et Dominiorum prædictorum, et tam quoad eum, quam quoad alios monitos supra dictos supra et infrascriptis poenis, quas si dictis monitioni et mandatis, ut præfertur, non paruerint, eos, et eorum singulos, ipso facto respective incurrere volumus, per præsentes monemus; eisque et eorum cuilibet districte præcipiendo mandamus, quatenus Henricus Rex per se, vel procuratorem legitimum et sufficienti mandato suffultum, infra nonaginta, complices vero, fautores, adhærentes, consultores, et sequaces, ac alii in præmissis quomodolibet culpabiles supradicti, Sæculares et Ecclesiastici etiam regulares, personaliter infra sexaginta dies compareant coram nobis, ad se super præmissis legitime excusandum et defendendum; alias videndum et audiendum contra eos et eorum singulos,

etiam nominatim, quos sic monemus, quatenus expediat, ad omnes et singulos, actus, etiam sententiam definitivam, declaratoriam, condemnatoriam, et privatoriam, ac mandatum executivum procedi. Quod si Henricus Rex, et alii moniti prædicti intra dictos terminos eis ut præfatur, respective præfixos non comparuerint, et prædictam Excommunicationis sententiam per tres dies, post lapsum dictorum terminorum animo, quod absit, sustinerint indurato, censuras ipsas aggravamus, et successive reaggravamus, Henricumque ipsum, privationis Regni et Dominiorum prædictorum, et tam eum quam alios monitos prædictos, et eorum singulos, omnes et singulas alias pœnas prædictas incurrisse, ab omnibusque Christi fidelibus, cum eorum bonis perpetuo diffidatos esse. Et si interim ab humanis decedat, Ecclesiastica debere carere sepultura, auctoritate et potestatis plenitudine prædictis decernimus, et declaramus, eosque; anathematizamus, maledictionis, et damnationis æternæ mucrone percutimus.

8. Necnon quæ præfatus Henricus Rex quomodolibet, et ex quavis causa tenet, habet, aut possidet, Quamdiu Henricus Rex, et alii moniti prædicti, et eorum singuli in aliis per dictum Henricum Regem non tentis, habitis, aut possessis permanserint, et triduo post eorum inde recessum, et alia quæcunque; ad quæ Henricum Regem, et alios monitos prædictos, post lapsum dictorum terminorum declinare contigerit, Dominia, civitates, terras, castra, villas, oppida, Metropolitansque, et alias Cathedralis, ceterasque; inferiores Ecclesias, necnon Monasteria, Prioratus, Domos, Conventus, et loca religiosa, vel pia cujuscunque, etiam S. Benedicti, Cluniacensis, Cisterciensis, Præmonstratensis, a. Prædicatorum, Minorum, Eremitarum S. Augustini Carmelitarum, et aliorum Ordinum, ac Congregationum, et Militiarum quaruncunque; in ipsis Dominiis, Civitatibus, terris, castris, villis, oppidis, et locis existentia, Ecclesiastico supponimus Interdictum, ita ut illo durante in iis etiam prætextu cujuscunque Apostolici indulti, Ecclesie, Monasteriis, Prioratibus, Domibus, Conventibus, locis, ordinibus, aut personis, etiam quæcunque; dignitate fulgentibus concessi, præterquam in casibus a jure permissis, ac etiam in illis alias quam clausis januis, et Excommunicationis et interdictis exclusis, nequeant Missæ, aut alia divina officia celebrari.

9. Et Henrici Regis, complicumque, fautorum, adhærentium, consultorum, sequacium, et culpabilium prædictorum filii, pœnarum, ut hic in hoc casu par est, participes sint, omnes et singulos ejusdem Henrici Regis ex dicta Anna, ac singulorum aliorum prædictorum filios natos, et nascituros, aliosque; descendentes, usque; in eum gradum, ad quem jura pœnas in casibus hujusmodi extendunt (nemine excepto, nullaque; minoris ætatis, aut sexus, vel ignorantie, vel alterius cujuscunque; causæ habita ratione) dignitatibus, et honoribus in quibus quomodolibet constituti existunt, seu quibus gaudent, utuntur, potiuntur, aut muniti sunt, necnon privilegiis, concessionibus, gratiis, indulgentiis, immunitatibus, remissionibus, libertatibus, et indultis, ac dominiis, civitatibus, castris, terris, villis, oppidis, et locis, etiam Commendatis, vel in Gubernium concessis, et quæ in feudum, emphyteusim, vel alias a Romanis, vel aliis Ecclesiis, Monasteriis, et locis Ecclesiasticis, ac secularibus Principibus, Dominiis, Potentatibus, etiam Regibus et Imperatoribus, aut aliis privatis, vel publicis personis quomodolibet habent, tenent, aut possident, cæteriisque; omnibus bonis, mobilibus et immobilibus, juribus et actionibus, eis quomodolibet competentibus privatos, dictaque; bona feudalibus, vel emphyteuticis, et alia quæcunque; ab aliis quomodolibet obtenta, ad directos dominos, ita ut de illis libere disponere possint, respective devoluta, et eos qui Ecclesiastici fuerint, etiamsi religiosi existant, Ecclesiis etiam

Cathedralibus, et Metropolitanis, necnon Monasteriis et Prioratibus, præposituris, præpositatibus, dignitatibus, personatibus, Officiis, Canonicatibus et Præbendis, aliisque; beneficiis Ecclesiasticis per eos quomodolibet obtentis privatos, et ad illa ac alia in posterum obtinenda inhabiles esse, similiter decernimus et declaramus; eosque; sic respective privatos ad illa, et alia quæcunque; similia, ac dignitates, honores, administrationes, et officia, jura, ac feuda in posterum obtinenda, auctoritate et scientia, ac plenitudine similibus inhabilitamus.

10. Ipsiusque; Henrici Regis, ac Regni omniumque; aliorum dominiorum, civitatum, terrarum, castrorum, villarum, fortaliorum, arcium, oppidorum, et locorum suorum, etiam de facto obtentorum Magistratus, judices, Castellanos, Custodes et Officiales quoscunque, necnon Communitates, Universitates, Collegia, Feudatarios, vassallos, subditos, cives, incolas, et habitatores etiam forenses, dicto Regi de facto obediens, tam sæculares, quam si qui rationis alicujus temporalitatis ipsum Henricum Regem in superiorem recognoscant, etiam Ecclesiasticos, a præfato rege, seu ejus complicitibus, fautoribus, adhærentibus, consultoribus, et sequacibus supradictis deputatis, a juramento fidelitatis, jure vassallitico, et omni erga Regem, et alios prædictos subjectione absolvimus, ac penitus liberamus. His nihilominus sub Excommunicationis pœna mandantes, ut ab ejusdem Henrici Regis, suorumque; officialium, judicum, et magistratum quorumcunque; obedientia pœnitent et omnino recedant, nec illos in superiores recognoscant, neque illorum mandatis obtemperent.

11. Et ut alii eorum exemplo perterriti discant ab hujusmodi excessibus abstinere, eisdem auctoritate, scientia, et plenitudine, volumus, ac decernimus, quod Henricus Rex et complices, fautores, adhærentes, consultores, sequaces, et alii in præmissis culpabiles, postquam alias pœnas prædictas, ut præfatur, respective incurrerint, necnon præfati descendentes, ex tunc infames existant, et ad testimonium non admittantur, testamenta, et codicillos, aut alias dispositiones, etiam inter vivos concedere, et facere non possint, et ad alicujus successionem ex testamento, vel ab intestato, necnon ad jurisdictionem, seu iudicandi potestatem, et ad Notariatum Officium, omnesque; actus legitimos quoscunque; ita ut eorum processus, sive instrumenta atque; alii actus quicunque, nullius sint roboris vel momenti, inhabiles existant, et nulli ipsis, sed ipsi aliis super quocunque debito et negotio, tam civili, quam criminali, de jure respondere teneantur.

12. Et nihilominus omnes, et singulos Christi fideles, sub Excommunicationis, et aliis infrascriptis pœnis, monemus, ut monitos, Excommunicatos, aggravatos, interdictos, privatos, maledictos, et damnatos prædictos evitent, et quantum in eis est, et ab aliis evitari faciant, nec cum eisdem, seu præfati Regis Civitatum, Dominiorum, Terrarum, Castrorum, Comitatum, Villarum, Fortaliorum, Oppidorum, et locorum prædictorum civibus, incolis, vel habitatoribus aut subditis et vassallis, emendo, vendendo, permutando, aut quancunque mercaturam, seu negotium exercendo, commercium, seu aliquam conversationem, seu communionem habeant: aut vinum, granum, sal, seu alia victualia, arma, pannos, merces vel quasvis alias mercantias, vel res per mare in eorum navibus, trirēibus, aut aliis navigiis, sive per terram cum mulis, vel aliis animalibus, deferre aut conducere, seu deferri aut conduci facere, vel delata per illos recipere, publice vel occulte, aut talia facientibus auxiliū, consiliū, favorem publice vel occulte, directe vel indirecte, quovis quæsito colore, per se, vel alium, seu alios quoquo modo præstare presumant. Quod si fecerint, ultra Excommunicationis prædictæ, etiam nullitatis

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contractuum quos inirent, necnon perditionis mercium, victualium, et bonorum omnium delatorum, quæ capientium fiant, poenas similiter eo ipso incurrant.

13. Cæterum quia convenire non videtur, ut cum his qui Ecclesiam contemnunt, dum præsertim ex eorum pertinacia spes corrigibilitatis non habetur, hi qui divinis obsequiis vacant, consententur, quod etiam illos tuto facere non posse dubitandum est, omnium et singularum Metropolitanarum et aliarum Cathedralium, cæterarumque; inferiorum Ecclesiarum et Monasteriorum, domorum et locorum Religiosorum, et piorum quorumcumque, etiam S. Augustini, S. Benedicti, Cluniacen. Cisterciën. Præmonstraten. ac Prædicatorum, Minorum, Carmelitarum, aliorumque quorumcumque; ordinum, et militarium, etiam Hospitalis Hierosolymitani, Prælati, Abbatibus, Prioribus, Præceptoribus, Præpositis, Ministris, Custodibus, Guardianis, Conventibus, Monachis et Canonicis, necnon Parochialium Ecclesiarum Rectoribus, aliis; quibuscumque; personis Ecclesiasticis in Regno et Dominiis prædictis commorantibus, sub Excommunicationis ac privationis Administrationum et regiminum Monasteriorum, dignitatum, personatum, administrationum, ac officiorum, Canonicatumque, et Præbendarum, Parochialium Ecclesiarum, et aliorum beneficiorum Ecclesiasticorum quorumcumque; quomodolibet qualifi-

per eos quomodolibet obtentorum, poenis mandamus, quatenus infra quinque dies, post omnes et singulos terminos prædictos elapsos, de ipsis Regno, et Dominiis, dimissis tamen aliquibus Presbyteris in Ecclesiis quarum curam habuerint, pro administrando baptismo parvulis, et in poenitentia decedentibus, ac aliis Sacramentis Ecclesiasticis, quæ tempore Interdicti ministrari permittantur, exeant et discedant, neque ad Regnum, et Dominiis prædicta revertantur: donec moniti, et Excommunicati, aggravati, reaggravati, privati, maledicti, et damnati prædictis monitionibus, et mandatis nostris huiusmodi obtinuerint, meruerint a censuris huiusmodi absolutionis beneficium obtinere, seu Interdictum in Regno, et Dominiis prædictis, fuerit sublatum.

14. Præterea si præmissis non obstantibus, Henricus Rex, complices, fautores, adherentes, consultores, et sequaces prædicti in eorum pertinacia perseveraverint, nec conscientie stimulus eos ad cor reduxerit, in eorum forte potentia, et armis confidentes, omnes et singulos Duces, Marchiones, Comites, et alios quoscumque; tam Seculares, quam Ecclesiasticos etiam forenses, de facto dicto Henrico Regi obediētes, sub eisdem Excommunicationis, ac perditionis bonorum suorum (quæ, ut infra dicitur, similiter capientium fiant) poenis, requirimus et monemus, quatenus omni mora, et excusatione postposita, eos, et eorum singulos, ac ipsorum milites et stipendiarios, tam equestres quam pedestres, aliosque; quoscumque, qui eis cum armis faverint, de Regno et Dominiis prædictis, etiam vi armorum, si opus fuerit, expellant: ac quod Henricus Rex, et ejus complices, fautores, adherentes, consultores, et sequaces, mandatis nostris non obtemperantes prædicti, de Civitatibus, Terris, Castris, Villis, Oppidis, Fortalitiis, aut aliis locis Regni et Dominiis prædictorum se non intromittant, procurent: eis sub omnibus et singulis poenis prædictis inhibentes, ne in favorem Henrici, ejusque complicum, fautorum, adherentium, consultorum, et sequacium aliorumque; monitorum prædictorum, mandatis nostris non obtemperantium, arma cujuslibet generis, offensiva vel defensiva, machinas quoque; bellicas, seu tormenta (artellarias nuncupata) sumant aut teneant, seu illis utantur, aut armatos aliquos præter consuetam familiam parent, aut ab Henrico Rege, complicitibus, fautoribus, adherentibus, consultoribus, et sequacibus, vel aliis in Regis ipsius favorem paratos, quomodolibet,

quavis occasione vel causa, per se vel alium seu alios, publice vel occulte, directe vel indirecte teneant, vel receiptent, aut dicto Henrico Regi, seu illius complicitibus, fautoribus, adherentibus, consultoribus, et sequacibus prædictis, consilium, auxilium, vel quomodolibet ex quavis causa, vel quovis quæsito colore sive ingenio, publice vel occulte, directe vel indirecte, tacite vel expresse, per se vel alium seu alios præmissis, vel aliquo præmissorum præstent, seu præstari faciant quoquomodo.

15. Præterea ad dictum Henricum Regem facilius ad sanitatem, et præfatæ Sedis obedientiam reducendum, omnes et singulos Christianos Principes, quacumque; etiam Imperiali et Regali dignitate fulgentes, per viscera misericordiæ Dei nostri (cujus causa agitur) hortamur et in Domino requirimus, eis nihilominus, qui Imperatore et Rege inferiores fuerint, quos propter excellentiam dignitatis a censuris excipimus, sub Excommunicationis poena mandantes, ne Henrico Regi ejusque; complicitibus, fautoribus, adherentibus, consultoribus, et sequacibus, vel eorum alicui, per se vel alium seu alios, publice vel occulte, directe vel indirecte, tacite vel expresse, etiam sub prætextu confederationum aut obligationum quocumque; etiam juramento, aut quavis alia firmitate roboratarum, et sæpius geminarum, a quibus quidem obligationibus et juramentis omnibus, nos eos et eorum singulos eisdem auctoritate et scientia ac plenitudine per præsentem absolvimus, ipsasque; confederationes et obligationes tam factas, quam in posterum faciendas, quas tamen (in quantum Henricus Rex et complices, fautores, adherentes, consultores, et sequaces prædicti circa præmissa, vel eorum aliquod se directe vel indirecte juvare possent) sub eadem poena fieri prohibemus, nullius roboris vel momenti, nullasque, irritas, cassas, inanes, ac pro infectis habendas fore decernimus et declaramus, consilium, auxilium, vel favorem quomodolibet præstent, quinimo si qui illis, aut eorum alicui ad præsens quomodolibet assistant, ab ipsis omnino et cum affectu recedant. Quod si non fecerint postquam præsentem publicatæ et executioni demandatæ fuerint, et dicti termini lapsi fuerint, omnes et singulas civitates, terras, oppida, castra, villas, et alia loca eis subjecta, simili Ecclesiastico Interdicto supponimus, volentes ipsum Interdictum donec ipsi Principes a Consilio, auxilio, et favore Henrico Regi et complicitibus, fautoribus, adherentibus, consultoribus et sequacibus prædictis præstando destiterint, perdurare.

16. Insuper tam Principes prædictos, quam quoscumque; alios, etiam ad stipendia quorumcumque; Christi fidelium militantes, et alias quascumque; personas, tam per mare, quam per terras, armigeros habentes, similiter hortamur et requirimus, et nihilominus eis in virtute sanctæ obedientiæ mandantes, quatenus contra Henricum Regem, complices, fautores, adherentes, consultores, et sequaces prædictos, dum in erroribus prædictis, ac adversus Sedem prædictam, rebellionem permanserint, armis insurgant, eosque; et eorum singulos persequantur, ac ad unitatem Ecclesiæ, et obedientiam dictæ Sedis redire cogant et compellant; et tam eos quam ipsorum subditos et vassallos, ac civitatum, terrarum, castrorum, oppidorum, villarum, et locorum suorum incolae, et habitatores, aliosque omnes et singulas personas supradictis mandatis nostris, ut præfertur, non obtemperantes, et quæ præfatum Henricum Regem, postquam censuras, et poenas prædictas incurrerit, in Dominum quomodolibet, etiam de facto recognoverint, vel ei quovis modo obtemperare præsumperint, aut qui eum, ac complices, fautores, adherentes, consultores, sequaces, ac alios non obtemperantes prædictos, ex Regno et Dominiis prædictis, ut præfertur, expellere noluerint, ubicumque; eos invenerint, eorumque bona, mobilia et

mercantias, pecunias, navigia, credita, res, et animalia, etiam extra territorium dicti Henrici Regis ubilibet consistantia, capiant.

17. Nos enim eius bona, mercantias, pecunias, navigia, res, et animalia prædicta sic capta, in propriis eorum usus convertendi, eisdem auctoritate, scientia, et potestatis plenitudine, plenariam licentiam, facultatem et auctoritatem concedimus, illa omnia ad eisdem capientes plenarie pertinere, et spectare, et personas ex Regno et Dominiis prædictis originem trahentes, seu in illis domicilium habentes, aut quomodolibet habitantes, mandatis nostris prædictis non obtemperantes, ubicumque eos capi contigerit, capientium servos fieri decernentes: præsentemque; literas quoad hoc ad omnes alios cujuscumque; dignitatis, gradus, status, ordinis, vel conditionis fuerint, qui ipsi Henrico Regi, vel ejus complicibus, fautoribus, adhærentibus, consultoribus, et sequacibus, aut aliis monitionibus, et mandatis nostris hujusmodi quod commercium non obtemperantibus, vel eorum alicui vidualia, arma, vel pecunias subministrare, aut cum eis commercium habere, seu auxilium, consilium, vel favorem, per se vel alium, seu alios, publice vel occulte, directe vel indirecte, quovis modo contra tenorem præsentium præstare præsumpserint, extendentes.

18. Et ut præmissa facilius iis quos concernunt innotescant, universis et singulis Patriarchis, Archiepiscopis, Episcopis, et Patriarchalium Metropolitan. et aliarum Cathedralium, et Collegiarum: Ecclesiarum Prælati, Capitulis, aliisque; personis Ecclesiasticis, Sæcularibus ac quorumvis ordinum Regularibus, necnon omnibus et singulis, etiam mendicantium ordinum Professoribus, exemptis et non exemptis, ubilibet constitutis, per easdem præsentibus sub Excommunicationis et privationis Ecclesiarum, Monasteriorum, ac aliorum Beneficiorum Ecclesiasticorum, graduum quoque; et officiorum, necnon privilegiorum, et indultorum quorumcumque; etiam a Sede prædicta quomodolibet emanatorum pœnis ipso facto incurrendis, præcipimus et mandamus, quatenus ipsi ac eorum singuli, si, et postquam vigore præsentium desuper requisiti fuerint, infra tres dies immediate sequentes, præfatum Henricum Regem, omnesque; alios et singulos, qui supradictas censuras et pœnas incurrerint, in eorum Ecclesiis, Dominicis et aliis festivis diebus, dum major inibi populi multitudo ad divina convenerit, cum Crucis vexillo, pulsatis campanis, et accensis, ac denum extinctis, et in terram projectis, et conculcatis candelis, et aliis in similibus servari solitis ceremoniis servatis, Excommunicatos publice nuncient, et ab aliis nuntiare, ac ab omnibus arctius evitari faciant et mandent, necnon vel supradictis censuris et pœnis, præsentibus literas, vel earum transumptum, sub forma infrascripta confectum, infra terminum trium dierum, postquam, ut præfertur, requisiti fuerint, in Ecclesiis, Monasteriis, Conventibus, et aliis eorum locis, publicari et affigi faciant.

19. Volentes, omnes et singulos cujuscumque; status, gradus, conditionis, præeminentie, dignitatis, aut excellentie fuerint, qui quo minus præsentibus literæ, vel earum transumpta, copie, seu exemplaria, in suis civitatibus, terris, castris, oppidis, villis, et locis legi et affigi, ac publicari possint, per se, vel alium, seu alios, publice vel occulte, directe vel indirecte impediverint, easdem censuras et pœnas, ipso facto incurrere. Et cum fraudes et dolus nemini debeant patrocinari, ne quicumque ex his, qui alicui regimini et administrationi deputati sunt, infra tempus sui regiminis seu administrationis prædictas sententias, censuras et pœnas sustineat, quasi post dictum tempus sententia, censuris et pœnis prædictis amplius ligatus non existat, quemcumque; qui dum in regimine, et administratione existens, monitioni et mandato nostris, quoad præmissa vel

aliquid eorum obtemperare noluerit, etiam deposito regimine, et administratione hujusmodi, nisi paruerit, eisdem censuris et pœnis subjacere decernimus.

20. Et ne Henricus Rex ejusque; complicēs, et fautores, adhærentes, consultores, et sequaces, aliique; quos præmissa concernunt, ignorantiam earundem præsentium literarum, et in eis contentorum prætereundere valeant, literas ipsas (in quibus omnes et singulos, tam juris, quam facti, etiam solemnitatibus, et processuum, citationumque; omissarum defectus, etiam si tales sint, de quibus specialis, et expressa mentio faciendi esset, propter notorietatem facti, auctoritate, scientia, et potestatis plenitudine similibus, supplemus) in Basilicæ Principis Apostolorum, et Cancellariæ Apostolicæ de urbe, et in partibus in Collegiæ B. Mariæ Burgen. Tornacen. et Parochialis de Dunikerke oppidorum Morinensis diæcesis, Ecclesiarum valvis affigi, et publicari mandamus: Decernentes quod earundem literarum publicatio sic facta, Henricum Regem, ejusque; complicēs, fautores, adhærentes, consultores, et sequaces, omnesque; alios, et singulos quos literæ ipsæ quomodolibet concernunt, perinde eos arceant, ac si literæ ipsæ eis personaliter lectæ, et intimatæ fuissent, cum non sit verisimile, quod ea, quæ tam patenter fiunt, debeant apud eos incognita remanere.

21. Cæterum quia difficile foret præsentibus literas ad singula quæque loca, ad quæ necessarium esset deferri, singula volumus et dicta auctoritate decernimus, quod earum transumptis manu publici Notarii confectis, vel in alma urbe impressis, ac sigillo alicujus personæ in dignitate Ecclesiastica constitutæ munitis, ubique eadem fides adhibeatur, quæ originalibus adhiberetur, si essent exhibitæ vel ostensæ.

22. Nulli ergo omnino hominum liceat hanc paginam nostræ monitionis, aggravationis, reaggravationis, declarationis, percussiois, suppositionis, inhabilitationis, absolutionis, liberationis, requisitionis, inhibitionis, hortationis, exceptionis, prohibitionis, concessionis, extensionis, suppletionis, mandatorum, voluntatis, et decretorum, infringere, vel ei ausu temerario contraire. Si quis autem hoc attentare præsumpserit, indignationem Omnipotentis Dei, ac Beatorum Petri et Pauli Apostolorum ejus se noverit incursurum.

Datum Romæ apud Sanctum Marcum. Anno Incarnationis Domini 1535. 3 Kal. Sept. Pont. nostri Anno I.

Sequitur suspensio Executionis dictæ Bullæ, et tandem ejus revocatio, et Executio.

Paulus Episcopus Servus Servorum Dei, ad perpetuam rei memoriam.

Cum Redemptor noster ideo illum qui ipsum negaverat, Petrum, viz. Universæ Ecclesiæ præficere voluerit, ut in sua culpa disceret aliis esse miserendum, non immerito Romanus Pontifex qui ipsius Petri in dignitate Successor existit, debet etiam in Officio exercendæ misericordiæ ipsius esse Successor. Sed cum in eum dirigitur misericordia, qui ex hoc sit insolentior, et obstinatio, aliosque; secum trahit in perditionem, debet ipse Romanus Pontifex, postposita in eum misericordia, omnem severitatem adhibere, quo membrum illud putridum ita a corpore separaretur, ut reliqua membra absque metu contagionis salva remaneant, præsertim cum pluribus curis adhibitis, et multo tempore in hoc consumpto morbum quotidie magis invalescere, ipsa experientia comprobatur.

1. Alias cum nobis relatum fuisset, quod Henricus Angliæ Rex, præter ea quæ Matrimonium de facto, et contra prohibitionem Ecclesiæ temerarie contractum concernebant, quasdam leges, seu generales constitutiones subditos suos ad hæresim, et schisma trahentes ediderat, et bonæ memoriæ Joann. tit. Sancti Vitalis Presbyterum Cardinalem Roffen. publice damnari et capite puniri, ac alios quamplures Prælatos necnon

alias personas Ecclesiast. Hæresi et Schismati hujusmodi adherere nolentes, carceribus mancipari fecerat; Nos, licet illi qui talia nobis retulerant tales essent, ut nullo modo de veritate suorum dictorum ambigendum esset, cupientes tamen respectu ipsius Henrici Regis, quem antequam in has insanias incideret, peculiari quadam charitate prosequeremur, prædicta falsa reperiri, de eis informationem ulteriorem habere procuravimus, et inveniētes clamorem ad nos delatum verum esse, ne nostro Officio deessemus, contra eum procedere decrevimus, juxta formam quarundum litterarum nostrarum, quarum tenor sequitur. Et est talis, &c.

Omittitur insertio, quia bulla ipsa est quæ præcedit.

2. Dum autem postea ad dictarum litterarum executionem deveniendum esse statuissimus, cum nobis per nonnullos principes, et alias insignes personas persuaderetur, ut ab executione hujusmodi per aliquantum temporis supersederemus, spe nobis data, quod interim ipse Henricus Rex ad cor rediret et resipisceret; nos qui, ut hominum natura fert, facile credebamus quod desiderabamus, dictam executionem suspendimus, sperantes (ut spes nobis data erat) ex ipsa suspensione, correctionem et resipiscentiam, non autem peritiam et obstinationem, ac majorem delirationem, ut rei effectus edocuit, preventuram.

3. Cum itaq; resipiscentia et Correctio hujusmodi quam tribus fere annis expectavimus, non solum postea sequuta non sit, sed ipse Henricus Rex quotidie magis se in sua feritate, ac temeritate confirmans, in nova etiam scelera proruperit, quippe cum non contentus vivorum Prælatorum et sacerdotum crudelissima trucidatione, etiam in mortuos, et eos quidem quos in sanctorum numerum relatos Universalis Ecclesiæ pluribus sæculis venerata est, feritatem exercere non expavit, Divi enim Thomæ Cantuarien. Archiepiscopi, cujus ossa, quæ in dicto Regno Angliæ potissimum, ob innumera ab omnipotenti Deo illic perpetrata miracula, summa cum veneratione in arca aurea in Civitate Cantuarien. servabantur, postquam ipsum Divum Thomam, ad majorem Religionis contemptum, in judicium vocari, et tanquam contumacem damnari ac proditorem declarari fecerat, exhumari, et comburi, ac cineres in ventum spargi jussit, omnem plane cunctarum gentium crudelitatem superans, cum ne in bello quidem hostes victores sævire in mortuorum cadavera soliti sunt; adhuc omnia ex diversorum Regum etiam Anglorum, et aliorum Principum liberalitate donaria, ipsi arcæ appensa, quæ multa, et maximi pretii erant, sibi usurpavit, nec putans ex hoc satis injuriæ religionis intulisse, Monasterium Divo illi Augustino, a quo Christianam fidem Angli acceperunt, in dicta civitate dicatum, omnibus Thesauris, qui etiam multi et magni erant, spoliavit, et sicut se in bellum transmutavit, ita etiam belluas quasi socias suas honorare voluit, feras videlicet in dicto Monasterio, expulsis Monachis, intromittendo, genus quidem sceleris non modo Christi fidelibus, sed etiam Turcis inauditum et abominandum.

4. Cum itaq; morbus iste a nullo quantumvis peritissimo medico alia cura sanari possit, quam putridi membri abscissione, nec valeret cura hujusmodi, absq; eo, quod nos apud Deum causam hanc nostram efficiamus, ulterius retardari, ad dictarum litterarum (quas ad hoc ut Henricus Rex, ejusq; complices, fautores, adherentes, consultores, et sequaces, etiam super excessibus per eum novissime, ut præfertur, perpetratos, intra terminum eis, quoad alia, per alias nostras litteras prædictas respective præfixas, se excusare, alias poenis ipsis litteris contentas incurrant, extendimus et ampliamus) publicationem, et deinde, Deo duce, ad executionem procedere omnino statuimus. Et quia a fide dignis accepimus, quod si ipsarum et præsentium litterarum publicatio Diep. Rothomagen. vel. Boloniæ

Ambianen. Diœc. Oppidis in Franciæ, aut Civitate Sancti Andree, seu in Oppido Callistren. Sancti Andree Diœc. in Scotiæ Regnis, vel in Thuamien. et Antiferen. Civitatibus, vel Diœc. Domini Hiberniæ fiat, non solum tam facile, ut si in locis in dictis literis expressis fieret, sed facilius ipsarum litterarum tenor, ad Henrici, et aliorum quos concernunt, præsertim Anglorum, notitiam deveniret: Nos volentes in hoc opportune providere, motu, scientia, et potestatis plenitudine prædictis decernimus, quod publicatio litterarum superius insertarum, quarum insertioni superius factæ, ac ipsis Originalibus quoad validitatem publicationis, seu executionis præsentium, fidem adhiberi volumus, in duobus ex locis præsentibus literis expressis, alias juxta supra insertarum, et præsentium litterarum tenore facta, etiam si in locis extra Romanam Curiam in dictis præinsertis literis specificatis, hujusmodi publicatio non fiat, perinde Henricum Regem, et alios quos concernunt præsertim Anglos afficiat, ac si Henrico Regi et aliis prædictis præsertim Anglis personaliter intimatæ fuissent.

5. Quodq; præsentium transumptis, juxta modum in præinsertis literis expressum factis, tam in judicio quam extra, eadem fides adhibeatur, quæ Originalibus adhiberetur, si forent exhibitæ, vel ostensæ.

6. Non obstantibus Constitutionibus et Ordinationibus Apostolicis, necnon omnibus illis, quæ in dictis literis volumus non ob stare, ceterisq; contrariis quibuscunque.

7. Nulli ergo omnino hominum liceat hanc paginam nostri Decreti, et voluntatis infringere, vel ei ausu temerario contraire. Si quis autem hoc attentare præsumpserit, indignationem Omnipotentis Dei, ac Beatorum Petri et Pauli Apostolorum ejus se noverit incursum.

Dat. Romæ apud S. Petrum, Anno Incarnationis Domini 1538. decimo sexto Kal. Januarii, Pontificatus nostri anno quinto.

X.—*The Judgment of some Bishops concerning the King's Supremacy. An Original.*

[Ex MSS. D. Stillingfleet.]

THE words of St. John in his 20th chapter, *Sicut misit me Pater, et ego mitto vos, &c.* hath no respect to a king's or a prince's power, but only to show how that the ministers of the word of God, chosen and sent for that intent, are the messengers of Christ, to teach the truth of his gospel, and to loose and bind sin, &c. as Christ was the messenger of his Father. The words also of St. Paul, in the 20th chap. of the Acts; *Attendite vobis et universo gregi, in qua vos Spiritus Sanctus posuit Episcopos regere Ecclesiam Dei*, were spoken to the bishops and priests, to be diligent pastors of the people, both to teach them diligently, and also to be circumspect that false preachers should not seduce the people, as followeth immediately after in the same place. Other places of Scripture declare the highness and excellency of Christian princes' authority and power; the which of a truth is most high, for he hath power and charge generally over all, as well bishops as priests as other. The bishops and priests have charge of souls within their own cures, power to minister sacraments and to teach the word of God; to the which word of God Christian princes knowledge themselves subject; and in case the bishops be negligent, it is the Christian prince's office, to see them do their duty.

T. CANTUARIEN.; JOANNES LONDON.; CUTHBERTUS DUNELMEN.; JO. BATWELLEN.; THOMAS ELIEN.; NICOLAUS SARISBURIEN.; HUGO WYGORN.; J. ROFFEN.

XI.—*Injunctions to the Clergy made by Cromwell.*

[Regist. Cranmer.]

IN the name of God, Amen. By the authority and commission of the excellent prince Henry, by the grace of God, king of England and of France, defensor of the faith, lord of Ireland; and in earth supreme head, under Christ, of the church of England. I, Thomas lord Cromwel, privy seal, and vicegerent to the king's said highness, for all his jurisdiction ecclesiastical within this realm, do, for the advancement of the true honour of Almighty God, increase of virtue, and discharge of the king's majesty, give and exhibit unto you these injunctions following, to be kept, observed, and fulfilled, upon the pains hereafter declared.

First, That ye shall truly observe and keep all and singular the king's highness' injunctions, given unto you heretofore in my name, by his grace's authority; not only upon the pains therein expressed, but also in your default after this second monition continued, upon further punishment to be straitly extended towards you by the king's highness' arbitrement, or his vicegerent aforesaid.

Item, That ye shall provide on this side the feast of next coming, one book of the whole Bible of the largest volume in English, and the same set up in some convenient place within the said church that ye have cure of, whereas your parishioners may most commodiously resort to the same and read it; the charge of which book shall be ratably borne between you the parson and the parishioners aforesaid, that is to say, the one half by you, and the other half by them.

Item, That you shall discourage no man privily or apertly from the reading or hearing of the said Bible, but shall expressly provoke, stir, and exhort every person to read the same, as that which is the very lively word of God, that every Christian man is bound to embrace, believe and follow, if he look to be saved; admonishing them nevertheless to avoid all contention, altercation therein, and to use an honest sobriety in the inquisition of the true sense of the same, and refer the explication of the obscure places to men of higher judgment in Scripture.

Item, That ye shall every Sunday and holy-day through the year, openly and plainly recite to your parishioners, twice or thrice together, or oftener if need require, one particle or sentence of the *Pater Noster* or Creed, in English, to the intent they may learn the same by heart; and so from day to day, to give them one little lesson or sentence of the same, till they have learned the whole *Pater Noster* and Creed in English by rote. And as they be taught every sentence of the same by rote, ye shall expound and declare the understanding of the same unto them, exhorting all parents and householders to teach their children and servants the same, as they are bound in conscience to do. And that done, ye shall declare unto them the ten commandments one by one, every Sunday and holiday, till they be likewise perfect in the same.

Item, That ye shall in confessions every Lent examine every person that cometh to confession unto you, whether they can recite the articles of our faith, and the *Pater Noster* in English, and hear them say the same particularly; wherein if they be not perfect, ye shall declare to the same, that every Christian person ought to know the same before they should receive the blessed sacrament of the altar; and monish them to learn the same more perfectly by the next year following, or else, like as they ought not to presume to come to God's board without perfect knowledge of the same, and if they do, it is to the great peril of their souls; so ye shall declare unto them, that ye look for

other injunctions from the king's highness by that time, to stay and repel all such from God's board as shall be found ignorant in the premises; whereof ye do thus admonish them, to the intent they should both eschew the peril of their souls, and also the worldly rebuke that they might incur after by the same.

Item, That ye shall make, or cause to be made, in the said church, and every other cure ye have, one sermon every quarter of the year at least, wherein ye shall purely and sincerely declare the very gospel of Christ, and in the same exhort your hearers to the works of charity, mercy, and faith, especially prescribed and commanded in Scripture, and not to repose their trust or affiance in any other works devised by men's fantasies besides Scripture: as in wandering to pilgrimages, offering of money, candles, or tapers, to images, or relics; of kissing or licking the same over, saying over a number of beads, not understood or minded on, or in such like superstition; for the doing whereof, ye not only have no promise of reward in Scripture, but contrariwise great threats and maledictions of God, as things tending to idolatry and superstition, which of all other offences God Almighty doth most detest and abhor, for that the same diminisheth most his honour and glory.

Item, That such feigned images as ye know in any of your cures to be so abused with pilgrimages or offerings of anything made thereunto ye shall, for avoiding of that most detestable offence of idolatry, forthwith take down, and without delay; and shall suffer from henceforth no candles, tapers, or images of wax to be set afore any image or picture, but only the light that commonly goeth across the church by the rood-loft, the light before the sacrament of the altar, and the light about the sepulchre; which for the adorning of the church, and divine service, ye shall suffer to remain: still admonishing your parishioners, that images serve for none other purpose, but as to be books of unlearned men, that ken no letters, whereby they might be otherwise admonished of the lives and conversation of them that the said images do represent; which images if they abuse for any other intent than for such remembrances, they commit idolatry in the same, to the great danger of their souls; and therefore the king's highness graciously tendering the weal of his subjects' souls, hath to part already, and more will hereafter, travail for the abolishing of such images as might be an occasion of so great an offence to God, and so great a danger to the souls of his loving subjects.

Item, That all in such benefices, or cures, as ye have, whereupon ye be not yourself resident, ye shall appoint such curates in your stead, as can both by their ability, and will also promptly, execute these injunctions, and do their duty, otherwise that ye are bounden in every behalf accordingly, and may profit them, no less with good examples of living, than with declaration of the word of God, or else their lack and defaults shall be imputed unto you, who shall straightly answer for the same if they do otherwise.

Item, That ye shall admit no man to preach within any your benefices or cures, but such as shall appear unto you to be sufficiently licensed thereunto by the king's highness, or his grace's authority, by the archbishop of Canterbury, or the bishop of this diocese; and such as shall be so licensed ye shall gladly receive to declare the word of God, without any resistance or contradiction.

Item, If ye have heretofore declared to your parishioners any thing to the extolling or setting forth of pilgrimages, feigned relics, or images, or any such superstitions, that you shall now openly afore the same recant and reprove the same, showing them (as the truth is) that ye did the same upon no ground of

offens. coram te aut tuis Deputatis agitari, aut ad tuam sive alicujus Commissariorū per te vigore hujus Commissionis nostræ deputandorum cognitionem devolvi aut deduci valeant et possint, examinand. et decidend. Ad visitandum insuper Capitulum Ecclesiæ tuæ Cathedral. London. civitatemq; London. necnon omnia et singula Monasteria, Abbatis et Prioratus, Collegia et alia loca pia, tam Religiosa quam Hospitalia, quæcunq; clerumq; et populum dict. Dioc. London. quatenus Ecclesiæ, Monasterii, Abbatia, per te sive Prædecessores tuos London. Episcopos visitatio hujusmodi temporibus retroactis exerceri potuit, ac per te sive per eosdem de legibus et statutis ac juribus Regni nostri exerceri potuit et potest, et non aliter: Necnon ad inquirendū per te, vel alium seu alios ad id per te deputandū sive deputandos, tam ex officio mero mixto quam promotio super quorumcunq; excessibus, criminibus seu delictis quibuscunq; ad forum Ecclesiasticum spectantibus infra Dioc. London. ac delinquentes sive criminosos, juxta comperta per te in ea parte per Licitia Juris remedia pro modo culpe, prout natura et qualitas delicti poposcerit, coercendum et puniendum, cæteraq; omnia et singula in Præmissis seu aliquo præmissorum, aut circa ea necessaria seu quomodolibet opportuna, ac alia quæcunq; Autoritatem et Jurisdictionem Episcopalem quovismodo respiciend. et concernend. præter et ultra ea quæ tibi ex Sacris Literis divinitus commissæ esse dignoscantur, vice, nomine, et Autoritate nostris exequendum, Tibi, de cujus sana doctrina, conscientia puritate, vitæq; et morum integritate, ac in rebus gerendis fide et industria plurimum confidimus, vices nostras cum potestate alium vel alios, Commissarium vel Commissarios, ad præmissa seu eorum aliqua surrogandi et substituendi, eosdemq; ad placitum revocand. tenore præsentium committimus, ac liberam facultatem concedimus; Teq; licentiam per præsentem ad nostri beneplaciti duntaxat duraturas, cum cujuslibet congruæ et Ecclesiasticæ coercionis potestate quacunq; inhibitione in te datam præsentium emanata in aliquo non obstante Tuam Conscientiam coram Deo strictissime onerantes, et ut summo omnium judici aliquando rationem reddere, et coram nobis tuo cum periculo corporali respondere intendis: te admonentes ut interim tuum officium juxta Evangelii normam pie et sancte exercere studeas, et ne quem ullo tempore unquam vel ad sacros ordines promoveas, vel ad curam animarum gerend. quovis modo admittas, nisi eos duntaxat quos ad tanti et tam venerabilis Officii functionem vitæ et morum integritas certissimis testimoniis approbata, literarum scientiæ et aliæ qualitates requisitæ ad hoc habiles et idoneos clare et luculenter ostenderint et declaraverint; Nam ut maxime compertum cognitumq; habemus morum omnium, et Maxime Christianæ Religionis corruptelam a malis Pastoribus in populum emanasse, sic ut veram Christi Religionem, vitæq; et morum emendationem a bonis Pastoribus iterum delectis et assumptis in integrum restitutum iri haud dubie speramus. In cujus rei testimonium præsentem Literas nostras inde fieri, et Sigilli nostri quo ad Causas Ecclesiasticas utimur appensione jussimus Communiiri. Dat. 12. die mensis Novemb. Anno Dom. 1539. et Regni nostri Anno 31.

XV.—*The King's Letters Patents for printing the Bible in English.*

[Rot. Pat. 31, Hen. 8.]

HENRY the Eighth, &c. To all and singular printers and sellers of books within this our realm, and all other officers, ministers, and subjects, these our letters hearing or seeing, greeting. We let you wit, that being desirous to have our people, at all times convenient,

give themselves to the attaining the knowledge of God's word, whereby they will the better honour him, and observe and keep his commandments; and also do their duties better to us, being their prince and sovereign lord: and considering that this our zeal and desire cannot by any mean take so good effect, as by the granting to them the free and liberal use of the bible in our own natural English tongue: so unless it be foreseen that the same pass at the beginning by one translation to be perused and considered; the frailty of men is such, that the diversity thereof may breed and bring forth manifold inconveniences; as when wilful and heady folk shall confer upon the diversity of the said translations. We have therefore appointed our right trusty and well-beloved counsellor, the lord Cromwell, keeper of our privy-seal, to take for us, and in our name, special care and charge, that no manner of person, or persons, within this our realm, shall enterprise, attempt, or set in hand to print any bible in the English tongue of any manner of volume, during the space of five years next ensuing after the date hereof, but only all such as shall be deputed, assigned, and admitted by the said lord Cromwell.

The 13 Novemb. Tricesimo primo Regni.

XVI.—*The Attainder of Thomas Cromwell.*

[Parliament Rolls, Act 60, An. Reg. 32.]

Item quædam alia petitio, formam cujusdam actus attinctura in se continens, exhibita est suæ Regiæ Majestati in Parlamento prædicto, cujus tenor sequitur in hæc verba.

In their most humble-wise showing to your most royal majesty, the lords spiritual and temporal, and all your most loving and obedient subjects, the commons in this your most high court of parliament assembled; that where your most royal majesty, our natural sovereign lord, is justly, lawfully, and really entituled to be our sole supreme head and governor, of this your realm of England, and of the dominions of the same; to whom, and to none other under God, the kingly direction, order, and governance of your most loving and obedient subjects, and people of this your realm, only appertaineth and belongeth. And the which your most loving and obedient subjects, your highness prudently and quietly, without any manner of disturbance, by a long time most graciously hath preserved, sustained, and defended: and your highness, for the quietness, wealth, and tranquillity of your said humble and obedient subjects, hath made and ordained divers and many most godly, virtuous, and wholesome laws; and for due execution of the same, hath not desisted to travel in your own most royal person, to support and maintain, as well the laws of Almighty God, as the laws by your highness made and ordained, by due and condign execution of the same laws upon the transgressors offending contrary to the same: and your majesty hath always most virtuously studied and laboured, by all ways, and all means, to and for the setting forth thereof, in such wise as it might be most to the honour, glory, and pleasure of Almighty God; and for the common accord and wealth of this your realm, and other your dominions: and for the true execution of the same, hath elected, chosen, and made divers, as well of your nobles, as others, to be of your most honourable council, as to the honour of a noble prince appertaineth. And where your majesty hath had a special trust and confidence in your said most trusty counsellors, that the same your counsellors, and every of them, had minded and intended, and finally purposed to have followed and pursued your most godly and princely purpose, as of truth the more number

hath most faithfully done ; yet nevertheless Thomas Cromwell, now earl of Essex, whom your majesty took and received into your trusty service, the same Thomas then being a man of very base and low degree, and for singular favour, trust, and confidence, which your majesty bare and had in him, did not only erect and advance the same Thomas unto the state of an earl, and enriched him with manifold gifts, as well of goods, as of lands and offices, but also him, the said Thomas Cromwell, earl of Essex, did erect and make one of your most trusty counsellors, as well concerning your grace's supreme jurisdictions ecclesiastical, as your most high secret affairs temporal. Nevertheless your majesty now of late hath found, and tried, by a large number of witnesses, being your faithful subjects and personages of great honour, worship, and discretion, the said Thomas Cromwell, earl of Essex, contrary to the singular trust and confidence which your majesty had in him, to be the most false and corrupt traitor, deceiver, and circumventor against your most royal person, and the imperial crown of this your realm, that hath been known, seen, or heard of in all the time of your most noble reign : inasmuch that it is manifestly proved and declared, by the depositions of the witnesses aforesaid, that the same Thomas Cromwell, earl of Essex, usurping upon your kingly estate, power, authority, and office, without your grace's commandment or assent, hath taken upon him to set at liberty divers persons, being convicted and attainted of misprision of high treason ; and divers other being apprehended, and in prison, for suspicion of high treason ; and over that, divers and many times, at sundry places, in this your realm, for manifold sums of money to him given, most traitorously hath taken upon him, by several writings, to give and grant, as well unto aliens, as to your subjects, a great number of licenses for conveying and carrying of money, corn, grain, beans, beer, leather, tallow, bells, metals, horses, and other commodities of this your realm, contrary to your highness's most godly and gracious proclamations made for the commonwealth of your people of this your realm in that behalf, and in derogation of your crown and dignity. And the same Thomas Cromwell, elated, and full of pride, contrary to his most bounden duty, of his own authority and power, not regarding your majesty's royal ; and further, taking upon him your power, sovereign lord, in that behalf, divers and many times most traitorously hath constituted, deputed, and assigned, many singular persons of your subjects to be commissioners in many your great, urgent, and weighty causes and affairs, executed and done in this your realm, without the assent, knowledge, or consent of your highness. And further also, being a person of as poor and low degree, as few be within this your realm ; pretending to have so great a stroke about you, our, and his natural sovereign liege lord, that he letted not to say publicly, and declare, that he was sure of you ; which is detestable, and to be abhorred amongst all good subjects in any Christian realm, that any subject should enterprise or take upon him so to speak of his sovereign liege lord and king. And also of his own authority and power, without your highness's consent, hath made, and granted, as well to strangers as to your own subjects, divers and many passports, to pass over the seas, with horses, and great sums of money, without any search. And over that, most gracious sovereign lord, amongst divers other his treasons, deceits, and falsehoods, the said Thomas Cromwell, earl of Essex, being a detestable heretic, and being in himself utterly disposed to set and sow common sedition and variance among your true and loving subjects, hath secretly set forth and dispersed into all shires, and other territories of

this your realm, and other your dominions, great numbers of false erroneous books, whereof many were printed and made beyond the seas, and divers other within this realm, comprising and declaring, amongst many other evils and errors, manifest matters to induce and lead your subjects to diffidence, and refusal of the true and sincere faith and belief, which Christian religion bindeth all Christian people to have, in the most holy and blessed sacrament of the altar, and other articles of Christian religion, most graciously declared by your majesty, by authority of parliament : and certain matters comprised in some of the said books, hath caused to be translated into our maternal and English tongue : and, upon report made unto him by the translator thereof, that the matter so translated hath expressly been against the said most blessed and holy sacrament ; yet the same Thomas Cromwell, earl of Essex, after he had read the same translation, most heretically hath affirmed the same material heresy so translated, to be good ; and further hath said, that he found no fault therein ; and over that, hath openly and obstinately holden opinion, and said, that it was as lawful for every Christian man to be a minister of the said sacrament as well as a priest. And where also your most royal majesty, being a prince of virtue, learning, and justice, of singular confidence and trust, did constitute and make the same Thomas Cromwell, earl of Essex, your highness's vicegerent within this your realm of England ; and, by the same, gave unto him authority and power, not only to redress and reform all, and all manner of errors and erroneous opinions, insurging and growing among your loving and obedient subjects of this your realm, and of the dominions of the same, but also to order and direct all ecclesiastical and spiritual causes within your said realm and dominions ; the said Thomas Cromwell, earl of Essex, not regarding his duty to Almighty God and to your highness, under the seal of your vicegerent, hath, without your grace's assent or knowledge, licensed and authorised divers persons, detected and suspected of heresies, openly to teach and preach amongst your most loving and obedient subjects, within this your realm of England. And, under the pretence and colour of the said great authorities and cures, which your majesty hath committed unto him in the premises, hath not only, of his corrupt and damnable will and mind, actually, at some time, by his own deed and commandment, and at many other times by his letters, expressly written to divers worshipful persons, being sheriffs, in sundry shires of this your realm, falsely suggesting thereby your grace's pleasure so to have been, caused to be set at large many false heretics, some being there indicted, and some other being thereof apprehended, and in ward : and commonly, upon complaints made by credible persons unto the said Thomas Cromwell, earl of Essex, of great and most detestable heresies committed and sprung in many places of this your realm, with declaration of the specialities of the same heresies, and the names of the offenders therein, the same Thomas Cromwell, earl of Essex, by his crafty and subtle means and inventions, hath not only defended the same heretics from punishment and reformation ; but, being a fautor, maintainer, and supporter of heretics, divers times hath terribly rebuked divers of the said credible persons being their accusers, and some others of them hath persecuted and vexed by imprisonment and otherwise. So that thereby many of your grace's true and loving subjects have been in much dread and fear to detect or accuse such detestable known heretics ; the particularities and specialities of which said abominable heresies, errors, and offences,

committed and done by the said Thomas Cromwell, being over-tedious, long, and of too great number here to be expressed, declared, or written. And to the intent to have those damnable errors and heresies, to be inculcated, impressed, and infix'd in the hearts of your subjects, as well contrary to God's laws as to your laws and ordinances. Most gracious sovereign lord, the same Thomas Cromwell, earl of Essex, hath allured and drawn unto him, by retainers, many of your subjects sundrily inhabiting in every of your said shires and territories, as well erroneously persuading and declaring to them the contents of the false erroneous books, above-written, to be good, true, and best standing with the most Holy Word and pleasure of God; as other his false and heretical opinions and errors; whereby, and by his confederacies therein, he hath caused many of your faithful subjects to be greatly infected with heresies, and other errors, contrary to the right laws and pleasure of Almighty God. And the same Thomas Cromwell, earl of Essex, by the false and traitorous means above-written, supposing himself to be fully able, by force and strength, to maintain and defend his said abominable treasons, heresies, and errors, not regarding his most bounden duty to Almighty God and his laws, nor the natural duty of allegiance to your majesty, in the last day of March, in the thirtieth year of your most gracious reign, in the parish of St. Peter the Poor, within our city of London, upon demonstration and declaration then and there made unto him, that there were certain new preachers, as Robert Barnes, clerk, and other, whereof part been now committed to the Tower of London for preaching and teaching of lewd learning against your highness's proclamations; the same Thomas affirming the same preaching to be good, most detestably, arrogantly, erroneously, wilfully, maliciously, and traitorously, expressly against your laws and statutes; then and there did not let to declare, and say, these most traitorous and detestable words ensuing, amongst other words of like matter and effect; that is to say, that "if the king would turn from it, yet I would not turn; and if the king did turn, and all his people, I would fight in the field in mine own person, with my sword in my hand, against him and all others;" and then and there most traitorously pulled out his dagger, and held it on high, saying these words, "Or else this dagger thrust me to the heart, if I would not die in that quarrel against them all: and I trust, if I live one year or two, it shall not lie in the king's power to resist or let it if he would." And further, then and there, swearing by a great oath, traitorously affirmed the same his traitorous saying and pronounciation of words, saying, "I will do so indeed," extending up his arm, as though he had had a sword in his hand; to the most perilous, grievous, and wicked example of all other your loving, faithful, and obedient subjects in this your realm, and to the peril of your most royal person. And, moreover, our most gracious sovereign lord, the said Thomas Cromwell, earl of Essex, hath acquired and obtained into his possession, by oppression, bribery, extortion, power, and false promises made by him, to your subjects of your realm, innumerable sums of money and treasure; and, being so enriched, hath had your nobles of your realm in great disdain, derision, and detestation, as by express words by him most opprobriously spoken hath appeared. And, being put in remembrance of others, of his estate, which your highness hath called him unto, offending in like treasons, the last day of January, in the thirtieth year of your most noble reign, at the parish of St. Martin-in-the-Field, in the county of Middlesex, most arrogantly, willingly, maliciously, and traitor-

ously, said, published, and declared, that "if the lords would handle him so, that he would give them such a breakfast as never was made in England, and that the proudest of them should know;" to the great peril and danger as well of your majesty as of your heirs and successors: for the which his most detestable and abominable heresies and treasons, and many other his like offences and treasons, over-long here to be rehearsed and declared. Be it enacted, ordained, and established by your majesty, with the assent of the lords spiritual and temporal, and the commons in this present parliament assembled, and by the authority of the same, that the said Thomas Cromwell, earl of Essex, for his abominable and detestable heresies and treasons, by him most abominably, heretically, and traitorously practised, committed, and done, as well against Almighty God as against your majesty, and this your said realm, shall be, and stand, by authority of this present parliament, convicted and attainted of heresy and high-treason, and be adjudged an abominable and detestable heretic and traitor; and shall have and suffer such pains of death, losses, and forfeitures of goods, debts, and chattels, as in cases of heresy and high-treason, or as in cases of either of them, at the pleasure of your most royal majesty. And that the same Thomas Cromwell, earl of Essex, shall, by authority abovesaid, lose, and forfeit to your highness, and to your heirs and successors, all such his castles, lordships, manors, messuages, lands, tenements, rents, reversions, remainders, services, possessions, offices, rights, conditions, and all other his hereditaments, of what names, natures, or qualities soever they be, which he the said Thomas Cromwell, earl of Essex, or any other to his use had, or ought to have had, of any estate of inheritance, in fee-simple or fee-tail, in reversion or possession, at the said last day of March, in the said thirtieth year of your most gracious reign, or at any time sith or after, as in cases of high-treason. And that all the said castles, lordships, manors, lands, messuages, tenements, rents, reversions, remainders, services, possessions, offices, and all other the premises forfeited, as is abovesaid, shall be deemed invested and adjudged in the lawful, real, and actual possession of your highness, your heirs, and successors for ever in the same, and such estate, manner, and form, as if the said castles, lordships, manors, messuages, lands, tenements, rents, reversions, remainders, services, possessions, offices, and other the premises, with their appurtenances, and every of them, were specially or particularly founden, by office or offices, inquisition or inquisitions, to be taken by any escheator or escheators, or any other commissioner or commissioners, by virtue of any commission or commissions to them, or any of them, to be directed in any county or counties, shire or shires, within this your realm of England, where the said castles, and other the premises, or any of them, been, or do lay, and returned into any of your majesty's courts. Saving to all and singular person and persons, bodies politic and corporate, their heirs and successors, and their successors and assignees of every of them, other than the said Thomas Cromwell, earl of Essex, and his heirs, and all and every other person and persons, claiming by the same Thomas Cromwell, and to his use, all such right, title, entry, possession, interest, reversions, remainders, lease, leases, conditions, fees, offices, rents, annuities, commons, and all other commodities, profits, and hereditaments, whatsoever they or any of them might, should, or ought to have had, if this act had never been had nor made. Provided always, and be it enacted by the authority aforesaid, that this act of attainder, ne any offence, ne other thing therein

contained, extend not unto the deanery of Wells, in the county of Somerset; nor to any manors, lands, tenements, or hereditaments thereunto belonging; nor be in anywise prejudicial or hurtful unto the bishop of Bath and Wells, nor to the dean and chapter of the cathedral church of St. Andrew of Wells, nor to any of them, nor to any of their successors; but that the said bishop, dean, and chapters, and their successors, and every of them, shall and may have, hold, use, occupy, and enjoy, all and singular their titles, rights, manors, lands, tenements, rents, reversions, and services, and all and singular other their hereditaments, commodities, and profits, of what nature, kind, or quality, or condition soever they be, in as ample and large manner and form, as though this act of attainder, or any offence therein mentioned, had never been had, committed, nor made; and that from henceforth the dean, and his successors, deans of the said cathedral church that hereafter shall be prefected, elected, and admitted to the same, shall, by the authority aforesaid, be dean of the said cathedral church, fully and wholly incorporated with the chapter of the same, in as ample, large, and like manner and form, to all intents and purposes, as the deans before this time hath been and used to be, with the said chapter of the said cathedral church of Wells. And that the same dean and chapter, and their successors, shall have, occupy, and enjoy, all and singular their such possessions, manors, lands, tenements, rents, reversions, and services, and all and singular their hereditaments, of what nature, kind, name or names they be called or known. And shall be adjudged and deemed in actual and real possession and season of, and in the same premises, to all intents and purposes, according to their old corporation, as though this act of attainder, or anything, clause, or matter therein contained had never been had, committed, nor made. This said act of attainder, or any other act, provision, or anything heretofore had or made to the contrary notwithstanding. *Cui quidem petitioni cum prorsione prædict. et intellect. per dictum Dominum Regem ex auctoritate et consensu Parlamenti prædicti sic Responsum est,*

Soit fait come il est désiré.

XVII.—*Cromwell's Letter to the King concerning his Marriage with Ann of Cleves. An Original.*

[Cott. Libr. Otho. C. 10.]

To the King, my most Gracious Sovereign Lord his Royal Majesty.

Most merciful king, and most gracious sovereign lord, may it please the same to be advertised, that the last time it pleased your benign goodness to send unto me the right honourable lord chancellor, the right honourable duke of Norff. and the lord admiral, to examine, and also to declare unto me divers things from your majesty; among the which, one special thing they moved, and thereupon they charged me, as I would answer before God at the dreadful day of judgment, and also upon the extreme danger and damnation of my soul and conscience, to say what I knew in the marriage, and concerning the marriage, between your highness and the queen. To the which I answered as I knew, declaring unto them the particulars as nigh as I then could call to remembrance. Which when they had heard, they, in your majesty's name, and upon like charge as they had given me before, commanded me to write to your highness the

truth, as much as I knew in that matter; which now I do, and the very truth, as God shall save me, to the uttermost of my knowledge. First; after your majesty heard of the lady Ann of Cleves, arrival at Dover, and that her journeys were appointed toward Greenwich, and that she should be at Rochester on New-year's even at night, your highness declared to me that you would privily visit her at Rochester, upon New-year's-day, adding these words, "to nourish love;" which accordingly your grace did upon New-year's-day, as is above said. And the next day, being Friday, your grace returned to Greenwich, where I spake with your grace, and demanded of your majesty how ye liked the lady Ann: your highness answered as methought heavily, and not pleasantly, "Nothing so well as she was spoken of;" saying further, "that if your highness had known as much before as ye then knew, she should not have come within this realm;" saying, as by the way of lamentation, "what remedy?" unto the which I answered and said, I know none, but was very sorry therefore; and so God knoweth I was, for I thought it a hard beginning. The next day after the receipt of the said lady, and her entry made into Greenwich, and after your highness had brought her to her chamber, I then waited upon your highness into your privy chamber; and being there, your grace called me unto you, saying to me these words, or the like, "My lord, is it not as I told you? say what they will, she is nothing so fair as she hath been reported; howbeit she is well and seemly." Whereunto I answered and said, By my faith, sir, ye say truth; adding thereunto, that I thought she had a queenly manner; and nevertheless was sorry that your grace was no better content: and thereupon your grace commanded me to call together your council, which were these by name,—the archbishop of Canterbury, the dukes of Norfolk and Suffolk, my lord admiral, and my lord of Duresme, and myself,—to commune of these matters, and to know what commissions the agents of Cleves had brought, as well touching the performance of the covenants sent before from hence to Dr. Wotton, to have been concluded in Cleves, as also in the declaration how the matters stood for the covenants of marriage between the duke of Lorrain's son and the said lady Ann. Whereupon Olisleger and Hogeston were called, and the matters purposed; whereby it plainly appeared that they were much astonished and abashed, and desired that they might make answer in the next morning, which was Sunday: and upon the Sunday in the morning your said counsellors and they met together early, and there afterwards were proposed unto them, as well touching the commission for the performance of the treaty and articles sent to Mr. Wotton, as also touching the contracts and covenants of marriage between the duke of Lorrain's son and the lady Ann, and what terms they stood in. To which things so proposed, they answered as men much perplexed, that as touching commission, they had none to treat concerning the articles sent to Mr. Wotton. And as to the contract and covenants of marriage they could say nothing, but that a revocation was made and that they were but spousals. And finally, after much reasoning, they offered themselves to remain prisoners, until such time as they should have sent unto them from Cleves the first articles ratified under the duke their master's sign and seal, and also the copy of the revocation made between the duke of Lorrain's son and the lady Ann. Upon the which answers I was sent to your highness by my lords of your council to declare to your highness their answer; and came to you by the privy way into your privy chamber, and declared unto the same all the circumstances, where-with your grace was very much displeased, saying "I am

not well handled ;" insomuch that I might well perceive that your highness was fully determined not to have gone through with the marriage at that time, saying unto me these words, or the like in effect ; " that if it were not that she is come so far unto my realm, and the great preparations that my states and people have made for her, and for fear of making a ruffle in the world ; that is, to mean to drive her brother into the hands of the emperor and the French king's hands, being now together I would never have ne married her." So that I might well perceive your grace was neither content with the person ne yet with the proceedings of the agents ; and at after-dinner, the said Sunday, your grace sent for all your said counsellors in, repeating how your highness was handled, as well touching the said articles, as also the said matter of the duke of Lorrain's son. It might, and I doubt not, did appear unto them how loth your highness was to have married at that time. And thereupon, and upon the considerations aforesaid, your grace thought that it should be well done that she should make a protestation before your said counsellors and notaries to be present, that she was free from all contracts, which was done accordingly. And thereupon I repairing to your highness, declared how that she had made her protestation. Whereunto your grace answered in effect these words, or much like : " Is there none other remedy but that I must needs, against my will, put my neck in the yoke?" and so departed, leaving your highness in a study or pensiveness. And yet your grace determined the next morning to go through ; and in the morning, which was Monday, your Majesty preparing yourself towards the ceremonies, there was one question, who should lead to the church? And it was appointed that the earl of Essex deceased, and an earl that came with her, should lead her to the church. And thereupon one came to your highness and said to you, that the earl of Essex was not come ; whereupon your grace appointed me to be one that should lead her : and so I went into her chamber, to the intent to have done your commandment ; and shortly after I came into her chamber, the earl of Essex was come : whereupon I repaired back again into your grace's privy chamber, and showed your highness how he was come ; and thereupon your majesty advanced towards the gallery out of your privy chamber ; and your grace being in and about the midst of your chamber of presence, called me unto you, saying these words, or the like in sentence ; " My lord, if it were not to satisfy the world, and my realm, I would not do that I must do this day for none earthly thing ;" and therewith one brought your grace word that she was coming ; and thereupon your grace repaired into the gallery towards the closet and there paused for her coming, being nothing content that she so long tarried as I judged then. And so consequently she came, and your grace afterward proceeded to the ceremonies ; and they being finished, travelled the day as appertained, and the night after the custom. And in the morning on Tuesday, I repairing to your majesty into your privy chamber, finding your grace not so pleasant as I trusted to have done, I was so bold to ask your grace how you liked the queen? Whereunto your grace soberly answered, saying, " that I was not all men, surely, as ye know, I liked her before not well, but now I like her much worse ; for," quoth your highness, " I have felt her belly and her breasts, and thereby, as I can judge, she should be no maid ; which strook me so to the heart when I felt them, that I had neither will nor courage to proceed any further in other matters ;" saying, " I have left her as good a maid as I found her :" which methought then ye spake displeasantly, which made me very sorry to hear ; your highness also after

Candlemass, and before Showstie, once or twice said, that " ye were in the same case with her as ye were afore, and that your heart could never consent to meddle with her carnally." Notwithstanding your highness alleged, that ye for the most part used to lay nightly, or every second night, by her, and yet your majesty ever said, " that she was as good a maid for you, as ever her mother bare her, for anything ye had ministered to her." Your highness showed to me also in Lent last passed, at such time as your grace had some communication with her of my lady Mary, how that she began to wax stubborn and wilful, ever lamenting your fate, and ever verifying that ye never had any carnal knowledge with her : and also after Easter, your grace likewise, at divers times, and in the Whitsun week, in your grace's privy chamber at Greenwich, exceedingly lamented your fate, and that your greatest grief was, that " ye should surely never have any more children for the comfort of this realm, if ye should so continue ;" assuring me, " that before God ye thought she was never your lawful wife." At which time your grace knoweth what answer I made ; which was, that I would for my part do my utmost to comfort and deliver your grace of your afflictions ; and how sorry I was both to see and hear your grace, God knoweth. Your grace divers times sithen Whitsuntide, ever alleging one thing, and also saying, " that ye had as much to do to move the consent of your heart and mind as ever did man, and that you took God to witness ; but ever, you said, the obstacle could never out of your mind." And, gracious prince, after that you had first seen her at Rochester, I never thought in my heart that ye were or would be contented with that marriage. And, sir, I know now in what case I stand, in which is only the mercy of God and your grace ; if I have not to the uttermost of my remembrance said the truth, and the whole truth in this matter, God never help me. I am sure there is, as I think, no man in this your realm that knew more in this than I did, your highness only excepted. And I am sure, my lord admiral calling to his remembrance, can show your highness, and be my witness what I said unto him after your grace came from Rochester, yea, and after your grace's marriage : and also now of late, sithence Whitsuntide, and I doubt not but many and divers of my lords of your council, both before your marriage and sithence, have right well perceived that your majesty hath not been well pleased with your marriage. And as I shall answer to God, I never thought your grace content, after you had once seen her at Rochester. And this is all that I know, most gracious and most merciful sovereign lord, beseeching Almighty God, who ever hath in all your causes counselled, preserved, opened, maintained, relieved, and defended your highness ;—so he will now vouchsafe to counsel you, preserve you, maintain you, remedy you, relieve and defend you, as may be most to your honour, with prosperity, health, and comfort of your heart's desire. For the which, and for the long life, and prosperous reign of your most royal majesty, I shall, during my life, and whiles I am here, pray to Almighty God, that he of his most abundant goodness will help, aid, and comfort you, after your continuance of Nestor's years : that that most noble imp, the prince's grace, your most dear son, may succeed you to reign long, prosperously, and felicitously to God's pleasure : beseeching most humbly your grace to pardon this my rude writing, and to consider that I a most woful prisoner, ready to take the death, when it shall please God and your majesty : and yet the frail flesh inciteth me continually to call to your grace for mercy and grace for mine offences ; and thus Christ save, preserve, and keep you.

Written at the Tower this Wednesday, the last of June, with the heavy heart and trembling hand of your highness's most heavy and most miserable prisoner and poor slave,

THOMAS CROMWELL.

Most gracious prince, I cry for mercy, mercy, mercy.

XVIII.—*The King's own Declaration concerning it. An Original.*

[Cotton. Libr. Otho. C. 10.]

FIRST; I depose and declare, that this hereafter written is merely the verity intended, upon none sinister affection, nor yet upon none hatred nor displeasure, and herein I take God to witness. Now to the matter I say and affirm, that when the first communication was had with me for the marriage of the lady Ann of Cleves, I was glad to hearken to it, trusting to have some assured friend by it; I much doubting that time, both the emperor, France, and the bishop of Rome; and also because I heard so much, both of her excellent beauty and virtuous conditions. But when I saw her at Rochester, the first time that ever I saw her, it rejoiced my heart that I had kept me free from making any pact or bond before with her till I saw her myself; for then I assure you I liked her so ill, and so far contrary to that she was praised, that I was woe that ever she came into England; and deliberated with myself, that if it were possible to find means to break off, I would never enter yoke with her. Of which misliking both the great master, the admiral that now is, and the master of the horses, can and will bear record. Then after my repair to Greenwich, the next day after I think, and doubt not, but that the lord of Essex well examined, can, and will, or hath declared what I then said to him in that case; not doubting, but since he is a person which knoweth himself condemned to die by act of parliament, will not damn his soul, but truly declare the truth, not only at that time spoken by me, but also continually till the day of marriage; and also many times after, whereby my lack of consent, I doubt not, doth or shall well appear; and also lack enough of the will and power to consummate the same; where-in both he, my physicians, the lord privy seal that now is, Hennage and Denny can, and I doubt not will testify according to truth, which is, that I never for love to the woman consented to marry; nor yet if she brought maidenhead with her, took any from her by true carnal copulation. This is my brief, true, and perfect declaration.

H. R.

XIX.—*The Judgment of the Convocation for annulling of the Marriage with Ann of Cleves.*

[Regist. Cranmer.]

TENOR vero Literarum Testimonialium hujusmodi sequitur, et est talis. Excellentissimo in Christo Principi, &c. Thomas Cantuarien. et Edwardus Eboracen. Archiepiscopi, ceterique; Episcopi et reliquos vestri Regni Angliæ clerus, Autoritate Literarum Commissionarium Vestre Majestatis, Congregati ac Synodum universalem representantes, cum obsequio, reverentia et honore debitum, salutem et felicitatem. Cum nos humillimi et Majestatis Vestre devotissimi subditi, Convocati et Congregati sumus virtute Commissionis Vestre magno sigillo Vestro sigillat. dat. 6 Julii Anno felicissimi Regni Vestri tricesimo secundo, quam accepimus in hæc quæ sequitur verba.

Henricus Octavus Dei Gratia Angliæ, &c. Archiepiscopi Cantuariæ, i. e. et Eborac. ac ceteri Regni nostri Angliæ Episcopi, Decanis, Archidiaconis, et universo Clero, salu em. Egerunt apud nos Regni nostri proceres

et populus, ut cum nuper quædam emergerint, quæ ut illi putant ad nos Regni; nostri successionem pertineant, inter quæ præcipua est, causa et conditio Matrimonii quod cum Illustri et Nobili Fœmina Domina Anna Clevensi propter externam quidem conjugii speciem, perplexum alioque etiam multis ac variis modis ambiguum videtur; Nos ad ejusdem Matrimonii disquisitionem ita procedere dignamur ut opinionem Vestram qui in Ecclesia nostra Anglicana scientiam Verbi Dei et Doctrinam profitemini exquiramus, vobisq; discutendum Autoritatem ita demandemus, ut si animis Vestris fuerit persuasum Matrimonium cum præfata Domina Anna minime consistere aut coherere debere; nos ad Matrimonium contrahendum cum alia libero esse, Vestro, Patrum ac reliquæ deinde Ecclesiæ suffragio pronuncietur et confirmetur. Nos autem qui Vestrum in reliquis Ecclesiæ hujus Anglicanæ negotiis gravioribus quæ Ecclesiasticam Oeconomiam et Religionem spectant judicium amplecti solemus, ad veritatis explicandæ testimonium omnino necessarium rati sumus Causæ hujusmodi Matrimonialis seriem et circumstantias vobis exponi et communicari curare, ut quod vos per Dei Leges licere decreveritis id demum totius Ecclesiæ nostræ Autoritate innixi licite facere et exequi audeamus. Vos itaq; Convocari et in Synodum Universalem nostra Autoritate convenire volentes, vobis conjunctim et divisim committimus atq; mandamus, ut inspecta hujus negotii veritate, ac solum Deum præ oculis habentes, quod verum, quod justum, quod honestum, quod sanctum est, id nobis de communi Concilio scripto annuncio renunciatis, et de communi consensu licere definiatis: Nempe hoc unum a vobis nostro jure postulamus, ut tanquam fida et proba Ecclesiæ membra causæ huic Ecclesiasticæ, quæ maxima est, in justitia et veritate adesse velitis, et eam maturime juxta Commissionem vobis in hac parte factam absolute et expedire. In cujus rei Testimonium has Literas nostras fieri fecimus Patentes, Teste meipso apud Westmon. sexto die Julii Anno Regni nostri tricesimo secundo. Nos tenorem et effectum Vestre Commissionis per omnia sequentes, postquam matura deliberatione perpendimus et consideravimus omnes Matrimonii prætensi inter Vestram Majestatem Illustrissimam et Nobilem fœminam Dominam Annam Clevensem circumstantias, nobis multis modis expositas, cognitas et perspectas, tandem ad definitionem et determinationem sequentem, quam communi omnium consensu justorumq; animorum nostrorum judicio ac recto conscientie dictamine protulimus, processimus, in hunc modum et (quod tenor Vestre Commissionis exigit) Vestre Nobilissimæ Majestati in hoc presenti scripto referend. duximus, et significamus prout sequitur.

Primum itaq; comperimus et consideravimus Matrimonium inter Majestatem Vestram et Nobilem fœminam Dominam Annam Clevensem prætensam præcontracto quodam sive sponsaliorum, sive Matrimonii, inter dictam Dominam Annam et Marchionem Lotharingiæ concluso ambiguum, plane impeditum et perplexum reddi; Animadvertimus enim quod quamvis Vestra Majestas in prima hujus Matrimonii prætensi tractatione præcontractus prædicti, et de quo tum sermo multus habebatur, discussionem et declarationem ante solemnizandum cum dicta Domina Anna Matrimonium tanta instantia exegerit, ut pro conditione contrahendi deinde Matrimonii fuisse merito existimari possit, qua conditione defecta nihil ageretur; atq; hæc cum ita se haberent tamen neque ante solemnizationem illa de præcontractu ambiguitas expedita et declarata est, cum idipsum tum temporis Majestas Vestra denuo exposceret et efflagitaret, cui clara jam et expedita esse omnia falso renunciabatur, neq; postea quicquam efficax ut promissum ab Oratoribus fuerat,

huc transmissum est, quo scrupulus ille ex præcontractu natus eximeretur, tolleretur aut amoveretur, adeo quidem ut prætensum Matrimonium inter Majestatem Vestram et Dominam Annam prædictam non modo ex conditionis defectu corruerit, sed si nulla conditio hujusmodi omnino fuisset, certe quidem Matrimonium hujusmodi prætensum ex sola præcontractus hujusmodi causa non explicata in suspensio manserit, in eum etiam casum nullius vigoris omnino ac valoris pronuntiandum, quo præcontractum illum verbis de præsentī factum fuisse constitit, id quod multis de causis est verisimilius et merito suspectum haberi potest.

Consideravimus præterea ex his quæ allegata, affirmata et probata nobis fuerunt, quod prætensum Matrimonium inter Majestatem vestram et Dominam Annam prædictam internum, purum, perfectum et integrum consensum non habuit: Imo contra quemadmodum inter ipsa tractationis initia, cum de hoc Matrimonio ageretur, plurimus illecebrarum focus adhibitus est, et magnus laudationum acervus supra fidem cumulatus, ut hic perduceretur et obtruderetur ignota, ita solemnizationis actus qui instabat a Majestate Vestra animo reluctantē et dissentiente exortus est, causis maximis et gravissimis urgentibus et prementibus quæ animum invitum et alienum percellere merito possent.

Consideravimus etiam carnalem Copulam inter Majestatem Vestram et prædictam Dominam Annam minime secutam esse, nec cum ea justo impedimento intercedente consequi deinde posse. Quæ omnia ex his quas audivimus probationibus vera et certa esse existimamus. Postremo illud quoque Consideramus, quod et nobis ab aliis propositum etiam nos verum esse fateamur, agnoscimus et approbamus, viz. ut si Majestas Vestra (modo ne fiat divinæ jussioni præjudicium) in libertate contrahendi Matrimonii cum alia esse declararetur, maxime totius Regni beneficio id futurum. Cum quidem Regni felicitas omnis et conservatio, tum in Regia Vestra persona ad Dei honorem et divinarum legum executionem conservandam consistit, tum in vitandis etiam sinistris omnibus opinionibus et scandalis quæ de Majestatis Vestræ progenie post natam nobis ex prætenso Matrimonio sobolem suborirentur, si præcontractus ille de quo diximus, et cujus delaratio nulla secuta est, prædictæ Dominæ Annæ objiceretur. His itaque de causis et considerationibus aliisque multis non necessariis quæ exprimentur, cum separatim singulis, tum conjunctim omnibus consideratis et perpensis, Nos Archiepiscopi et Episcopi, cum Decanis, Archidiaconis, et reliquo hujus Regni Clero nunc congregato, circumstantias facti ejusque veritatem ut antedictum est considerantes, tum vero quid Ecclesia in hujusmodi casibus et possit facere et sæpe numero antehac fecerit pendentes, tenore præsentium declaramus et definimus, Majestatem Vestram prædicto Matrimonio prætenso, utpote nullo et invalido, non alligari, sed alio desperi iudicio non expectato Ecclesiæ suæ Autoritate fretam posse arbitrio suo ad contrahend. et consummand. Matrimonium cum quavis fœmina, divino jure vobiscum contrahere non prohibita, procedere, prætenso illo cum Domina Anna prædicta Matrimonio non obstante.

Similiter Dominam Annam prædictam non obstante Matrimonio prætenso cum Majestate Vestra, quod nullo pacto ob stare debere Decernimus, posse arbitrio suo cum quavis alia persona divino jure non prohibita Matrimonium contrahere. Hæc nos Clerum et doctam Ecclesiæ Anglicanæ partem representantes, tum vera, justa, honesta et sancta esse Affirmamus, tum eisdem qui perfectissime, integerrime et efficacissime ad omnem intentionem, propositum et effectum a nobis exigī potest, Consentimus et Assentimur per præsentēs. In

quorum omnium et singulorum testimonium hæc scripta manuum nostrarum subscriptione, communis, utriusque etiam Archiepiscopi sigillo appositæ. Dat. Westmon. nono die mensis Julii Anno Dom. 1540.

XX.—*Ann of Cleves' Letter * to her Brother.*

[Cotton. Libr. Otho. C. 10.]

BROTHER,—Because I had rather ye knew the truth by mine advertisement, than for want thereof ye should be deceived by vain reports, I write these present letters unto you, by which ye shall understand, that being advertised how the nobles and commons of this realm desired the king's highness here to commit the examination of the matter of marriage, between me and his majesty, to the determination of the clergy: I did the more willingly consent thereunto, and since the determination made, have also allowed, approved, and agreed unto the same, wherein I have more respect, as becometh me, to truth and good pleasure, than any worldly affection that might move me to the contrary. I account God pleased with that is done, and know myself to have suffered no wrong or injury; but being my body preserved in the integrity which I brought into this realm, and I truly discharged from all band of consent, I find the king's highness, whom I cannot justly have as my husband, to be nevertheless as a most kind, loving, and friendly father and brother, and to use me as honourably, and with as much humanity and liberality as you, I myself, or any of our kin or allies, could wish or desire; wherewith I am, for mine own part, so well content and satisfied, that I much desire my mother, you, and other mine allies so to understand it, accept, and take it; and so to use yourself towards this noble and virtuous prince, as he may have cause to continue his friendship towards you, which on his behalf shall nothing be impaired or altered for this matter; for so hath it pleased his highness to signify unto me, that like as he will show me always a most fatherly and brotherly kindness, and has so provided for me; so will he remain with you and other according to such terms as have passed in the same knot of amity which between you hath been concluded, this matter notwithstanding, in such wise as neither I, ne you, or any of our friends shall have just cause of discontentment. Thus much I have thought necessary to write unto you, lest for want of true knowledge ye might otherwise take this matter than ye ought, and in other sort care for me than ye should have cause. Only I require this of you, that ye so use yourself, as for your untowardness in this matter, I fare not the worse; whereunto I trust you will have regard.

XXI.—*The Resolutions of several Bishops and Divines, of some Questions concerning the Sacraments; by which it will appear with what maturity and care they proceeded in the Reformation. Taken from the Originals, under their own hands: only in copying them, I judged it might be more acceptable to the reader to see every Man's Answer set down after every question; and therefore they are published in this method.*

Ex MSS. D. Stillingfleet.

The First Question.

What a Sacrament is by the Scripture.

THE Scripture sheweth not what a sacrament is; nevertheless where in the Latin text we have *Sacra-*

* This letter was drawn by Gardiner; but it is not certain that it was sent.—STRYPE'S CORRECTIONS.

mentum, there in the Greek we have *Mysterium*; and so by the Scripture, *Sacramentum* may be called *Mysterium*, id est, *res occulta sive arcana*.—*Canterbury*.

To the first; in Scripture we neither find definition nor description of a sacrament.—*York*.

Without prejudice to the truth, and saving always more better judgment, *Cum facultate etiam melius deliberandi in hac parte*.

To the first question; I think that the Scriptures do use this word *Sacrament* in divers places, according to the matter it treateth upon, *Tobi. 12*; *Rev. 1*; *Wisd. ii. 6, 12*; *Dan. ii*; *Ephes. i. 3, 5*; *Col. i*; *1 Tim. 10*; *Rev. xvii*; as also it doth divers other words: yet what a sacrament is by definition, or description of Scripture, I cannot find it explicated openly. Likewise as I cannot find the definition or description of the Trinity, nor yet such-like things. Mary what other men can find, being daily and of long season exercised in Scripture, I cannot tell, referring therefore this thing to their better knowledge.—*London*.

I think that where this word, *Sacramentum*, is found in the Scripture in the Latin translation, there in the Greek is found this word *μυστήριον*, that is to say, a mystery, or a secret thing.—*Rochester*.

What the word *Sacrament* betokeneth, or what is the definition, description, or notification thereof, I have found no such plainly set out by Scripture. But this I find, that it should appear by the same Scripture, that the Latin word *Sacramentum*, and the Greek word *Mysterium*, be in manner always used for one thing; as much to say as, *Abconditum, Occultatum, vel in occulto*.—*Carlisle*.

Thomas Robertson. Ad Questiones:

Ad primam respondeo, vocem *Sacramenti*, mihi in Sacris Literis non reperiri in hac significatione, nisi quatenus ad Matrimonium applicatur a Paulo, ubi tamen Græce habetur *Mysterium*: et proinde ex meritis Scripturis expresse defini non posse.—*Dr. Robertson*.

I find not in Scripture, the definition of a Sacrament, nor what a Sacrament is.—*Dr. Cox*.

I find no definition in Scripture of this word *Sacramentum*; howbeit wheresoever it is found in Scripture, the same is in the Greek *Mysterium*, which signifieth a secret or hid thing.—*Dr. Day*.

Non habetur in Scripturis, quid *Sacramentum* proprie sit, nisi quod subinde *Mysterium* dicitur: varia enim, et in Scripturis, et in Ecclesiasticis Scriptoribus reperitur ejus nominis significatio; ideoque defini non potest.—*Dr. Ogilethorp*.

I find no definition of this word *Sacrament*, in the Scripture; nor likewise of this word *Gratia*, or *Lex*, with innumerable more; and yet what they signify, it is known; so the signification of this word *Sacrament* is plain, it is nothing else but a secret hid thing, or any mystery.—*Dr. Redmayn*.

Like as *Angelus, Cælum, Terra*, be spoken of in Scripture, yet none of them defined: so although *Sacramentum* be spoken of in Scripture, yet it hath no definition there, but is taken divers ways, and in divers significations.—*Dr. Edgeworth*.

This word *Sacrament* in Scripture is not defined.—*Dr. Symmons*.

I say this word *Sacrament*, taken in his common signification, betokeneth a mystery, and hid or secret thing: but if ye understand it, in his proper signification, as we use to apply it only to the seven Sacraments, the Scripture showeth not what a Sacrament is. And yet lest any man might be offended, thinking, that because the Scripture showeth not what a Sacrament is, therefore the same is a light thing, or little to be esteemed; here may be remembered that there are some weighty and godly things, being also of our belief, which the Scripture showeth not expressly

what they are. As for example; we believe the Son is consubstantial to the Father: Item, that the Father is unbegotten, yet the Scripture showeth not what is consubstantial, nor what is unbegotten, neither maketh any mention of the words. Likewise it is true, baptism is a Sacrament, penance is a Sacrament, &c. yet the Scripture showeth not what a Sacrament is.—*Dr. Tresham*.

Edwardus Leyghton.

Responsions unto the Questions.

To the first question, I say; that in Holy Scripture I never found, and I think there is no man that will find, a definition or description of this word *Sacramentum*; which is as much to say in English, as, a mystery, a secret, or a hid thing.—*Dr. Leyghton*.

I do read no definition of this word, *Sacramentum*, in Scripture; but sometimes it is used in Scripture, to signify a thing secret or hid.—*Dr. Coren*.

Conveniunt.—In primo articulo conveniunt omnes, non satis constare ex Scriptura, quid sit *Sacramentum*; Plerique tamen dicunt Græce appellari, *Mysterium, i. e. a secret, or a hid thing*.

*Agreement**.—In the answer unto the first question, they do all agree, that it is not evident by Scripture what a Sacrament is, but *Mysterium*, that is, a secret or a hid thing.

2. Question.

What a Sacrament is by the Ancient Authors.

Answers.

The ancient doctors call a Sacrament, *Sacra rei Signum, viz. visibile Verbum, Symbolum, atque pactio qua sumus constricti*.—*Canterbury*.

To the second; of St. Augustin's words, this description following of a Sacrament may be gathered; *Sacramentum est invisibilis gratiæ, visibilis forma*. And this thing, that is such visible form or sign of invisible grace in sacraments, we find in Scripture, although we find not the word *sacrament*, saying only in the sacrament of matrimony.—*York*.

To the second; I find in authors this declaration, *Sacramentum est Sacra rei signum*. Also, *Invisibilis Gratiæ Visibilis Forma*. Also, *Visibilis Forma Invisibilis Gratiæ imaginem gerens et causa existens*. And of the verity and goodness of this description or declaration, I refer me to the divines, better acquainted with this matter than I am.—*London*.

I think that this word *sacrament*, as it is taken of the old authors, hath divers and sundry significations; for sometimes it is extended to all holy signs, sometimes to all mysteries, sometimes to all allegories, &c.—*Rochester*.

Thomas Waldensis, who writeth a solemn work de *Sacramentis*, causeth me to say, that this word, *Sacramentum in Communi*, is defined of the ancient authors; who after that he had showed how that Wycliff, and before him Berengarius, hath said, that Augustin defineth *Sacramentum* thus: *Sacramentum est sacrum Signum*; and *Signum* in this wise *Signum, est res præter speciem quam sensibus ingerit aliquid aliud ex se faciens in cogitationem venire* †. He himself, with ancient authors, as he saith, defineth it thus: *Sacramentum est invisibilis Gratiæ visibilis Forma, vel, Sacramentum est Sacra rei Signum*: both these descriptions (saith he) be of the ancient fathers.—*Carlisle*.

Sacramentum a vetustioribus, quemadmodum fert Hugo de S. Victore, et Thomas Aquinas, nondum reperiri definitum, nisi quod Augustinus interdum

* The agreement at the end of these Questions, is in Cranmer's hand.—Cott. Lib. 2. Cleop. E. 5.

† De Doctrina Christiana.

vocet Sacramenta, Sacra signa aut signacula, interdum similitudines earum rerum, quarum sunt Sacramenta. Et Rabanus, Sacramentum dicitur, quod sub tegumento rerum corporalium, virtus Divina secretius salutem eorumdem Sacramentorum operatur, unde et a secretis virtutibus vel Sacris, Sacramenta dicuntur.—*Dr. Robertson.*

The ancient authors commonly say, that a sacrament is *Sacræ rei Signum*, or *Sacrosanctum Signaculum*; but they do not utterly and properly define what it is.—*Dr. Cox.*

The ancient doctors take this word, *Sacramentum*, diversely, and apply it to many things.—*Dr. Day.*

Ex Augustino et aliis colligitur, Sacramentum posse dici, *Sacræ rei Signum*, vel, *invisibilis gratiæ visibilis Forma*, quanquam hæc posterior definitio non conveniat omnibus Sacramentis, sciz. tantum septem istis usitatis; sed nec his quoc; ex æquo, cum non æqualem conferant gratiam.—*Dr. Oglethorpe.*

Generally it is taken to signify every secret mystery, and *Sacramenta* be called, *Sacrarum rerum signa*, or, *Sacra signacula*: and as this word sacrament particularly is attributed to the chief sacraments of the church, this definition of a sacrament may be gathered of St. August. *Invisibilis Gratiæ visibilis Forma*. And also that a sacrament is a mystical or secret work, which consisteth *ex Verbo et elemento*. And Cyprian saith, *Verborum solemnitas et sacri invocatio nominis, et signa institutionibus Apostolicis Sacerdotum Ministeriis Attributa, visibile celebrant Sacramentum, rem vero ipsam Spiritus Sanctus format et efficit*.—*Dr. Redmayn.*

By the ancient authors, *Sacramentum* hath many significations; sometimes it is called a secret counsel, Tob. 12. *Sacramentum Regis abscondere bonum est*. Nebuchadnezzar's dream was called *Sacramentum*, Dan. 2. The mystery of Christ's incarnation, and of our redemption, is so called, Ephes. 3. and 1 Tim. 3. So that every secret thing, having some privy sense or signification, is called *Sacramentum*, generally extending the vocable: notwithstanding in one signification, *Sacramentum* accordeth properly to them that be commonly called the seven sacraments; and hath this definition taken of St. August. and others, *Invisibilis gratiæ visibilis Forma, ut ipsius imaginem gerat et quodammodo causa existat*.—*Dr. Edgeworth.*

The ancient authors of divinity use this word sacrament in divers significations, for they call it *Mysterium*; and so the Scripture useth it in many places, as 1 Tim. 3; Tobie 12; Wisd. 2; Dan. 2; Eph. 1. and 3. The word sacrament is also used for a figure or a sign of the old testament, signifying Christ, as the Paschal Lamb, and the Brazen Serpent, and divers other holy signs. It is also taken of the holy authors, to be an holy sign, which maketh to the sanctification of the soul, given of God against sin for our salvation, as it may be gathered of them; for this word sacrament is called by them, *Sacrum Signum*; but I have not read any express definition common to all sacraments.—*Dr. Symmons.*

This word sacrament, in the ancient authors, is oft-times used in this general signification, and so (as is before said) it is a mystery, or secret thing: and sometimes the same word is used as applicable only unto the seven sacraments; and is thus described, a visible form of an invisible grace: and thus also, a thing by the which, under the covering of visible things, the godly power doth work our health.—*Dr. Tresham.*

To the second, I say; that Hugo de Sancto Victore is one of the most ancient authors that I ever could perceive, took upon him to define or describe a sacrament: howbeit, I suppose, that this common description which the schoolmen use, after the Master of the

Sentences, viz. *Sacramentum est invisibilis Gratiæ visibilis seu sensibilis Forma*, may be gathered of St. Austin, and divers other ancient authors' words in many places of their works.—*Dr. Leyghton.*

I do find no definition plainly set forth, in old authors, notwithstanding this definition, *Invisibilis Gratiæ visibilis Forma*, may be gathered out of St. Augustine.—*Dr. Coren.*

Conveniunt.—In secundo Articulo conveniunt omnes, Sacramentum esse sacræ rei signum. Tresham, Oglethorpe, et Edgeworth, dicunt hanc definitionem, Sacramentum est invisibilis gratiæ visibilis Forma, his septem convenire. Thurlbeus ait, non convenire omnibus septem, et æque pluribus posse attribui atq; septem.

Agreement.—In the second they put many descriptions of a sacrament, as the sign of a holy thing, a visible word, &c. But upon this one definition, a sacrament is a visible form of invisible grace, they do not all agree: for Doctors Edgeworth, Tresham, and Oglethorpe say, that "it is applicable only and properly unto the word sacrament, as it signifieth the seven sacraments usually received." My lord elect of Westminster saith, that "it agreeth not unto all the seven, nor yet more specially unto the seven, than unto any other."

3. Question.

How many Sacraments there be by the Scripture?

Answers.

The Scripture sheweth not how many sacraments there be, but *Incarnatio Christi* and *Matrimonium*, be called in the Scripture *Mysteria*, and therefore we may call them by the Scripture *Sacramenta*. But one *Sacramentum* the Scripture maketh mention of, which is hard to be revealed fully, as would to God it were, and that is *Mysterium Iniquitatis*, or *Mysterium Meretricis magnæ et Bestiæ*.—*Canterbury.*

To the third; in Scripture we find no precise number of sacraments.—*York.*

To the third; I find not set forth the express number, with express declaration of this many and no more; nor yet of these expressly by Scripture which we use, especially under the name of Sacraments, saying only of matrimony.—*London.*

I think that in the Scripture be innumerable sacraments, for all mysteries, all ceremonies, all the facts of Christ, the whole story of the Jews, and the revelations of the Apocalypse, may be named sacraments.—*Rochester.*

The certain number of sacraments, or mysteries, contained within Scripture, cannot be well expressed or assigned; for Scripture containeth more than infallibly may be rehearsed.—*Carlisle.*

De istis septem, quæ usitate vocamus Sacramenta, nullum invenio nomine Sacramenti appellari, nisi Matrimonium. Matrimonium esse Sacramentum, probat Eckius, Homi. 73. et conferre gratiam, ibid.—*Dr. Robertson.*

There be divers sacraments by the Scripture, as in Tobie, 12. *Sacramentum Regis*, the king's secret. Also Nebuchadnezzar's dream, Dan. 2, is called, *Sacramentum*. *Incarnatio Christi*, *Sacramentum*, Ephes. 3. *Matrimonium*, *Sacramentum*.—*Dr. Cox.*

Taking for sacraments anything that this word *Sacramentum* doth signify, there be in Scripture a great number of sacraments more than seven.—*Dr. Day.*

Non habetur determinatus Sacramentorum numerus in Scripturis, sunt enim innumera fere illic, quæ passim vocantur Sacramenta; cum omnis allegoria, omneq; Mysterium, dicatur Sacramentum. Quin et

somnia, ac secreta, subinde Sacramenta vocantur. Tobie 2. Sacramentum Regis abscondere bonum est; et Dan. 2. Imploremus misericordias Dei Cœli super Sacramento isto, et somnio. Paulus etiam Epist. 2. vocat Mysterium Incarnationis Christi Sacramentum: Et in Apoc. 1. vocat Sacramentum septem Stellarum. Ac hoc præcipue observandum venit, nullum a septem Sacramentis receptis, hoc nomine appellari, præter solum matrimonium.—*Dr. Oglethorp.*

As many as there be mysteries, which be innumerable; but by Scripture, I think, the seven which be named sacraments, may principally bear the name.—*Dr. Redmayn.*

Speaking of sacraments generally, they be innumerable spoken of in Scripture; but properly to speak of sacraments, there be but seven that may be so called, of which matrimony is expressly called *Sacramentum*, Ephes. 5, and, as I think, in the germane and proper signification of a sacrament; so that the indivisible knot of the man and his wife in one body, by the sacrament of matrimony, is the matter of this sacrament; upon which, as on the literal verity, the apostle foundeth this allegorical saying, *Ego autem dico in Christo et in Ecclesia*; for the mystical sense presupposeth a verity in the letter on which that is taken. Six more there be to which the definition doth agree, as manifestly doth appear by the Scriptures with the exposition of the ancient authors.—*Dr. Edgeworth.*

In the Scripture there is no certain number of sacraments.—*Dr. Symmons.*

I find no more of the seven, called expressly sacraments, but only matrimony; but, extending the name of sacrament in his most general acception, there are in Scripture a great number of sacraments, whereof the apostle saith, *Si noverint Mysterium omnia*, &c.—*Dr. Tresham.*

To the third; I say, that I find not in Scripture any of these seven which we commonly call sacraments, called *Sacramentum*, but only *Matrimonium*. But I find divers and many other things called sacraments in Scripture, as in the 21st of Tobie, *Sacramentum Regis abscondere bonum est*. Item, Apoc. 17. *Dicamus tibi Sacramentum*. Item, 1 Tim. 3. *Magnum est pietatis sacramentum*, &c.—*Dr. Legghon.*

I cannot tell how many sacraments be, by Scripture, for they be above one hundred.—*Dr. Coren.*

Convenient.—In tertio convenient satis: non esse certum numerum Sacramentorum per Scripturas. Redmaynus addit, *But by Scripture I think the seven which be named sacraments, may principally bear the name.* Idem sentit Edgeworth, et septem tantum. *Matrimonium* in Scripturis haberi sub nomine Sacramenti pleriq; dicunt.

Agreement.—In the third they do agree, that there is no certain number of sacraments by Scripture, but even as many as there be mysteries; and none of these seven called sacraments, but only matrimony in Scripture.

4. Question.

How many Sacraments there be by the Ancient Authors?

Answers.

By the ancient authors there be many sacraments more than seven, for all the figures which signify Christ to come, or testify that he is come, be called sacraments, as all the figures of the old law, and in the new law; *Eucharistia, Baptismus, Pascha, Dies Dominicus, lotio pedum, signum Crucis, Chrisma, Matrimonium, Ordo, Sabbatum, Impositio manuum, Oleum, Consecratio Olei, Lac, Mel, Aqua, Vinum, Sal, Ignis, Cinis, adaperio Aurium, vestis candida*, and all the parables of Christ, with the propheties of the Apoca-

lypse and such others, be called by the doctors, *Sacramenta*.—*Canterbury.*

To the fourth; There is no precise number of sacraments mentioned by the ancient authors, taking the word sacrament in his most general signification.—*York.*

To the fourth; I find that St. Austin speaketh *de Baptismo, de Eucharistia, de Matrimonio, de Ordinatione clericorum, de Sacramento Chismatis et Uctionis*: also I find in the said St. Austin, that in the old law there were many sacraments, and in the new law few.—*London.*

I think that in the doctors be found many more sacraments than seven, viz. *Panis Catechumenorum, signum Crucis, Oleum, Lac, Sal, Mel, &c.*—*Rochester.*

That Scripture containeth, by the same Holy Ghost which is author thereof, the holy doctors, and ancient fathers expoundeth; so that where in Scripture the number of sacraments is uncertain, it cannot be among them certain.—*Carlisle.*

Apud Augustinum lego Sacramentum Nuptiarum, Sacramentum Baptismi, Sacramentum Eucharistiae, quod et altaris sive panis vocat; Sacramentum Ordinationis; Sacramentum Chismatis, quod datur per manus impositionem Baptizatis; Sacramentum Uctionis.—*Dr. Robertson.*

I find in the ancient authors, that baptism is called *Sacramentum, Eucharistia Sacramentum, Matrimonium Sacramentum, Ordo Sacramentum, Chrisma Sacramentum, Impositio Manuum per Baptismum Sacramentum, Dilectio Sacramentum, Lotio pedum Sacramentum, Oleum, Mel, Lac, Sacramenta*; and many others.—*Dr. Cor.*

There be a great sort of sacraments found in the doctors, after the acception above-said, more than seven.—*Dr. Day.*

Apud Scriptores Ecclesiasticos reperiuntur multa Sacramenta quam hæc septem.—*Dr. Oglethorp.*

Taking this word sacrament universally for mysteries, or all secret tokens, there be more sacraments than can be reckoned; but the seven by old authors may specially obtain the name. *Lotio pedum* is spoken of in old authors as a special sacrament used then in the church, and as it appeareth, having a great ground in the Scripture; and I think it were better to renew that again, and so to have eight sacraments, rather than to diminish the number of the seven now used.—*Dr. Redmayn.*

Even like as to the next question before.—*Dr. Edgeworth.*

The ancient authors acknowledge many more than seven; for they call in their writings all rites and ceremonies, sacraments.—*Dr. Symmons.*

Generally, as many as mysteries, specially seven, and no more of like nature to them; for although I find not express mention where penance is called a sacrament, yet I think it may be deduced and proved by Cyprian, in his sermon *de Passione Christi*, in these words. *Deniq; quicunq; sunt Sacramentorum Ministri, per operationem auctoritas in figura Crucis omnibus Sacramentis largitur effectum, et cuncta peragit nobis quod omnibus nominibus eminet a Sacramentorum vicariis invocatum: At licet indigni sint qui accipiunt, Sacramentorum tamen reverentia et propinquiores ad Deum parat accessum, et ubi redierint ad eor constat ablutionis donum, et redit effectus munerum, nec alias quæri aut repeti necesse est salutiferum Sacramentum*; in these words, *redit effectus munerum*; and *nec alias repeti necesse est salutiferum Sacramentum*, must needs be understood penance, and also that penance is a sacrament: for as our first access to God is by the sacrament baptism, which Cyprian

there following called *Ablutionem primam*; so if we fall by deadly sin, we cannot *repetere* God again, but by penance; which repeating, i. e. penance, Cyprian calleth *Salutiferum Sacramentum*.—*Dr. Tresham*.

To the fourth, I say: that I find in ancienter authors every one of these seven, which we call commonly sacraments, called *Sacramentum*; as in Austin every one of them is called *Sacramentum* but only penance, which Cyprian calleth *Sacramentum*. Also I find in the ancienter authors divers other things (besides the seven) called sacraments, as *Lotio pedum* in Cyprian, &c.—*Dr. Leyghton*.

More sacraments be found in old authors than seven.—*Dr. Coren*.

Convenient.—In quarto conveniunt, plura esse Sacramenta quam septem apud Autores: Redman addit; *But the seven, by old authors, may specially obtain the name*. Idem putat Edgeworth and Tresham. *Lotio pedum, he thinketh were better to be renewed, and so made eight sacraments, than the number of the seven to be diminished*. Tresham citat Cyprianum in Sermon de Passione Christi pro poenitentia, quod dicatur Sacramentum, cum alii fere omnes nusquam appellari aiunt Sacramentum apud Autores, et hic locus aperte agit de Baptismo, quod vocat donum abluionis, et Sacramentum Salutiferum.

Agreement.—In the fourth they agree, that there is no determinate number of sacraments spoken of in the old authors; but that my lord of York, and Edgeworth, Tresham, Redman, Crayford, and Simmons, say, that those seven, by old authors, may specially obtain the name of sacraments. The bishop of St. David's saith, that there be but four sacraments in the old doctors most chiefly spoken of, and they be baptism, the sacrament of the altar, matrimony, and penance.

5. Question.

Whether this word Sacrament be and ought to be attributed to the seven only? and whether the seven Sacraments be found in any of the old Authors?

Answers.

I know no cause why this word sacrament should be attributed to the seven only; for the old authors never prescribed any certain number of sacraments, nor in all their books I never read these two words joined together, viz. *septem Sacramenta*.—*Cauterbury*.

To the fifth; to the first part of this question, this word sacrament is used and applied in Scripture to some things that be none of the seven sacraments. To the second part; the seven sacraments be found in some of the ancient authors.—*York*.

To the fifth, I answer; that this word sacrament in our language commonly hath been attributed to the seven customably called sacraments, not for that yet, that the word sacrament cannot be applied to any more, but for that the seven have been specially of very long and ancient season received, continued, and taken for things of such sort.—*London*.

I think that the name of a sacrament is and may be attributed to more than seven, and that all the seven sacraments be found in the old authors, though all peradventure be not found in one author. But I have not read penance called by the name of a sacrament in any of them.—*Rochester*.

Certain it is, that this word sacrament neither is nor ought to be attributed to seven only, for both Scripture and ancient authors otherwise applieth it, but yet nothing letteth, but that this word sacrament may most especially, and in a certain due pre-eminence, be applied to the seven sacraments, of most ancient name and usage among Christian men. And that the ancient authors have so used and applied it, affirmeth

the said Thomas Walden, convincing Wycliffe and Berengarius, who enforced the contrary, from Cyprian, and also Augustin, with other holy doctors, they may so well be gathered.—*Carlisle*.

Vocabulum, Sacramenti, in Sacris Literis, nulli Sacramentorum quod sciam tribuitur, nisi Matrimonio: a vetustis Scriptoribus tribuitur Cereemoniis et umbris legis, Incarnationi Christi, figuris, allegoriis, et festivitatis: apud Paulum legitur divinitatis, voluntatis divinæ, et pietatis Sacramentum. Cæterum loquendo de Sacramentis his, quæ sunt invisibilis gratiæ collatæ in Ecclesia Christi visibilia signa, opinor non plura quam septem inveniri, hisq; magis proprie quam reliquis, sub hac ratione, tribui nomen Sacramenti.—*Dr. Robertson*.

This word sacrament is not, nor ought not to be attributed to these seven only. Those that we call seven sacraments be found in old authors, although some of them be seldom found called by this name sacrament.—*Dr. Cor*.

This word *Sacramentum* neither is nor ought to be so attributed unto these seven, but that it is and may be attributed to many more things, and so the ancient doctors use it. The seven sacraments be found in ancient doctors under the name of sacrament, saving that I remember not that I have read in them penance called a sacrament.—*Dr. Day*.

Nomen commune est multis aliis rebus, quam septem istis usitatis Sacramentis. Septem Sacramenta, seorsim et sparsim reperiuntur in veterum monumentis.—*Dr. Oglethorpe*.

To the seven specially and principally, and in general to innumerable more. But I cannot tell whether in any old author might be found these two words, seven sacraments, or this number limited; but every one of the seven sacraments, one by one, be found in the old authors.—*Dr. Redmayn*.

Sacramentum, in his proper signification, is and ought to be attributed to the seven only; and they be all seven found in the authors.—*Dr. Edgeworth*.

This word sacrament is not only to be attributed to the seven, but that the seven sacraments especially conferreth grace, the old authors especially accounteth them by the number of seven; and these seven are found in authors and scriptures, although they be not found by the name of seven.—*Dr. Symmons*.

I say, this word sacrament is attributed to the seven; and that the seven sacraments are found in the ancient authors.—*Dr. Tresham*.

To the fifth I say, first (as before), that this word *Sacramentum* is not applied or attributed in holy Scripture to any of the seven, but only to matrimony. But it is attributed in Scripture and ancient authors to many other things besides these: howbeit, taking this word *Sacramentum* for a sensible sign of the invisible grace of God given unto Christian people, as the schoolmen and many late writers take it; I think that these seven commonly called sacraments, are to be called only and most properly sacraments.—*Dr. Leyghton*.

This word sacrament may well be attributed to the seven; and so it is found in old authors, saving that I do not read expressly in old doctors, penance to be under the name of a sacrament, unless it be in Chrysostom, in the exposition *ad Hebræ. Homil. 20. sect. 1. cap. 10. in principio*.—*Dr. Coren*.

Non. Con.—In quinto præter Herfordens. Roffens. Dayium, Oglethorpum, Menevens. et Coxum, putant omnes nomen Sacramenti præcipue his septem convenire. Symons addit, *The seven sacraments specially confer grace*: Eboracens. Curren, Tresham, Symons, aiunt septem Sacramenta inveniri apud veteres, quanquam Curren et Symons mox videntur iterum negare.

Dissent.—In the fifth ; the bishops of Hereford and St. David, Dr. Day, Dr. Cox, say, that this word sacrament, in the old authors, is not attributed unto the seven only, and ought not to be attributed ; the bishop of Carlisle alleging Waldensis, Doctors Curren, Edgworth, Symons, Tresham say, that it is and may be attributed. And Dr. Curren and Mr. Symmons seem to vary against themselves each in their own answers ; for Dr. Curren saith, that this word sacrament is attributed unto the seven in the old doctors, and yet he cannot find that it is attributed unto penance. Dr. Symons saith, that the old authors account them by the number of seven ; and yet he saith, that they be not found there by the name of Seven.

6. Question.

Whether the determinate number of seven Sacraments be a Doctrine, either of the Scripture, or of the old Authors, and so to be taught ?

Answers.

The determinate number of seven sacraments is no doctrine of the Scripture, nor of the old authors.—*Canterbury.*

To the sixth ; the Scripture maketh no mention of the sacraments determined to seven precisely ; but the Scripture maketh mention of seven sacraments, which be used in Christ's church, and grounded partly in Scripture ; and no more be in use of the said church but seven so grounded ; and some of the ancient doctors make mention of seven, and of no more than seven, as used in Christ's church so grounded ; wherefore a doctrine may be had of seven sacraments precisely used in Christ's church, and grounded in Scripture.—*York.*

To the sixth ; I think it be a doctrine set forth by the ancient fathers, one from another, taking their matter and ground out of Scripture, as they understood it ; though Scripture for all that doth not give unto all the seven, the special names by which now they are called, nor yet openly call them by the name of Sacrament, except only (as is before said) the sacrament of matrimony.—*London.*

Albeit the seven sacraments be in effect found both in the Scripture and in the old authors, and may therefore be so taught ; yet I have not read this precise and determinate number of seven sacraments, neither in the Scripture, nor in the ancient writers.—*Rochester.*

By what is here before said, I think it doth well appear, that both the Scripture of God, and holy expositors of the same, would have the seven sacraments both taught, and in due form exhibited to all Christian people, as it shall also better appear by what followeth.—*Carlisle.*

In Scriptura tantum unum ex istis septem Sacramentum vocari invenio, nimirum Matrimonium : apud veteres reperiuntur omnia hæc septem, a nullo tamen, quod sciam, nomine 7. Sacramentorum celebrari, nisi quod Eras. ait 7. a veteribus recenseri : August. loquens de Sacramentis ad Januarium Ep. 118. ait numerum septenarium tribui Ecclesiæ proprie instar universitatis ; Item objectum fuisse Husso in Concilio Constantienti quod infideliter senserit de 7 Sacramentis. De perfectione Num. Septenarii, vide August. lib. 1. de Civ. cap. 31.—*Dr. Robertson.*

This determinate number of seven sacraments is no doctrine of Scripture, nor of the old authors, nor ought not to be taught as such a determinate number by Scripture and old authors.—*Dr. Cox.*

Neither the Scripture nor the ancient authors do recite the determinate number of the seven sacraments ; but the doctrine of the seven sacraments is grounded

in Scripture, and taught by the ancient authors, albeit not altogether.—*Dr. Day.*

Septenarius Sacramentorum numerus, Doctrina est recentium Theologorum ; quam illi partim ex Scriptura, partim ex veterum scriptis, argute in sacrum hunc (ut aiunt) numerum, collegerunt.—*Dr. Oglethorpe.*

I think, as I find by old authors, the ancient church used all these seven sacraments ; and so I think it good to be taught.—*Dr. Redmayn.*

The determinate number of seven sacraments is not taught in any one process of the Scripture, nor of any one of the old authors of purpose speaking of them altogether, or in one process, as far as I can remember ; albeit they all seven be there, and there spoken of in Scripture manifestly, and so have the old authors left them in sundry places of their writings ; and so it ought to be taught.—*Dr. Edgworth.*

Forasmuch as the Scripture teacheth these seven, and sheweth special graces given by the same, the which are not so given by others, called sacraments, the old authors perceiving the special graces, have accounted them in a certain number, and so have been used by doctors to be called Seven, and without inconvenience may so be taught.—*Dr. Symmons.*

I say, the determinate number of seven is not expressly mentioned in the Scripture, like as the determinate number of the seven petitions of the prayer is not expressly mentioned ; and as I think the seven petitions to have their ground in Scripture, even so do I think of the seven sacraments, to be grounded in Scripture.—*Dr. Tresham.*

To the sixth I say as before, that the old authors call each of these seven sacraments ; but be it, I cannot remember that ever I read the determinate, precise, and express number of seven sacraments in any of the ancient authors, nor in Scripture. Howbeit we may find in Scripture, and the old authors, also mention made, and the doctrine of each of these seven, commonly called sacraments.—*Dr. Leyghton.*

The determinate number of seven is a doctrine to be taught, for every one of them be contained in Scripture, though they have not the number of seven set forth there, no more than the petitions of the *Pater Noster* be called seven, nor the articles of the creed be called twelve.—*Dr. Coren.*

Conveniunt.—Priori parti Quæstiones negative Respondent. Herfordens. Menevens. Roffens. Dayus, Dunelmens. Oglethorpus, Thurleby : Posteriori parti, quod sit Doctrina conveniens respondent affirmative, Eboracen. Roffen. Carliolen. Londinen. Dayus, Edgworth, Redmayn, Symmons, Curren : Londinen. et Redmanus non respondent priori parti Quæstionis, nec Oglethorpus, Tresham, Robinsonus Posteriori. Eboracen. Londin. Symmons, Curren, volunt de Scripturis peti Doctrinam Septem. Sacramentorum.

Agreement.—In the sixth, touching the determinate number of the seven sacraments, the bishop of Durresme, Hereford, St. David, and Rochester, the elect of Westminster, Dr. Day, and Dr. Oglethorpe, say, " this prescribed number of sacraments is not found in the old authors." The bishops of York, Drs. Curren, Tresham, and Symmons, say the contrary. Concerning the second part, Whether it be a doctrine to be taught ? the bishops of Hereford, St. David's, and Dr. Cox, " think it ought not to be so taught as such a determinate number by Scripture." The bishops of York, London, Carlisle ; Drs. Day, Curren, Tresham, Symmons, Crayford, " think it a doctrine meet to be taught ;" and some of them say, that " it is founded on Scripture."

7. Question.

What is found in Scripture of the matter, nature, effect, and virtue of such as we call the seven Sacraments; so as although the name be not there, yet whether the thing be in Scripture or no, and in what wise spoken of?

Answers.

I find not in the Scripture, the matter, nature, and effect of all these which we call the seven sacraments, but only of certain of them, as of baptism, in which we be regenerated and pardoned of our sin by the blood of Christ: of Eucharistia, in which we be con-corporated unto Christ, and made lively members of his body, nourished and fed to the everlasting life, if we receive it as we ought to do, and else it is to us rather death than life. Of penance, also, I find in the Scripture, whereby sinners after baptism returning wholly unto God, be accepted again unto God's favour and mercy. But the Scripture speaketh not of penance, as we call it a sacrament, consisting in three parts, contrition, confession, and satisfaction; but the Scripture taketh penance for a pure conversion of a sinner in heart and mind from his sins unto God, making no mention of private confession of all deadly sins to a priest, nor of ecclesiastical satisfaction to be enjoined by him. Of matrimony, also, I find very much in Scripture; and among other things, that it is a mean whereby God doth use the infirmity of our concupiscence to the setting forth of his glory and increase of the world, thereby sanctifying the act of carnal commixtion between the man and the wife to that use—yea, although one party be an infidel: and in this matrimony is also a promise of salvation, if the parents bring up their children in the faith, love, and fear of God. Of the matter, nature, and effect of the other three, that is to say, confirmation, order, and extreme unction, I read nothing in the Scripture as they be taken for sacraments.—*Canterbury.*

To the seventh; Of baptism, we find in Scripture the institution by the word of Christ; we find also that the matter of baptism is water, the effect and virtue is remission of sins. Of confirmation, we find that the apostles did confirm those that were baptized, by laying their hands upon them, and that the effect then was the coming of the Holy Ghost into them, upon whom the apostles laid their hands, in a visible sign of the gift of divers languages, and therewith of ghostly strength to confess Christ, following upon the same. Of the sacrament of the altar, we find the institution by Christ, and the matter thereof, bread and wine, the effect, increase of grace. Of the sacrament of penance, we find the institution in the gospel, the effect, reconciliation of the sinner, and the union of him to the mystical body of Christ. Of the sacrament of matrimony, we find the institution both in the Old and New Testament, and the effect thereof, remedy against concupiscence and discharge of sin, which otherwise should be in the office of generation. Of the sacrament of order, we find, that our Saviour gave to his apostles power to baptize, to bind and to loose sinners, to remit sins, and to retain them, to teach and preach his word, and to consecrate his most precious body and blood, which be the highest offices of order; and the effect thereof grace, we find in Scripture. Of extreme unction, we find in the Epistle of the holy apostle St. James, and of the effects of the same.—*York.*

To the seventh, I find, that St. Austin is of this sentence, that "where the sacraments of the old law did promise grace and comfort, the sacraments of the new law do give it indeed." And moreover he saith, that "the sacraments of the new law are, *factu faciliora, pauciora, salubriora, et feliciora*, more easier, more fewer, more wholesomer, and more happy."—*London.*

The Scripture teacheth of baptism, the sacrament

of the altar, matrimony, and penance manifestly: there be also in the Scripture manifest examples of confirmation, viz., that it was done after baptism by the apostles, *per manuum Impositionem*. The Scripture teacheth also of order, that it was done, *per manuum Impositionem cum oratione et jejunio*. Of the unction of sick men, the Epistle of St. James teacheth manifestly.—*Rochester.*

I think verily, that of the substance, effect, and virtue of these seven usual sacraments, that are to be taken and esteemed above others, we have plainly and expressly by holy Scripture. Of baptism, that who-soever believeth in Christ, and is christened, shall be saved; and except that one be born again of water and the Holy Ghost, he cannot come within the kingdom of God. Of matrimony, we have in Scripture, both by name and in effect, in the Old and New Testament, both by Christ and his apostle Paul. Of the sacrament of the altar, I find plainly, expressly, both in the holy gospels and other places of Scripture. Of penance in like manner. Of confirmation, we have in Scripture, that when the Samaritans, by the preaching of Philip, had received the word of God and were christened, the apostles, hearing of the same, sent Peter and John unto them; who, when they came thither, they prayed for them that they might receive the Holy Ghost: then they laid their hands upon them, and so they received the Holy Ghost; "This," saith Bede, "is the office and duty only of bishops." "And this manner and form" (saith St. Hieron,) "as it is written in the Acts, the church hath kept, that the bishop should go abroad to call for the grace of the Holy Ghost, and lay his hands upon them, who had been christened by priests and deacons." Of the sacrament of orders, we have, that Christ made his apostles the teachers of his law, and ministers of his sacraments, that they should duly do it, and make and ordain others likewise to do it after them. And so the apostles ordained Matthias to be one of their number; St. Paul made and ordained Timothy and Titus, with others likewise. Of the sacrament of extreme unction, we have manifestly in the Gospel of Mark, and Epistle of St. James.—*Carlisle.*

Materia Sacramentorum est Verbum et Elementum, virtus quam Deus per illa digne sumentibus conferat gratiam, juxta suam promissionem, nimirum quod sint Sacra Signacula, non tantum signantia sed etiam sanctificantia. Unde opinor constare hanc Sacramentorum vim esse in Sacris Literis.—*Dr. Robertson.*

I find in Scripture, of such things as we use to call sacraments; First, of baptism manifestly. Of Eucharistia manifestly. Of penance manifestly. Of matrimony manifestly. Of ordering, *per manuum Impositionem et Orationem* manifestly. It is also manifest that the apostles laid their hands upon them that were christened. Of the unction of the sick, with prayer, manifestly.—*Dr. Cox.*

Albeit the seven sacraments be not found in Scripture expressed by name, yet the thing itself, that is, the matter, nature, effect, and virtue of them, is found there. Of baptism in divers places; of the most holy communion; of matrimony; of absolution; of bishops, priests, and deacons, how they were ordained *per manuum Impositionem cum Oratione*; of laying the apostles' hands on them that were christened, which is a part of confirmation; of unction of them that were sick, with prayer joined withal.—*Dr. Day.*

Natura, vis, effectus, ac uniuscujusque Sacramenti proprietas, seorsim in Scriptura reperitur, ut veteres eam interpretati sunt.—*Dr. Oglethorp.*

As it appeareth in the articles which be drawn of the said seven sacraments.—*Dr. Redmayn.*

In Scripture we find of the form of the sacraments, as the words sacramental; and the matter, as the element, oil, chrism; and the patient receiving the sacrament; and of grace and increase of virtue given by them as the effects.—*Dr. Edgeworth.*

The things are contained in Scripture, as baptism, confirmation, *Eucharistia*, *Pœnitentia*, *Extrema Unctio*, *Ordo*, although they have not these names *Sacramentum*, as matrimony hath; and every one of them hath his matter, nature, effect, and virtue.—*Dr. Symmons.*

I think the thing, the matter, the nature, the effect, and virtue of them all be in the Scripture, and all there institute by God's authority, for I think that no one man, neither the whole church, hath power to institute a sacrament, but that such institution pertaineth only to God.—*Dr. Tresham.*

To the seventh, I say, that we may evidently find in Scripture the substance of every one of the seven Sacraments, the nature, effect, and virtue of the same; as of baptism, confirmation, penance, matrimony, and so forth of the rest.—*Dr. Leyghthon.*

Of the matter, nature, virtue, and effect of such as we call sacraments, Scripture maketh mention: of baptism manifestly, of the most holy communion manifestly, of absolution manifestly, of matrimony manifestly: of bishops, priests, and deacons, Scripture speaketh manifestly; for they were ordered, *per Impositionem manuum Presbyterii cum Oratione et jejunio*.—*Dr. Coren.*

Convenit.—Convenit præter Menevens. naturam septem Sacramentorum nobis tradi in Scripturis. Eboracens. effectus singulorum enumerat, item Carliolens.

Londinens. non Respondet Quæstioni. Treshamus ait ideo è Scripturis tradi nobis Sacramenta, quoniam tota Ecclesia non habet Autoritatem Instituenti Sacramenta.

Agreement.—In the seventh they do agree, saving this, that the bishop of St. David says, that the nature, effect, and virtue of these seven sacraments, only baptism, the sacrament of the altar, matrimony, penance, are contained in the Scripture. The other say, that the nature and the virtue of all the seven be contained in the Scripture.

B. Question.

Whether Confirmation, cum Chrismate, of them that be baptized be found in Scripture.

Answers.

Of confirmation with chrism, without which it is counted no sacrament, there is no mention in the Scripture.—*Canterbury.*

To the eighth; We find confirmation, *cum Impositione manuum*, in Scripture, as before; *cum Chrismate* we find not in the Scripture, but yet we find chrismation with oil used even from the time of the apostles, and so taken as a tradition apostolic.—*York.*

To the eighth; I find in Scripture, in many places, *de Impositione manuum*, which I think (considering the usage commonly and so long withal used) to be confirmation; and that with chrism, to supply the visible appearance of the Holy Ghost, which Holy Ghost was so visibly seen in the primitive church;—nevertheless, for the perfect declaration of the verity hereof, I refer it to the judgment of men of higher knowledge in this faculty.—*London.*

Although confirmation be found in the Scripture, by example, as I said before, yet there is nothing written *de Chrismate*.—*Rochester.*

The imposition of hands, the holy doctors take for the same which we call confirmation, done upon them

which were christened before, whereof is written in the Acts. And as for *Chrisma*, it should seem by Cyprian, both as touching the confection and usage thereof, that it hath a great ground to be derived out of Scripture, though it be not manifestly therein spoken of.—*Carlisle.*

Res et Effectus Confirmationis continentur in Scriptura, nempe, Impositio manuum per Apostolos Baptizatis, per quam dabatur Spiritus Sanctus. De Chrismate nihil illic legimus, quia per id tempus Spiritus Sanctus signo visibili descenderit in Baptizatos. Quod ubi fieri desiderit, Ecclesia Chrismate signi externi loco uti cœpit.—*Dr. Robertson.*

I find not in Scripture that the apostles laying their hands upon them that were baptized, did anoint them *Chrismate*.—*Dr. Cox.*

Confirmation *cum Chrismate* I read not in Scripture, but *Impositionem manuum super Baptizatos* I find there is, which ancient authors call confirmation; and inunction with *Chrisma* hath been used from the primitive church.—*Dr. Day.*

De Impositione manuum cum Oratione, expressa mentio est in Scripturis, quæ nunc usitato nomine, a Doctoribus dicitur, Confirmatio. Sacrum Chrisma, traditio est Apostolica, ut ex veteribus liquet.—*Dr. Oglethorpe.*

The question is not simple, but as if it were asked, Whether *Eucharistia* in infermentato be in the Scripture, or *Baptismus cum sale*. Imposition of the apostles' hands, in which was conferred the Holy Ghost for confirmation of them who were baptized, is found in Scripture. *Chrisma* is a tradition deduced from the apostles, as may be gathered by Scripture, and by the old authors, and the mystery thereof is not to be despised.—*Dr. Redmayn.*

This sacrament is one, *unitate integritatis*, as some others be: therefore it hath two parts, of which one, that is, *Impositio manuum*, is taken Heb. vi. and Act. viii. The other part, that is, *Chrisme*, is taken of the tradition of the fathers, and so used from the primitive church. *Vide Cyp. Epist. lib. i. ep. 12.*—*Dr. Edgeworth.*

Confirmation is found in Scripture, and confirmation *cum Chrismate* is gathered from the old authors.—*Dr. Symmons.*

I say confirmation is found in Scripture, but this additament, *cum Chrismate*, is not of the Scripture, yet is it a very ancient tradition, as appeareth by *Cyp. de Unct. Chrism.*—*Dr. Tresham.*

To the eighth question I say, that confirmation of them that be baptized is found in Scripture; but *cum Chrismate* it is not found in Scripture, but it was used *cum Chrismate* in the church soon after the apostles' time, as it may evidently appear by the cited authors.—*Dr. Leyghthon.*

The laying of the bishop's hands upon them that be christened, which is a part of confirmation, is plainly in Scripture; and the unction with *Chrisme*, which is another part, hath been observed from the primitive church, and is called of St. Austin, *Sacramentum Chrismatis*. Unction of the sick with oil and the prayer is grounded expressly in Scripture.—*Dr. Coren.*

Convenit.—Convenit omnes Confirmationem cum Chrismate non haberi in Scripturis. Eboracens. Tresham, Coren, Day, Oglethorpe, Edgeworth, Leighton, Symmons, Redman, Robinsonus, Confirmationem in Scripturis esse contendunt; cæterum Chrisma esse traditionem Apostolicam: addit Robertsonus, et ubi fieri desiderat miraculum Consecrandi Spiritus Sancti, Ecclesia Chrismate signi externi loco uti cœpit; Convenit illi Londinens.

Carlilens. putat usum Chrismatis ex Scripturis peti posse; Putant omnes tum in hoc Articulo, tum superiori, Impositionem manuum esse Confirmationem.

Agreement.—In the eighth they do agree all, except it be the bishop of Carlisle, that *confirmatio cum chrismate* is not found in Scripture, but only *confirmatio cum manuum impositione*. And that also my lord of St. David's denieth to be in Scripture, as we call it a sacrament. My lord of Carlisle saith, that "*chrisma*, as touching the confection and usage thereof, hath a ground to be derived out of Scripture." The other say, "that it is but a tradition."

9. Question.

Whether the Apostles, lacking a higher power, as in not having a Christian king among them, made bishops by that necessity, or by authority given by God?

Answers.

All Christian princes have committed unto them immediately of God the whole cure of all their subjects, as well concerning the administration of God's word, for the cure of souls, as concerning the ministration of things political and civil governance: and in both these ministrations, they must have sundry ministers under them to supply that which is appointed to their several offices. The civil ministers under the king's majesty, in this realm of England, be those whom it shall please his highness for the time to put in authority under him; as for example, the lord chancellor, lord treasurer, lord great master, lord privy seal, lord admiral, majors, sheriffs, &c. The ministers of God's word, under his majesty, be the bishops, parsons, vicars, and such other priests as be appointed by his highness to that ministration; as for example, the bishop of Canterbury, the bishop of Durham, the bishop of Winchester, the parson of Winwick, &c. All the said officers and ministers, as well of that sort as the other, be appointed, assigned, and elected, and in every place, by the laws and orders of kings and princes. In the admission of many of these officers be divers comely ceremonies and solemnities used, which be not of necessity, but only for a good order and seemly fashion; for if such offices and ministrations were committed without such solemnity, they were nevertheless truly committed; and there is no more promise of God, that grace is given in the committing of the ecclesiastical office, than it is in the committing of the civil office. In the apostles' time, when there was no Christian princes, by whose authority ministers of God's word might be appointed, nor sins by the sword corrected, there was no remedy then for the correction of vice, or appointing of ministers, but only the consent of Christian multitude among themselves, by a uniform consent, to follow the advice and persuasion of such persons whom God had most endued with the spirit of counsel and wisdom; and at that time, forasmuch as the Christian people had no sword nor governor amongst them, they were constrained of necessity to take such curates and priests, as either they knew themselves to be meet thereunto, or else as were commended unto them by others, that were so replete with the Spirit of God, with such knowledge in the profession of Christ, such wisdom, such conversation and counsel, that they ought even of very conscience to give credit unto them, and to accept such as by them were presented: and so sometimes the apostles and others, unto whom God had given abundantly his Spirit, sent or appointed ministers of God's word; sometimes the people did choose such as they thought meet thereunto; and when any were appointed or sent by the apostles or others, the people of their own voluntary will with

thanks did accept them: nor for the supremacy, empire, or dominion, that the apostles had over them to command, as their princes and masters, but as good people ready to obey the advice of good counsellors, and to accept anything that was necessary for their edification and benefit.—*Canterbury.*

To the ninth, We find in Scripture that the apostles used the power to make bishops, priests, and deacons; which power may be grounded upon these words:—*Sicut misit me vivens Pater, sic ego mitto vos*, &c. And we verily think that they durst not have used so high power unless they had had authority from Christ; but that their power to ordain bishops, priests, or deacons, by imposition of hands, requireth any other authority than authority of God, we neither read in Scripture nor out of Scripture.—*York.*

To the ninth, I think the apostles made bishops by the law of God; because, Acts xxii., it is said, *In quo vos Spiritus Sanctus posuit*. Nevertheless, I think if Christian princes had been then, they should have named by right, and appointed the said bishops to their rooms and places.—*London.*

I think that the apostles made bishops by authority given them from God.—*Rochester.*

That Christ made his apostles priests and bishops; and that he gave them power to make others like, it seemeth to be the very trade of Scripture.—*Carlisle.*

Opinor Apostolos Autoritate Divina creasse Episcopos et Presbyteros, ubi Publicus Magistratus permittit.—*Dr. Robertson.*

Although the apostles had no authority to force any man to be priest, yet (they moved by the Holy Ghost) had authority of God to exhort and induce men to set forth God's honour, and so to make them priests.—*Dr. Cor.*

The apostles made, that is to say, ordained, bishops by authority given them by God; Joh. xx., *Sicut misit me vivens Pater, ita et ego mitto vos*. Item, Joan. ult. et Act. xx. and 1 Tim. iv., *Paulus ordinavit Timotheum et Titum, et præscribit quales illi debeant ordinare*. 1 Tim. i., Tit. i.—*Dr. Day.*

Apostoli autoritate et mandato Dei, ordinabant ac instituebant Episcopos, petita ac obtenta prius facultate a Principe ac Magistratu (ut opinor) qui tum præerat.—*Dr. Oglethorpe.*

Christ gave his apostles authority to make other bishops and ministers in his church, as he had received authority of the Father to make them bishops; but if any Christian prince had then been, the apostles had been, and ought to have been, obedient subjects, and would nothing have attempted but under the permission and assent of their earthly governors: yet was it meet that they which were special and most elect servants of our Saviour Christ, and were sent by him to convert the world, and having most abundantly the Holy Ghost in them, should have special ordering of such ministry as pertained to the planting and increasing of the faith; whereunto I doubt not but a Christian prince, of his godly mind, would most lovingly have condescended. And it is to be considered, that in this question, with other like, this word, making of a bishop or priest, may be taken two ways: for understanding the word, to ordain or consecrate, so it is a thing which pertaineth to the apostles and their successors only; but if by this word (making) be understood the appointing or naming to the office, so it pertaineth specially to the supreme heads and governors of the church, which be princes.—*Dr. Redmayn.*

The apostles made bishops and priests by authority given them of God, and not for lack of any higher power. Notwithstanding, where there is a christened king or prince, the election, deputation, and assignation of them that shall be priests or bishops, belongeth

to the king or prince, so that he may forbid any bishop within his kingdom, that he give no orders, for considerations moving him, and may assign him a time when he shall give orders, and to whom: example of king David, 1 Chron. xxiv., dividing the Levites into twenty-four orders, deputing over every order one chief bishop, prescribing an ordinal and rule how they should do their duties, their courses; and what sacrifices, rites, and ceremonies they should use every day, as the day and time required. And his son, king Solomon, diligently executed, and commanded the same usages to be observed in the temple after he had erected and finished it, 2 Chron. viii.—*Dr. Edgworth.*

The apostles made bishops and priests, by authority given them of God.—*Dr. Symmons.*

I say, that the apostles had authority of God to make bishops; yet if there had been a Christian king in any place where they made bishops, they would and ought to have desired authority also of him for the executing of such their godly acts which no Christian king would have denied.—*Dr. Tresham.*

To the ninth, I say, that the apostles (as I suppose) made bishops by authority given unto them of Christ: howbeit, I think they would and should, required the Christian princes' consent and license thereto, if there had been any Christian kings or princes.—*Dr. Leygh-ton.*

The apostles made bishops and priests by authority given them of God: notwithstanding if there had been a Christian king at that time, it had been their duties to have had his license and permission to do the same.—*Dr. Coren.*

Conveniunt.—Omnes Conveniunt Apostolos Divinitus accepisse Potestatem creandi Episcopos; Eboracens. addit, non opus fuisse alia autoritate Apostolis quam divina: Sic Thirleby et Edgworth, Redmanus distinguit de Institutione Presbyteri, Ordinationem et Consecrationem tribuit tantum Apostolis et eorum Successoribus, nominationem et electionem Magistratibus: Sic Londinens. Leightonus, Redman, Tresham, Curren, aiunt petendam fuisse Potestatem a Magistratu Christiano, si tum fuisset. Robertsonus non respondet Quæstioni, concedit enim datam esse Apostolis Potestatem creandi Episcopos ubi Magistratus permittit. Oglethorpus putat eos impetrasse potestatem a principibus: Carliolens. Roffens. Dayus, non respondent ultimæ Parti.

Agreement.—In the ninth, touching the authority of the apostles in making priests, the bishop of York, the elect of Westminster, Dr. Edgworth, say, that "the apostles made priests by their own power, given them by God, and that they had no need of any other power." The bishop of St. David saith, that "because they lacked a Christian prince, by that necessity they ordained other bishops." Dr. Leighton, Curren, Tresham, and Redmayn suppose, that "they ought to have asked license of their Christian governors, if then there had been any."

10. Question.

Whether Bishops or Priests were first? and if the Priests were first, then the Priest made the Bishop

Answers.

The bishops and priests were at one time, and were no two things, but both one office in the beginning of Christ's religion.—*Canterbury.*

To the tenth; We think that the apostles were priests before they were bishops; and that the divine power which made them priests, made them also bishops; and although their ordination was not by all

such course as the church now useth, yet that they had both visible and invisible sanctification, we may gather of the gospel, where it is written, *Sicut misit me Pater vivens, et ego mitto vos: et cum hæc dixit, insufflavit in eos et dixit, Accipite Spiritum Sanctum: quorum remisistis, &c.* And we may well think, that then they were made bishops, when they had not only a flock, but also shepherds appointed to them to overlook, and a governance committed to them by the Holy Ghost to oversee both; for the name of a bishop is not properly a name of order, but a name of office, signifying an overseer. And although the inferior shepherds have also cure to oversee their flock, yet forso-much as the bishop's charge is also to oversee the shepherds, the name of overseer is given to the bishops, and not to the other; and as they be in degree higher, so in their consecration we find difference even from the primitive church.—*York.*

To the tenth: I think the bishops were first, and yet I think it is not of importance, whether the priest then made the bishop, or else the bishop the priest; considering (after the sentence of St. Jerome) that in the beginning of the church there was none (or if it were, very small) difference, between a bishop and a priest, especially touching the signification.—*London.*

I find in Scripture, that Christ being both a priest and a bishop, ordained his apostles, who were both priests and bishops; and the same apostles did afterwards ordain bishops, and commanded them to ordain others.—*Rochester.*

Christ made his apostles exorcists, as it appeareth in the 10th Matthew; deacons, priests, and bishops, as partly there, and after, in the 20th of St. John, *Quorum Remiseritis, &c.* and where he said, *Hoc facile in meam Commemorationem.* In the Acts, *Cæterorum nemo audebat se conjungere illis.* So that they were all these together; and so being according to the ordinance of Christ, who had made after them seventy-two other priests, as it appeareth in the 10th of St. Luke, they made and ordained also others the seven principal deacons, as it is showed in the 6th of the Acts; where it is said, that they praying laid their hands upon them. In the 13th of the Acts, certain there named at the commandment of the Holy Ghost severed Saul and Barnabas to that God had taken them, fasting, praying, and laying their hands upon them; the which Saul, Ananias the disciple had baptized, laying his hand upon him, that he might be replenished with the Holy Ghost. And Paul so made, ordained Timothy and Tite, willing them to do likewise as he had done, and appointed to be done from city to city. James was ordained the bishop of Jerusalem by Peter, John, and James. So that example otherwise we read not.—*Carlisle.*

Incertum sum utri fuere priores, at si Apostoli in prima professione Ordinati erant, apparet Episcopos fuisse priores, nempe Apostolos, nam postea designavit Christus alios septuaginta duos. Nec opinor absurdum esse, ut Sacerdos Episcopum Consecraret, si Episcopus haberi non potest.—*Dr. Robertson.*

Although by Scripture (as St. Hierome saith) priests and bishops be one, and therefore the one not before the other; yet bishops, as they be now, were after priests, and therefore made of priests.—*Dr. Cor.*

The apostles were both bishops and priests, and they made bishops; and bishops, as Titus and Timothy, made priests. *Episcopatum ejus accipiat alter, Act i. Presbyteros qui in vobis sunt, obsecro et ego Compresbyter, 1 Pet. v.* And in the beginning of the church, as well that word *Episcopus* as *Presbyter* was common and attributed both to bishops and priests.—*Dr. Day.*

Utrique primi a Deo facti, Apostoli, Episcopi;

Septuaginta discipuli (ut conjectura ducor) Sacerdotes. Unde verisimile est Episcopos processisse, Apostoli enim prius vocati erant.—*Dr. Oglethorp.*

They be of like beginning, and at the beginning were both one, as St. Hierome and other old authors show by the Scripture, wherefore one made another indifferently.—*Dr. Redmayn.*

Christ, our chief priest and bishop, made his apostles priests and bishops all at once; and they did likewise make others, some priests and some bishops: and that the priests in the primitive church made bishops, I think no inconvenience; (as Jerome saith) in an *Epist. ad Euagrium*. Even like as soldiers should choose one among themselves to be their captain, so did priests choose one of themselves to be their bishop, for consideration of his learning, gravity, and good living, &c. and also for to avoid schisms among themselves by them, that some might not draw the people one way, and others another way, if they lacked one head among them.—*Dr. Edgeworth.*

Christ was and is the great high bishop, and made all his apostles bishops; and they made bishops and priests after him, and so hath it evermore continued hitherto.—*Dr. Symmons.*

I say, Christ made the apostles first priests, and then bishops, and they by this authority made both priests and bishops; but where there had been a Christian prince, they would have desired his authority to the same.—*Dr. Tresham.*

To the tenth.—*Dr. Legghon.*

The apostles were made of Christ, bishops and priests, both at the first; and after them, *Septuaginta duo Discipuli*, were made priests.—*Dr. Coren.*

Conveniunt.—Menevens. Therleby, Redmanus, Coxus, asserunt in initio eosdem fuisse Episcopos et Presbyteros. Londinens. Carliolens. Symons, putant Apostolos fuisse institutos Episcopos a Christo, et eos postea instituisse alios Episcopos et Presbyteros, et 72 Presbyteros postea fuisse Ordinatos: Sic Oglethorpus, Eboracens. et Tresham aiunt Apostolos primo fuisse Presbyteros, deinde Episcopos, cum aliorum Presbyterorum credita esset illis cura. Robertsonus incertus est utri fuere priores, non absurdum tamen esse opinatur, ut Sacerdos consecret Episcopum, si Episcopos haberi non potest. Sic Londinens. Edgeworth, Dayus, putant etiam Episcopos, ut vulgo de Episcopis loquimur, fuisse ante Presbyteros. Leightonus nihil respondet.

Agreement.—In the tenth; where it is asked, whether bishops or priests were first? The bishop of St. David, my lord elect of Westminster, Dr. Cox, Dr. Redmayn, say, that "at the beginning they were all one." The bishops of York, London, Rochester, Carlisle; Drs. Day, Tresham, Symmons, Oglethorp, be in other contrary opinions. The bishop of York and doctor Tresham think, "that the apostles first were priests, and after were made bishops, when the overseeing of other priests was committed to them." My lords of Durham, London, Carlisle, Rochester, Drs. Symmons and Crayford, think, "that the apostles first were bishops, and they after made other bishops and priests." Drs. Coren and Oglethorp say, "that the apostles were made bishops, and the 72 were after made priests." Dr. Day thinks, "that bishops, as they be now-a-days called, were before priests." My lord of London, Drs. Edgeworth and Robertson, "think it no inconvenience, if a priest made a bishop in that time."

11. Question.

Whether a Bishop hath Authority to make a Priest by the Scripture, or no? And whether any other but only a Bishop may make a Priest?

Answers.

A bishop may make a priest by the Scripture, and so may princes and governors also, and that by the authority of God committed to them, and the people also by their election; for as we read that bishops have done it, so Christian emperors and princes usually have done it, and the people before Christian princes were, commonly did elect their bishops and priests.—*Canterbury.*

To the eleventh; That a bishop may make a priest, may be deduced of Scripture; for so much as they have all authority necessary for the ordering of Christ's church, derived from the apostles, who made bishops and priests, and not without authority, as we have said before to the ninth question; and that any other than bishops or priests may make a priest, we neither find in Scripture nor out of Scripture.—*York.*

To the eleventh; I think, that a bishop duly appointed hath authority, by Scripture, to make a bishop, and also a priest: because Christ being a bishop did so make himself; and because alive, his apostles did the like.—*London.*

The Scripture sheweth by example, that a bishop hath authority to make a priest; albeit no bishop being subject to a Christian prince, may either give orders or excommunicate, or use any manner of jurisdiction, or any part of his authority, without commission from the king, who is supreme head of that church whereof he is a member; but that any other man may do it besides a bishop, I find no example, either in Scripture, or in doctors.—*Rochester.*

By what is said before, it appeareth, that a bishop by Scripture may make deacons and priests, and that we have none example otherwise.—*Carlisle.*

Opinor Episcopum habere Authoritatem creandi Sacerdotem, modo id Magistratus publici permisso fiat. An vero ab alio quam Episcopo id rite fieri possit, haud scio, quamvis ab alio factum non memini me legisse. Ordin. conferr. gratiam. vid. Eck. homil. 60.—*Dr. Robertson.*

Bishops have authority, as is aforesaid, of the apostles, in the tenth question, to make priests, except in cases of great necessity.—*Dr. Cox.*

Bishops have authority by Scripture to ordain bishops and priests; Joh. xx. *Hujus rei gratia reliqui te Crete ut constituas oppidatim Presbyteros*, Tit. i., Act. xiv.—*Dr. Day.*

Autoritas ordinandi Presbyteros data est Episcopis per verbum, multisq; aliis quos lego.—*Dr. Oglethorpe.*

To the first part, I answer, yea; for so it appeareth Tit. i., and I Tim. v.; with other places of Scripture. But whether any other but only a bishop may make a priest, I have not read, but by singular privilege of God; as when Moses (whom divers authors say was not a priest) made Aaron a priest. Truth it is, that the office of a godly prince is to oversee the church, and the ministers thereof; and to cause them do their duty, and also to appoint them special charges and offices in the church, as may be most for the glory of God, and edifying of the people: and thus we read of the good kings in the Old Testament, David, Joas, Ezekias, Josias. But as for making, that is to say, ordaining and consecrating of priests, I think it specially belongeth to the office of a bishop, as far as can be showed by Scripture, or any example, as I suppose from the beginning.—*Dr. Redmayn.*

A bishop hath authority by Scripture to make a priest, and that any other ever made a priest since

Christ's time I read not. Albeit Moses, who was not anointed priest, made Aaron priest and bishop, by a special commission or revelation from God, without which he would never so have done.—*Dr. Edgeworth.*

Bishop placed by the higher powers, and admitted to minister, may make a priest; and I have not read of any other that ever made priests.—*Dr. Symmons.*

I say, a bishop hath authority by Scripture to make a priest, and other than a bishop hath not power therein, but only in case of necessity.—*Dr. Tresham.*

To the eleventh; I suppose that a bishop hath authority of God, as his minister, by Scripture to make a priest; but he ought not to admit any man to be priest, and consecrate him, or to appoint him unto any ministry in the church, without the prince's license and consent, in a Christian region. And that any other man hath authority to make a priest by Scripture, I have not read, nor any example thereof.—*Dr. Leyghon.*

A bishop being licensed by his prince and supreme governor, hath authority to make a priest by the law of God. I do not read that any priest hath been ordered by any other than a bishop.—*Dr. Coren.*

Conveniunt.—Ad primam partem Questionis respondent omnes, et convenit omnibus præter Menevens. Episcopum habere auctoritatem instituendi Presbyteros. Roffens. Leighton, Curren, Robertsonus, addunt, Modo Magistratus id permittat. Ad secundam partem Respondent Coxus et Tresham in necessitate concedi potestatem Ordinandi aliis. Eboracen. videtur omnino denegare aliis hanc auctoritatem. Redmayn, Symmons, Robertson, Leighton, Thirleby, Curren, Roffen. Edgeworth, Oglethorpe, Carliolen. nusquam legerunt alios usos fuisse hac Potestate, quamquam (privilegio quodam) data sit Moysi, ut Redmanus arbitratur et Edgeworth. Nihil respondent ad secundam partem Questionis Londinensis et Dayus.

Agreement.—In the eleventh; To the former part of the question, the bishop of St. David's doth answer, "that bishops have no authority to make priests, without they be authorised of the Christian prince." The others all of them do say, "that they be authorised of God." Yet some of them, as the bishop of Rochester, Dr. Curren, Leighton, Robertson, add, "that they cannot use this authority without their Christian prince doth permit them." To the second part, the answer of the bishop of St. David's is, "that laymen have other whiles made priests." So doth Dr. Edgeworth and Redman say, "that Moses, by a privilege given him of God, made Aaron his brother priest." Drs. Tresham, Crayford, and Cox say, "that laymen may make priests in time of necessity." The bishops of York, Durham, Rochester, Carlisle, elect of Westminster, Drs. Curren, Leighton, Symmons, seem to deny this thing; for they say, "they find not, nor read not any such example."

12. Question.

Whether in the New Testament be required any Consecration of a Bishop and Priest, or only appointing to the office sufficient.

Answers.

In the New Testament, he that is appointed to be a bishop, or a priest, needeth no consecration by the Scripture, for election or appointing thereto is sufficient.—*Canterbury.*

To the twelfth question; The apostles ordained priests by imposition of the hand with fasting and prayer; and so following their steps, we must needs think that all the foresaid things be necessarily to be used by their successors: and therefore we do also think, that appointment only, without visible consecra-

tion and invocation for the assistance and power of the Holy Ghost, is neither convenient nor sufficient; for without the said invocation, it beseebeth no man to appoint to our Lord ministers, as of his own authority: whereof we have example in the Acts of the Apostles; where we find, that when they were gathered to choose one in the place of Judas, they appointed two of the disciples, and commended the election to our Lord, that he would choose which of them it pleased him, saying and praying, "Lord, thou that knowest the hearts of all men, show whether of these two thou dost choose to succeed in the place of Judas." And to this purpose in the Acts we read, *Dixit Spiritus Sanctus segregate mihi Barnabam, &c.* And again, *Quos posuit Spiritus Sanctus regere Ecclesiam Dei.* And it appeareth also that in the Old Testament, in the ordering of priests, there was both visible and invisible sanctification; and therefore in the New Testament, where the priesthood is above comparison higher than in the Old, we may not think that only appointment sufficeth, without sanctification, either visible or invisible.—*York.*

To the twelfth; I think consecration of a bishop and priest be required, for that in the old law (being yet but a shadow and figure of the new) the consecration was required, as appears Levit. viii.; yet the truth of this I leave to those of higher judgments.—*London.*

The Scripture speaketh, *de Impositione manus et de Oratione*: and of other manner of consecrations, I find no mention in the New Testament expressly; but the old authors make mention also of inunctions.—*Rochester.*

Upon this text of Paul to Timothy; *Noli negligere gratiam quæ in te est, quæ data est tibi per prophetiam cum Impositione manuum Presbyterii*; St. Anselm saith this grace "to be the gift of the bishop's office, to the which God of his mere goodness had called and preferred him. The prophecy (he saith) was the inspiration of the Holy Ghost, by the which he knew what he had to do therein. The imposition of the hands is that by the which he was ordained and received that office: 'And therefore (saith St. Paul) God is my witness, that I have discharged myself, showing you as I ought to have done. Now look you well upon it whom that ye take to orders, lest ye lose yourself thereby.' Let bishops, therefore, who (as saith St. Hierome) hath power to make priests, consider well under what law the order of ecclesiastical constitution is bounden; and let them not think those words of the apostle to be his, but rather the words of Christ himself."—*Carlisle.*

Opinor requiri Consecrationem quandam, hoc est, impositionem manuum, Orationem, jejuniū, &c., tamen nusquam hoc munere fungi posse, nisi ubi Magistratus invitet, jubeat, aut permittat.—*Dr. Robertson.*

By Scripture there is no consecration of bishops and priests required, but only the appointing to the office of a priest, *cum Impositione manuum.*—*Dr. Cox.*

Consecration of bishops and priests I read not in the New Testament, but *Ordinatio per manuum Impositionem cum Oratione* is read there, as in the places above; and the only appointment, as I think, is not sufficient.—*Dr. Day.*

Præter vocationem, seu designationem externam, quæ vel a Principe fit, vel a populo per electionem et suffragia, requiritur Ordinatio alia per manuum impositionem, idque per Verbum Dei.—*Dr. Oglethorpe.*

Besides the appointing to the office, it appeareth that, in the primitive church, the apostles used certain consecration of the ministers of the church, by imposition of hands and prayer, Acts vi.; and, with fasting,

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Acts xiv., &c. The office of priesthood is too dangerous to set upon, when one is but appointed only : therefore, for the confirmation of their faith, who take in hand such charge, and for the obtaining of farther grace requisite in the same, consecration was ordained by the Holy Ghost, and hath been always used from the beginning.—*Dr. Redmayn.*

Deputation to the office is not sufficient to make a priest or a bishop, as appeareth by David and Solomon, who deputed the 24 abovementioned to their offices, yet they made none of them priests, nor any other.—*Dr. Edgworth.*

The appointing to the office *per manuum Impositionem* is in Scripture, and the consecration of them hath of long time continued in the church.—*Dr. Symmons.*

There is a certain kind of consecration required, which is imposition of the bishop's hands, with prayer, and the appointing only is not sufficient.—*Dr. Tresham.*

To the twelfth ; I suppose that there is a consecration required, as by imposition of hands ; for so we be taught by the ensample of the apostles.—*Dr. Leighton.*

In the New Testament is required to the making of a bishop, *Impositio manuum cum Oratione*, which I take for consecration, and appointment unto the office is not sufficient ; for king David, 1 Chron. xxiv., did appoint 24 to be bishops, who after were consecrated ; so that both the appointment and the consecration be requisite.—*Dr. Coren.*

Conueniunt.—Respondent Eboracens. Londinens. Carliolens. Leighton, Tresham, Robertsonus, Edgworth, Curren, Dayus, Ogleshorp, Consecrationem esse requisitam. Redmanus ait eam receptam esse ab Apostolis, atque a Spiritu Sancto institutam ad conferendam gratiam. Dayus, Roffens. Symmons, aiunt Sacerdotium conferri per manuum impositionem, idq; è Scripturis ; Consecrationem vero diu receptam in Ecclesia : Coxus Institutionem cum manuum impositione sufficere, neq; per Scripturam requiri Consecrationem. Robertsonus addit supra alios nusquam hoc munere fungi posse quempiam, nisi ubi Magistratus invitet, jubeat aut permittat.

Agreement.—In the twelfth question, where it is asked, Whether in the New Testament be required any consecration of a bishop, or only appointing to the office be sufficient ? the bishop of St. David's saith, "that only the appointing ;" Dr. Cox, "that only appointing, *cum manuum Impositione*, is sufficient without consecration." The bishops of York, London, Durham, Carlisle, Drs. Day, Curren, Leighton, Tresham, Edgworth, Ogleshorp, say, "that consecration hath been received from the apostles' time, and institute of the Holy Ghost to confer grace." My lord of Rochester, Drs. Day and Symmons, say, "that priesthood is given *per manuum Impositionem*, and that by Scripture ; and that consecration hath of long time been received in the church."

13. Question.

Whether (if it fortune a Christian Prince learned, to conquer certain dominions of Infidels, having none but temporal learned men with him) if it be defended by God's law, that he and they should preach and teach the word of God there, or no ? And also make and constitute Priests, or no ?

Answers.

It is not against God's law, but contrary they ought indeed so to do ; and there be histories that witnesseth, that some Christian princes, and other laymen unconsecrate, have done the same.—*Canterbury.*

To the thirteenth ; To the first part of this question, touching teaching and preaching the word of God in case of such need ; we think that laymen not ordered not only may, but must preach Christ and his faith to infidels, as they shall see opportunity to do the same, and must endeavour themselves to win the miscreants to the kingdom of God, if that they can ; for as the wise man saith, "God hath given charge to every man of his neighbour ;" and the Scripture of God chargeth "every man to do all the good that he can to all men." And surely this is the highest aims to draw men from the devil, the usurper, and bring them to God the very owner : wherefore in this case every man and woman may be an Evangelist, and of this also we have example. But touching the second part, for case of necessity : as we neither find Scripture, nor example, that will bear, that any man, being himself no priest, may make, that is to say, may give the order of priesthood to another, and authority therewith to minister in the said order, and to use such powers and offices as appertaineth to priesthood grounded in the gospel ; so we find in such case of need, what hath been done in one of the ancient writers ; although this authority to ordain, after form afore-mentioned, be not to laymen expressly prohibited in Scripture ; yet such a prohibition is implied, in that there is no such authority given to them, either in Scripture or otherwise ; for so much as no man may use this or any other authority which cometh from the Holy Ghost, unless he hath either commission grounded in Scripture, or else authority by tradition, and ancient use of Christ's church universally received over all.—*York.*

To the thirteenth and fourteenth following ; I think that necessity herein might either be a sufficient rule and warrant to determine and order such cases, considering that "tempore necessitatis mulier baptizat, et laicus idem facit, et audit confessionem ;" or else that God would inspire in the prince's heart to provide the best and most handsome remedy therein : and hard were it peradventure to find such great necessity, but either in the train of the said prince, or in the regions adjoining thereunto, there might be had some priests for the said purposes ; or finally, that the prince himself, goddily inspired in that behalf, might, for so good purposes and intents, set forth the act indeed, referring yet this thing to the better judgment of others.—*London.*

To the thirteenth and fourteenth following ; I never read these cases, neither in Scripture, nor in the doctors, and therefore I cannot answer unto them by learning, but think this to be a good answer for all such questions, viz. *Necessitas non habet Legem*—*Rochester.*

It is to be thought, that Christ may call, as it pleaseth him, inwardly, outwardly, or by both together : so that if no priest might be had, it cannot be thought, but that a Christian prince, with others learned, inwardly moved and called, might most charitably and goddily prosecute that same their calling in the most acceptable work, which is to bring people from the devil to God, from infidelity to true faith, by whatsoever means God shall inspire.—*Carlisle.*

In hoc casu existimarem accersendos verbi et Sacramentorum Ministros, si qui forent vicini ; quin si nulli inveniuntur, Principem illum Christianum haberemus pro Apostolo, tanquam missum a Deo, licet externo Sacramento non esset commendatus, quum Deus Sacramentis suis non sit alligatus.—*Dr. Robertson.*

To the thirteenth and fourteenth following ; It is not against God's law that the prince, and his learned temporal men, may preach and teach, and in these cases of extreme necessity make and institute ministers.—*Dr. Cox.*

In this case (as I think) the prince, and other temporal learned men with him, may, by God's law, teach and preach the word of God, and baptize; and also (the same necessity standing) elect and appoint men to those offices.—*Dr. Day.*

In summa necessitate baptizare et prædicare possunt et debent, hæc etenim duo, necessaria sunt media ad salutem; at ordinare (ut conjectura ducor) non debent, sed aliunde Sacrificos accersire, quos si habere nequeant, Deus ipse (cujus negotium agitur) vel oraculo admonebit, quid faciendum erit, vel necessitas ipsa (quæ sibi ipsi est Lex) modum Ordinandi suggeret ac suppeditabit.—*Dr. Oglethorp.*

I think they might, in such case of necessity; for in this case the laymen made the whole church there, and the authority of preaching and ministering the sacraments is given immediately to the church; and the church may appoint ministers, as is thought convenient. There be two stories good to be considered for this question, which be written in the tenth book of the History Ecclesiastic; the one of Frumentius, who preached in India, and was after made priest and bishop by Athanasius. And the other story is of the king of the Iberians, of whom Rufinus, the writer of the story, saith thus: "Et nondum initiatus Sacris fit suæ gentis Apostolus." Yet nevertheless it is written there, that "an ambassade was sent to Constantine, the emperor, that he would send them priests for the further establishment of the faith there."—*Dr. Redmayn.*

The prince and his temporal learned men might and ought, in that necessity, to instruct the people in the faith of Christ, and to baptize them, *ut idem res fit, et suæ gentis Apostolus*, and these be sufficient for the salvation of his subjects. But as concerning other Sacraments, he ought to abide and look for a special commission from Almighty God, as Moses had, or else to send unto other regions where priests or bishops may be had, and else not to meddle. Examples in *Eccles. Hist. lib. 10. cap. 1. de Frumentio.* et cap 2. *de Ancilla captiva quæ convertit gentem Hiberorum cujus captivæ monitis ad Imperatorem Constantinum totius gentis legatio mittitur, res gesta exponitur, Sacerdotes mittre exorantur qui captum erga se Dei munus implerent, &c.*—*Dr. Edgeworth.*

I think that in such a necessity, a learned Christian prince, and also temporal men learned, be bound to preach and minister either Sacraments, so that the same ministers be orderly assigned by the high power and the congregation.—*Dr. Symmons.*

I say, to the first part, that such a king, and his temporal learned men, not only might, but were also bound to preach God's word in this case. And as to the second part, I say, that if there could no bishop be had to institute, the prince might in that of necessity do it.—*Dr. Tresham.*

To the thirteenth; I suppose the affirmative thereof to be true; *Quamvis potestas clavium residet præcipue in Ecclesia.*—*Dr. Leighton.*

In such a case, I do believe that God would illuminate the prince; so that either he himself should be made a bishop, by internal working of God (as Paul was) or some of his subjects, or else God would send him bishops from other parts. And as for preaching of the word of God, the prince might do it himself, and other of his learned subjects, although they were no priests.—*Dr. Coren.*

Conveniunt.—In prima parte Questionis Conveniunt omnes, etiam laicos, tali rerum statu, non solum posse sed debere docere. Menevens. Thirleteus, Leightonus, Coxus, Symmons, Tresham, Redmanus, Robertsonus, etiam potestatem Ministrandi Sacramenta, et Ordinandi Ministros, con-

cedunt illis. Eborascens. hanc prorsus potestatem denegat, Coren credit Principem Divinitus illuminandum et consecrandum fore in Episcopum interne, aut aliquem ex suis, Pauli exemplo. Simile habet Herefordensis et Carliolensis. Dayus nihil respondet de Ordinandis Presbyteris in hac necessitate.

Agreement.—In the thirteenth; Concerning the first part, whether laymen may preach and teach God's word? they do all agree, in such a case, that not only they may, but they ought to teach. But in the second part, touching the constituting of priests of laymen, my lord of York and doctor Edgworth doth not agree with the other; they say, that laymen in no wise can make priests, or have such authority. The bishops of Durlham, St. David's, Westminster, Drs. Tresham, Cox, Leighton, Crayford, Symmons, Redmayn, Robertson, say that laymen in such case have authority to minister the sacraments and to make priests. My lords of London, Carlisle, and Hereford, and Dr. Coren, think that God in such a case would give the prince authority, call him inwardly, and illuminate him or some of his, as he did St. Paul.

14. Question.

Whether it be forfended by God's Law, that (if it so fortune that all the Bishops and Priests of a region were dead, and that the Word of God should remain there unpreached, and the Sacrament of Baptism and others unministered) that the King of that region should make Bishops and Priests to supply the same, or no?

Answers.

It is not forbidden by God's law.—*Canterbury.*

To the fourteenth; In this case, as we have said in the next article afore, teaching of the word of God may be used by any that can and would use it, to the glory of God; and in this case also the sacrament of baptism may be ministered by those that be no priests; which things although we have not of Scripture, yet the universal tradition and practice of the church doth teach us: and peradventure contract of matrimony might also be made, the solemnization thereof being only ordained by law positive, and not by any ground, either of Scripture, or of tradition; although for very urgent causes, the said solemnization is to be observed when it may be observed; but that the princes may not make, that is, may not order priests nor bishops not before ordered to minister the other sacraments, the ministry whereof in Scripture is committed only to the apostles, and from them derived to their successors, even from the primitive church hitherto, and by none other used, we have answered in the thirteenth article.—*York.*

Ut supra, quest. 13.—London.

Ut supra, quest. 13.—Rochester.

Not only it is given of God to supreme governors, kings and princes immediate under them, to see, cause, and compel all their subjects, bishops, priests, with all others, to do truly and uprightly their bounded duties to God, and to them, each one according to his calling; but also if it were so that anywhere such lacked to do and fulfil that God would have done, right well they might, by the inward moving and calling of God, supply the same.—*Carlisle.*

Huic Questioni idem Respondendum, quod priori, arbitror.—*Dr. Robertson.*

Ut supra, Quest. 13.—Dr. Cox.

To this case, as to the first, I answer, that if there could no bishops be had to order new priests there by the prince's assignation and appointment, then the prince himself might ordain and constitute, with the consent of the congregation, both priests and ministers,

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to preach and baptize, and to do other functions in the church.—*Dr. Day.*

Si ab aliis Regionibus Sacerdotes haberi non poterint, opinor ipsi Principem deputare posse etiam Laicos ad hoc Sacrum Officium; sed omnia prius tentanda essent, ut supra.—*Dr. Oglethorpe.*

To this, I think, may be answered, as to the last question before; howbeit the surest way, I think, were to send for some ministers of the church dwelling in the next regions, if they might be conveniently had.—*Dr. Redmayn.*

Likewise as to the next question afore.—*Dr. Edgworth.*

If the king be also a bishop, as it is possible, he may appoint bishops and priests to minister to his people: but hitherto I have not read that ever any Christian king made bishop or priest.—*Dr. Symmons.*

I make the same answer as to the thirteenth question is made.—*Dr. Tresham.*

To the fourteenth; I suppose the affirmative to be true, in case that there can no bishops nor priests be had forth of other countries, conveniently.—*Dr. Leygh-ton.*

In this case I make answer as before, that God will never suffer his servants to lack that thing that is necessary: for there should, either from other parts, priests and bishops be called thither, or else God would call inwardly some of them that be in that region to be bishops and priests.—*Dr. Coren.*

Conveniunt.—Fatentur ut prius omnes, Laicos posse Docere. Eboracens. Symmons, Oglethorp negant posse Ordinare Presbyteros, tamen concedit Eboracens. baptizare et contrahere Matrimonia, Edgworth tantum baptizare posse; nam sufficere dicit ad salutem. Alii omnes eandem potestatem concedunt, quam prius. Roffens. non aliud respondet his duobus Questionibus, quam quod necessitas non habeat Legem.

Agreement.—In the fourteenth they agree for the most part as they did before, "that laymen in this case may teach and minister the sacraments." My lord of York, Dr. Symmons, and Oglethorp say, "they can make no priests;" although Symmons said "they might minister all sacraments, in the question before." Yet my lord of York and Edgworth do grant, "that they may christen." The bishops of London, Rochester, and Dr. Crayford say, "that in such a case, *Necessitas non habet Legem.*"

15. Question.

Whether a man be bound by authority of this Scripture (Quorum Remiseritis), and such like, to confess his secret deadly sins to a priest, if he may have him or no?

Answers.

A man is not bound, by the authority of this Scripture, *Quorum Remiseritis*, and such like, to confess his secret deadly sins to a priest, although he may have him.—*Canterbury.*

To the fifteenth; This Scripture is indifferent to secret and open sins; nor the authority given in the same is appointed or limited, either to the one or to the other, but is given commonly to both: and therefore seeing that the sinner is in no other place of Scripture discharged of the confession of his secret sins, we think, that this place chargeth him to confess the secret sins, as well as the open.—*York.*

To the fifteenth; I think that as the sinner is bound by this authority to confess his open sins, so also is he bound to confess his secret sins, because the special end, to wit, *Absolutionem a peccato cuius fecit se servum*, is all one in both cases: and that all sins as touching God are open, and in nowise secret or hid.—*London.*

I think that confession of secret deadly sins is necessary for to attain absolution of them; but whether every man that hath secretly committed deadly sin, is bound by these words to ask absolution of the priest therefor, it is a hard question, and of much controversy amongst learned men, and I am not able to define betwixt them; but I think it is the surest way to say that a man is bound to confess, &c.—*Rochester.*

I think that by the mind of most ancient authors and most holy expositors, this text, *Quorum Remiseritis peccata*, &c. with other like, serveth well to this intent; that Christian folk should confess their secret deadly sins to a priest there to be assoiled, without which mean there can be none other like assurance.—*Carlisle.*

Opinor obligare, modo aliter conscientie illius satisfieri nequeat.—*Dr. Robertson.*

I cannot find that a man is bound by Scripture to confess his secret deadly sins to a priest, unless he be so troubled in his conscience that he cannot be quieted without godly instruction.—*Dr. Coar.*

The matter being in controversy among learned men, and very doubtful, yet I think rather the truth is, that by authority of this Scripture, *Quorum Remiseritis*, &c., and such like, a man is bound to confess his secret deadly sins, which grieve his conscience, to a priest, if he may conveniently have him. Forasmuch as it is an ordinary way ordained by Christ in the gospel, by absolution to remit sins; which absolution I never read to be given, *sine confessione praevid.*—*Dr. Day.*

Confitenda sunt opinor, etiam peccata abdita ac secreta propter Absolutionem ac conscientie tranquillitatem, et praecipue pro vitanda desperatione, ad quam plerumq; adiguntur multi in extremis, dum sibi ipsis de remissione peccatorum nimium blandiuntur, nullius (dum sani sunt) censuram subeuntes nisi propriam.—*Dr. Oglethorpe.*

I think, that although in these words confession of privy sins is not expressly commanded, yet it is insinuated and showed in these words, as a necessary medicine or remedy, which all men that fall into deadly sin ought, for the quieting of their consciences, seek, if they may conveniently have such a priest as is meet to hear their confession.—*Dr. Redmayn.*

Where there be two ways to obtain remission of sin, and to recover grace, a man is bound by the law of nature to take the surer way, or else he should seem to condemn his own health, which is unnatural. Also because we be bound to love God above all things, we ought by the same bond to labour for his grace and favour: so that because we be bound to love God, and to love ourselves in an order to God, we be bound to seek the best and surest remedy to recover grace for ourselves. Contrition is one way; but because a man cannot be well assured whether his contrition, attrition, or displeasure for his sin be sufficient to satisfy or content Almighty God, and able or worthy to get his grace, therefore it is necessary to take that way that will not fail, and by which thou mayest be sure, and that is absolution of the priest, which by Christ's promise will not deceive thee, so that thou put no step or bar in the way; as, if thou do not then actually sin inwardly nor outwardly, but intend to receive that the church intendeth to give thee by that absolution, having the efficacy of Christ's promise, *Quorum Remiseritis*, &c. Now the priest can give thee no absolution from that sin that he knoweth not: therefore thou art bound, for the causes aforesaid, to confess thy sin.—*Dr. Edgeworth.*

This Scripture, as ancient doctors expound it, bindeth all men to confess their secret deadly sins.—*Dr. Symmons.*

I say, that such confession is a thing most consonant to the law of God, and it is a wise point, and a wholesome thing so far to do, and God provoketh and allureth us thereto, in giving the active power to priests to assail in the words, *Quorum Remiseritis*. It is also a safer way for salvation to confess, if we may have a priest: yet I think that confession is not necessarily deduced of Scripture, nor commanded as a necessary precept of Scripture, and yet is it much consonant to the law of God, as a thing willed, not commanded.—*Dr. Tresham*.

To the fifteenth; I think that only such as have not the knowledge of the Scripture, whereby they may quiet their consciences, be bound to confess their secret deadly sins unto a priest: howbeit no man ought to condemn such auricular confession, for I suppose it to be a tradition apostolical, necessary for the unlearned multitude.—*Dr. Leyghon*.

A man whose conscience is grieved with mortal secret sins is bound by these words, *Quorum Remiseritis*, &c., to confess his sin to a priest, if he may have him conveniently.—*Dr. Coren*.

Conveniunt.—Eboracens. Londinens. Dayus, Oglethorpus, Coren, Redmayn, asserunt obligari. Coxus, Tresham, et Robertsonus dicunt non obligari, si aliter Conscientiæ illorum satisfieri queat; Menevens. nullo modo obligari. Carliolens. et Symmons aiunt, secundum veterum interpretationem, hac Scriptura quemvis obligari peccatorem. Roffens. Herefordens. et Thirleby non respondent, sed dubitant. Leightonus solum indoctos obligari ad Confessionem. Edgeworth tradit duplicem modum remissionis peccatorum, per Contritionem sive Attritionem, et per Absolutionem: et quia nemo potest certus esse, num attritio et dolor pro peccato sufficiat ad satisfaciendum Deo et obtinendam gratiam, ideo tutissimam viam deligendam, scilicet, Absolutionem a Sacerdote, quæ per promissionem Christi est certa; Absolvere non potest nisi cognoscat peccata; Ergo peccata per Confessionem sunt illi revelanda.

Agreement.—In the fifteenth; concerning confession of our secret deadly sins. The bishops of York, Durham, London, Drs. Day, Curren, Oglethorp, Redmayn, Crayford, say, "that men be bound to confess them of their secret sins." Drs. Cox, Tresham, Robertson, say, "they be not bound, if they may quiet their consciences otherwise." The bishop of St. David's also saith, "that this text bindeth no man." Dr. Leighton saith, that "it bindeth only such as have not the knowledge of Scripture." The bishop of Carlisle and Symmons say, that "by ancient doctors' exposition, men be bound, by this text, to confess their deadly sins."

16. Question.

Whether a Bishop or a Priest may excommunicate, and for what crimes? And whether they only may excommunicate by God's Law?

Answers.

A bishop or a priest by the Scripture is neither commanded nor forbidden to excommunicate; but where the laws of any region giveth him authority to excommunicate, there they ought to use the same in such crimes as the laws have such authority in; and where the laws of the region forbiddeth them, there they have no authority at all; and they that be no priests may also excommunicate if the law allow therunto.—*Canterbury*.

To the sixteenth; The power to excommunicate, that is, to disserve the sinner from the communion of all Christian people, and so put them out of the unity of the mystical body for the time, *donec resipiscat*, is

only given to the apostles and their successors in the gospel, but for what crimes, although in the gospel doth not appear, saving only for disobedience against the commandment of the church, yet we find example of excommunication used by the apostles in other cases: as of the fornicator by Paul, of Hymeneus and Alexander for their blasphemy by the same; and yet of other crimes mentioned in the epistle of the said Paul writing to the Corinthians. And again of them that were disobedient to his doctrine, 2 Thess. 3. We find also charge given to us by the apostle St. John, that we shall not commune with them, nor so much as salute him with Ave, that would not receive his doctrine. By which it may appear that excommunication may be used for many great crimes, and yet the church at this day doth not use it, but only for manifest disobedience. And this kind of excommunication, whereby man is put out of the church, and dis severed from the unity of Christ's mystical body, which excommunication toucheth also the soul, no man may use but they only to whom it is given by Christ.—*York*.

To the sixteenth; I think that a bishop may excommunicate, taking example of St. Paul with the Corinthian; and also of that he did to Alexander and Hymeneus. And with the lawyers it hath been a thing out of question, that to excommunicate solemnly appertaineth to a bishop, although otherwise both inferior prelates and other officers, yea and priests too in notorious crimes, after divers men's opinions, may excommunicate semblably, as all others that be appointed governors and rulers over any multitude or spiritual congregation.—*J*

I answer affirmatively to the first part, in open and manifest crimes, meaning of such priests and bishops as be by the church authorised to use that power. To the second part, I answer, that it is a hard question, wherein I had rather hear other men speak than say my own sentence; for I find not in Scripture, nor in the old doctors, that any man hath given sentence of excommunication, save only priests; but yet I think, that it is not against the law of God that a layman should have authority to do it.—*Rochester*.

Divers texts of Scripture seemeth, by the interpretation of ancient authors, to show that a bishop or a priest may excommunicate open deadly sinners continuing in obstinacy with contempt. I have read in histories also, that a prince hath done the same.—*Carlisle*.

Opinior Episcopum aut Presbyterum Excommunicare posse, tanquam ministrum et os Ecclesiæ, ab eadem mandatam habens. Utrum vero id juris nulli nisi Sacerdotibus in mandatis dari possit, non satis scio. Excommunicandum esse opinor pro hujuscemodi criminibus, qualia recenset Paulus, 1 Cor. 5. si, is qui frater nominatur, est fornicator, aut avarus, aut idolis serviens, aut maledicus, aut ebriosus, aut rapax, cum hujusmodi ne cibum sumere, &c.—*Dr. Robertson*.

A bishop or a priest, as a public person appointed to that office, may excommunicate for all public crimes: and yet it is not against God's law for others than bishops or priests to excommunicate.—*Dr. Cor*.

A bishop or a priest may excommunicate by God's law for manifest and open crimes: also others appointed by the church, though they be no priests, may exercise the power of excommunication.—*Dr. Day*.

Non solum Episcopus Excommunicare potest, sed etiam tota Congregatio, idq; pro lethalibus criminibus ac publicis, & quibus scandalum Ecclesiæ provenire potest. Non tamen pro re pecuniaria uti olim solebant.—*Dr. Oglethorp*.

They may excommunicate, as appeareth 1 Cor. v. 1 Tim. i., and that for open and great crimes, whereby

the church is offended; and for such crimes as the prince and governors determine and thinketh expedient, men to be excommunicate for, as appeareth in *novellis Constitutionibus Justiniani*. Whether any other may pronounce the sentence of excommunication but a bishop or a priest I am uncertain.—*Dr. Redmayn*.

A bishop, or a priest only, may excommunicate a notorious and grievous sinner, or obstinate person, from the communion of Christian people, because it pertaineth to the jurisdiction which is given to priests, *Jo. xxvi. Quorum Remiseritis, &c. et Quorum retinueritis, &c.* There is one manner of excommunication spoken of, *1 Cor. v.* which private persons may use. *Si is qui frater nominatur inter vos est fornicator, aut avarus, aut idolis serviens, &c. cum hujusmodi ne cibum quidem capiat;* excluding filthy persons, covetous persons, brawlers and quarrellers, out of their company, and neither to eat nor drink with them.—*Dr. Edgeworth*.

Whosoever hath a place under the higher power, and is assigned by the same to execute his ministry given of God, he may excommunicate for any crime, as it shall be seen to the higher power if the same crime be public.—*Dr. Symmons*.

A bishop and priest may excommunicate by Scripture: as touching for what crimes; I say, for every open deadly sin and disobedience. And as touching, whether only the priest may excommunicate? I say, not he only, but such as the church authorises so to do.—*Dr. Tresham*.

To the sixteenth, I say, that a bishop or a priest having license and authority of the prince of the realm, may excommunicate every obstinate and inobedient person, for every notable and deadly sin. And further, I say, that not only bishops and priests may excommunicate, but any other man appointed by the church, or such as have authority to appoint men to that office, may excommunicate.—*Dr. Leyghton*.

A bishop or a priest may excommunicate an obstinate person for public sins. Forsomuch as the keys be given to the whole church, the whole congregation may excommunicate; which excommunication may be pronounced by such a one as the congregation does appoint, although he be neither bishop nor priest.—*Dr. Coren*.

Conveniunt.—*Menevens.* Herefordens. Thirleby, Dayus, Leightonus, Coxus, Symmons, Coren, concedunt auctoritatem excommunicandi etiam Laicis, modo a Magistratu deputentur. Eboracens. et Edgworth prorsus negant datum Laicis, sed Apostolis et eorum successoribus tantum. Roffensis, Redmanus, et Robertsonus ambigunt, num detur Laicis. Londinens. non respondet Questioni: Oglethorpus et Thirleby aiunt, Ecclesie datam esse potestatem Excommunicandi; Idem Treshamus.

Agreement.—In the sixteenth, of excommunication, they do not agree. The bishops of York, Durham, and Dr. Edgworth say, that "laymen have not the authority to excommunicate, but that it was given only unto the apostles and their successors." The bishops of Hereford, St. David's, Westminster—Doctors Day, Coren, Leighton, Cox, Symmons, say, that "laymen may excommunicate, if they be appointed by the high ruler." My lord elect of Westminster, Dr. Tresham, and Dr. Oglethorpe, say further, that the power of excommunication was given to the church, and to such as the church shall institute."

17. Question.

Whether Unction of the Sick with Oil, to remit Venial Sins, as it is now used, be spoken of in the Scripture, or in any ancient Authors?

Answers.

Uction of the sick with oil, to remit venial sins, as it is now used, is not spoken of in the Scripture, nor in any ancient authors.

*T. Cantuarien.** This is mine opinion and sentence at this present, which I do not temerariouly define, but do remit the judgment thereof wholly unto your majesty.

To the seventeenth; Of unction of the sick with oil, and that sins thereby be remitted, St. James doth teach us; but of the holy prayers, and like ceremonies used in the time of the unction, we find no special mention in Scripture, albeit the said St. James maketh also mention of prayer to be used in the ministry of the same.—*Edward Ebor.*

To the seventeenth; I think that albeit it appeareth not clearly in Scripture, whether the usage in extreme unction now be all one with that which was in the beginning of the church: yet of the unction in time of sickness, and the oil also with prayers and ceremonies, the same is set forth in the Epistle of St. James, which place commonly is alleged, and so hath been received, to prove the sacrament of extreme unction.

Ita mihi Edmundo Londinensi Episcopo pro hoc tempore dicendum videtur, salvo judicio melius sentientis, cui me prompte et humiliter subijcio.

Inunction of them that be sick with oil, and praying for them for remission of sins, is plainly spoken of in the Epistle of St. James; but after what form or fashion the said inunction was then used, the Scripture telleth not.

Written on the back of the paper,

The bishop of Rochester's book.

Extreme unction is plainly set out by St. James; with the which maketh also that is written in the 6th of St. Mark, after the mind of right good ancient doctors.—*Robert Carliolen*.

De Unctione Infirmorum nihil reperio in Scripturis, præter id quod scribitur, Marc. vi. et Jacob. v.—*Thomas Robertson*.

T. Cantuarien.

Uction of the sick with oil consecrate, as it is now used, is not spoken of in Scripture.—*Richardus Cox*.

Uction of the sick with praying for them is found in Scripture.—*George Day*.

Opiniones non Assertiones.

De Unctione Infirmorum cum oleo, adjecta Oratione, expressa mentio est in Scripturis, quanquam nunc addantur alii ritus, honestatis gratia (ut in aliis Sacramentis) de quibus in Scripturis nulla mentio.—*Owinus Oglethorpus*.

Uction with oil, adjoined with prayer, and having promise of remission of sins, is spoken of in St. James and ancient authors; as for the use which now is, if anything be amiss, it would be amended.—*J. Redmayn*.

It is spoken of in Mark vi. and James v. Augustine, and other ancient doctors, speaketh of the same.—*Edgeworth*.

The unction of the sick with oil, to remit sins, is in Scripture, and also in ancient authors.—*Symon thew*.

* These are the subscriptions which are at the end of every man's paper.

PART I.—BOOK III.

Uction with oil is grounded in the Scripture, and expressly spoken of; but with this additament (as it is now used) it is not specified in Scripture, for the ceremonies now used in unction I think mere traditions of man.—*William Tresham.*

To the seventeenth, I say, that unction of the sick with oil, and prayer to remit sins, is manifestly spoken of in St. James's Epistle and ancient authors, but not with all the rites and ceremonies as be now commonly used.

T. Cantuarien. Per me *Edwardum Leyghton.*

Uction with oil to remit sins is spoken of in Scripture.—*Richard Coren.*

Conueniunt.—Meneuens. et Coxus negant Uctionem Olei (ut jam est recepta) ad remittenda peccata contineri in Scripturis. Eboracens. Carloliens. Edgworth, Coren, Redmayn, Symmons, Leightonus, Oglethorp aiunt, haberi in Scripturis. Roffens. Thirleby, Robertsonus, præterquam illud Jacobi v. et Marci vi. nihil proferunt. Herefordensis ambigit. Tresham vult Uctionem Olei tradi nobis è Scripturis, sed Uctionis Cereemonias traditiones esse humanas.

Agreement.—In the last, the bishop of St. David's and Dr. Cox say, that "unction of the sick with oil consecrate, as it is now used to remit sin, is not spoken of in Scripture." My lords of York, Durham, Carlisle, Drs. Coren, Edgworth, Redmayn, Symmons, Leyghton, and Oglethorp, say, that it is found in Scripture.

XXII.—*Dr. Barnes's Revunciation of some Articles informed against him*

BE it known to all men, that I, Robert Barnes, doctor of divinity, have, as well in writing as in preaching, overshot myself and been deceived, by trusting too much to mine own heady sentence, and giving judgment in and touching the articles hereafter ensuing; whereas being convented, and called before the person of my most gracious sovereign lord king Henry VIII. of England and of France, defender of the faith, lord of Ireland, and in earth supreme head immediately under God of the church of England; it pleased his highness, of his great clemency and goodness, being assisted with sundry of his most discreet and learned clergy, to enter such disputation and argument with me upon the points of my oversight, as by the same was fully and perfectly confuted by Scriptures, and enforced only for truth's sake, and for want of defence of Scriptures to serve for the maintenance of my part, to yield, confess, and knowledge my ignorance, and with my most humble submission, do promise for ever from henceforth to abstain and beware of such rashness: and for my further declaration therein, not only to abide such order for my doings passed as his grace shall appoint and assign unto me, but also with my heart to advance and set forth the said articles ensuing, which I knowledge and confess to be most catholic, and Christian, and necessary to be received, observed, and followed of all good Christian people. Though it so be, that Christ, by the will of his Father, is he only which hath suffered passion and death for redemption of all such as will and shall come unto him by perfect faith and baptism; and that also he hath taken upon him gratis the burden of all their sins, which as afore will, hath, or shall come to him, paying sufficient ransom for all their sins, and so is become their only Redeemer and Justifier; of the which number I trust and doubt not but that many of us now-a-days be of: yet I in heart do confess, that after, by the foresaid means, we become right Christian folks, yet then, by not following our Master's commandments and laws, we do lose the benefits and

fruition of the same, which in this case is irrecoverable but by true penance, the only remedy left unto us by our Saviour for the same; wherefore I think it more than convenient and necessary, that whensoever justification shall be preached of, that this deed be joined with all the fore part, to the intent that it may teach all true Christian people a right knowledge of their justification.

By me ROBERT BARNES.

Also I confess with my heart, that Almighty God is in nowise author, causer of sin, or any evil; and therefore, whereas Scripture saith, *Induravit Dominus Cor Pharaonis*, &c., and such other texts of like sense, they ought to understand them, *quod Dominus permisit eum indurari*, and not otherwise; which doth accord with many of the ancient interpreters also.

By me ROBERT BARNES.

For I do confess with my heart, that whensoever I have offended my neighbours, I must first reconcile myself unto him ere I shall get remission of my sins; and in case he offend me, I must forgive him ere that I can be forgiven; for this doth the *Pater Noster*, and other places of Scripture, teach me.

By me ROBERT BARNES.

I do also confess, with my heart, that good works limited by Scripture, and done by a penitent and true reconciled Christian man, be profitable and allowable unto him, as allowed of God for his benefit, and helping to his salvation.

By me ROBERT BARNES.

Also do confess with my heart, that laws and ordinances made by Christian rulers ought to be obeyed by the inferiors and subjects, not only for fear, but also for conscience; for whoso breaketh them, breaketh God's commandments.

By me ROBERT BARNES.

All and singular the which articles before written, I the foresaid Robert Barnes do approve and confess to be most true and catholic, and promise, with my heart, by God's grace, hereafter to maintain, preach, and set forth the same to the people, to the uttermost of my power, wit, and cunning.

By me ROBERT BARNES.

By me WILLIAM JEROME.

By me THOMAS GERARDE.

XXIII.—*The Foundation of the Bishopric of Westminster.*

REX omnibus ad quos, &c., salutem. Cum nuper cænobium quoddam sive Monasterium, quod (dum extitit) Monasterium Sancti Petri Westmon. vulgari vocabatur, omnia et singula ejus Maueria, Domina, Mesuagia, Terræ, Tenementa, Hæreditamenta, Dotationes et Possessiones, certis de causis specialibus et urgentibus, per Willielmum ipsius nuper Cænobii sive Monasterii Abbatem, et ejusdem loci Conventum, nobis et hæredibus nostris in perpetuum jamdudum data fuerunt et concessa, prout per ipsorum nuper Abbatis et Conventus cartam sigillo suo communi sive conventuali sigillatam et in Cancellar. nostram irrotulat. manifeste liquet; quorum prætextu nos de ejusdem nuper Cænobii sive Monasterii situ, septu et præcinctu, ac de omnibus et singulis prædict. nuper Abbatis et Conventus Maneris, Dominiis et Mesuagiis, Terris, Tenementis, Hæreditamentis, Dotationibus et Possessionibus, ad præsens pleno jure seisis sumus in dominio nostro, ut de feodo. Nos utiq; sic de eisdem seisis existen. divinaq; nos clementia inspirante nihil magis ex animo affectantes, quam ut vera religio verusq; Dei cultus inibi non modo aboleatur sed in integrum potius restituatur, et ad primitivam sive genuinæ sinceritatis normam reformatur, correctis enormitatibus in quas monachorum vita et professio longo temporum lapsu deplorabiliter exorbitaverit,

operam dedimus, quatenus humana perspicere potest infirmitas, ut imposterum ibidem sacrorum eloquiorum documenta et nostræ salutiferæ Redemptionis sacramenta pure administrantur, bonorum morum disciplina sincere observetur, Juventus in literis liberaliter instituitur, senectus viribus defectis, eorum præsertim qui circa personam nostram, vel alioquin circa Regni nostri negotia publice bene et fideliter nobis servierunt, rebus ad victum necessariis condigne foveatur, et deniq; eleemosinarum in pauperes Christi largitiones, viarum pontiumque reparaciones, et cætera omnis generis pietatis officia illinc exuberanter in omnia vicina loca longe lateq; dimanent, ad Dei omnipotentis gloriam, et ad subditorum nostrorum communem utilitatem felicitatemque: Idcirco nos considerantes quod situs dicti nuper Monasterii Sancti Petri Westmon. in quo multa tum percharissimi patris nostri, tum aliorum Incultorum, quondam Regum Angliæ, præclara monumenta conduntur, sit locus aptus; conveniens et necessarius instituendi, erigendi, ordinandi et stabilendi sedem Episcopalem, et quandam Ecclesiam Cathedralē de uno Episcopo, de uno Decano Presbytero, et duodecim Præbendaris Presbyteris, ibidem, Omnipotenti Deo et in perpetuum servitium, ipsum situm dicti nuper Monast. Sancti Petri Westmon. ac locum et Ecclesiam ipsius in sedem Episcopalem ac in Ecclesiam Cathedralē creari, erigi, fundari et stabiliri decrevimus, prout per præsentēs decernimus, et eandem Ecclesiam Cathedralē de uno Episcopo, de uno Decano Presbytero, et duodecim Præbendaris Presbyteris, tenore præsentium, realiter et ad plenum creamus, erigimus, fundamus, ordinamus facimus, constituimus et stabilimus, perpetuis futuris temporibus duraturam, et sic stabiliri ac in perpetuum inviolabiliter observari volumus et jubemus per præsentēs. Volumus itaq; et per præsentēs Ordinamus quod Ecclesia Cathedralis prædicta sit, et deinceps in perpetuum erit Ecclesia Cathedralis et Sedes Episcopalis, ac quod tota villa nostra Westmon. ex nunc et deinceps in perpetuum sit Civitas, ipsamq; civitatem Westm. vocari et nominari volumus et decernimus, ac ipsam Civitatem et totum Comit. nostrum Midd. prout per metas et limites dignoscitur, et limitatur, tota Parochia de Fulham in eodem Comit. de Midd. tantummodo except. ab omni Jurisdictione, Autoritate et Dioc. Episcopi London. et successorum suorum pro tempore existen. separamus, dividimus, eximimus, exoneramus, et omnino per præsentēs liberamus: ac omnem jurisdictionem Episcopalem infra eandem Civitatem et Comit. Midd. exceptis præexceptis, Episcopo Westmon. a nobis per has Literas nostras Patentes nominand. et eligend. et Successoribus suis Episcopis Westm. ac prædict. Episcopat. Westm. adjungimus et unimus, ac ex dictis Civitate et Com. Diocesim facimus et Ordinamus per præsentēs, illamq; Diocesim Westm. in perpetuum similiter vocari, appellari, nuncupari et nominari volumus et ordinamus. Et ut hæc nostra intentio debitum et uberiorem sortiatur effectum, Nos de scientia, moribus, probitate et virtute dilecti nostri Consilarii Thomæ Thyrlbeii Clerici, Decani Capellæ nostræ plurimum confidentes, eundem Thomam Thyrlbey ad Episcopatum dictæ Sedis Westm. nominamus et eligimus, ac ipsum Thomam Episcopum Westm. per præsentēs eligimus, nominamus, facimus, et creamus, et volumus; ac per præsentēs Concedimus et Ordinamus, quod idem Episcopatus sit corpus corporatum in re et nomine, ipsumq; ex uno corpore declaramus et acceptamus, Ordinamus, facimus et constituimus in perpetuum, habeatq; successionem perpetuam, ac quod ipse et successorēs sui per nomen et sub nomine Episcopi Westm. nominabitur et vocabitur, nominabuntur et vocabuntur in perpetuum, et quod ipse et successorēs sui per idem nomen et sub

eo nomine prosequi, clamare et placitare, ac placitari, defendere et defendi, respondere et responderi, in quibuscunq; Curis et locis legum nostrarum, ac hæredum et successorum nostrorum, et alibi, in et super omnibus et singulis causis, actionibus, sectis, brevibus, demand. et querelis, realibus, personalibus et mixtis, tam temporalibus quam spiritualibus, ac in omnibus aliis rebus, causis et materiis quibuscunq; et per idem nomen Maneria, Dominia, Terræ, Tenementa, Rectorias, Pensiones, Portiones, et alia quæcunq; Hæreditamenta, Possessiones, proficua et emolumenta, tam spiritualia sive Ecclesiastica, quam temporalia, ac alia quæcunq; per Literas Patentes præfato Episcopo et Successoribus suis, per nos seu hæredes nostros debito modo fiend. vel per quancunq; aliam personam seu quascunq; alias personas secundum leges nostras et hæredum sive successorum nostrorum dand. seu concedend. capere, recipere, gaudere et perquirere ac dare, alienare et dimittere possit et possint, valeat et valeant, et generaliter omnia alia et singula recipere, gaudere, et facere, prout et eisdem modo et forma quibus cæteri Episcopi infra Regnum nostrum Angliæ recipere aut facere possint, aut aliquis Episcopus infra Regnum nostrum Angliæ recipere aut facere possit, et non aliter nec ullo alio modo. Et ulterius volumus et ordinamus, quod Ecclesia Cathedralis prædicta sit, et deinceps in perpetuum erit Ecclesia Cathedralis et Sedes Episcopalis dicti Thomæ et successorum suorum Episcoporum Westm. ipsamq; Ecclesiam Cathedralē honoribus, dignitatibus, et insigniis Sedis Episcopalis per præsentēs decoramus, eandemq; Sedem Episcopalem præfato Thomæ et successoribus suis Episcopis Westm. damus et concedimus per præsentēs habend. et gaudend. eidem Thomæ et successoribus suis in perpetuum. Ac etiam volumus et ordinamus per præsentēs, quod præfatus Thomas et successorēs sui Episcopi Westm. prædict. omnimodam jurisdictionem, potestatem et auctoritatem ordinarias et Episcopales, infra Ecclesiam Cathedralē Westm. et prædict. Dioces. exercere, facere, et uti possit, et debeat, possint et debeant, in tam amplius modo et forma, prout Episcopus London. infra Dioces. London. secundum leges nostras exercere, facere, et uti solet, possit aut debet. Et quod dictus Thomas Episcopus Westm. et successorēs sui Episcopi Westm. deinceps in perpetuum habeat sigillum authenticum, seu sigilla authentica pro rebus et negotiis suis agendis servituri. ad omnem juris effectum simili modo et forma, et non aliter nec aliquo alio modo, prout Episcopus London. habet aut habere potest. Et ut Ecclesia Cathedralis prædict. de personis congruis in singulis locis et gradibus suis perimpleteatur et decoretur, dilectum nobis Willielmum Benson Sacræ Theologiæ professorem primum et originale, et modernum Decanum dictæ Ecclesiæ Cathedralis, ac Simonem Haynes Sacræ Theologiæ professorem primum, et præsent. Presbyterum Præbendarium, ac Joannem Redman secundum Presbyterum Præbendarium, ac Edwardum Leyghon tertium Presbyterum Præbendarium, ac Antonium Belasys quartum Presbyterum Præbendarium, ac Willielmum Britten quintum Presbyterum Præbendarium, ac Dionysium Dailon sextum Presbyterum Præbendarium, ac Humphredū Perkins septimum Presbyterum Præbendarium, ac Thomam Essex octavum Presbyterum Præbendarium, ac Thomam Ellforde nonum Presbyterum Præbendarium, ac Joannem Malvern decimum Presbyterum Præbendarium, ac Willielmum Harvy undecimum Presbyterum Præbendarium, ac Gerardum Carleton duodecimum Presbyterum Præbendarium, tenore præsentium facimus et ordinamus. Per præsentēs volumus etiam et ordinamus, ac eisdem Decano et Præbendaris concedimus per præsentēs, quod prædictus Decanus et duodecim Præbendarii dicti sint de

se in re et nomine unum corpus incorporatum, habeantq; successorem perpetuam, et se gerent, exhibebunt, et occupabunt Sedem, ordinationem, regulas et statuta, eis per nos in quadam Indentura in posterum fiend. specificand. et declarand. Et quod idem Decanus et Præbendarii et successores sui, Decanus et Capitulum Ecclesiæ Cathedralis Sancti Petri Westm. in perpetuum vocabuntur, appellabuntur; Et quod præfatus Decanus et Præbendarii Ecclesiæ Cathedralis prædictæ et successores sui sint et in perpetuum erunt Capitulum Episcopatus Westm. sitq; idem Capitulum præfat. Thomæ et successoribus suis Episcopis Westm. perpetuis futuris temporibus annexum, incorporatum et unitum, eisdem modo et forma quibus Decanus et Capitulum Ecclesiæ Cathedralis Sancti Pauli in Civitate nostra London. Episcopo London. aut sedi Episcopali London. annexa, incorporata et unit. exist. ipsosq; Decanum et Præbendarios unum corpus incorporatum in re et nomine facimus, creamus et stabilimus, et eos pro uno corpore facimus, declaramus, ordinamus et acceptamus, habeantq; successionem perpetuam; Et quod ipse Decanus et Capitulum eorumq; successores, per nomen Decani et capitulum Ecclesiæ Cathedralis Beati Petri Westm. prosequi, clamare, placitare possint et implacitare, defendere et defendi, respondere et responderi, in quibuscunq; tempore et Curis legum nostrarum et alibi, in et super omnibus et singulis causis, actionibus Sectis, demand. brevibus et querelis, realibus, spiritualibus, personalibus et mixtis, et in omnibus aliis rebus, causis et materiis, prout Decanus et Capitulum Sancti Pauli London. agere aut facere possunt: Et per idem nomen Maneria, Dominia, Terræ, Tenementa, et cætera quæcunq; Hæreditamenta, possessiones, proficua, et emolumenta tam Spiritualia sive ecclesiastica quam temporalia, et alia quæcunq; per nos per literas nostras Patentes, hæredū vel successorū nostrorū, seu per aliquam personam vel personas quascunq; eis et successoribus suis vel aliter secundū leges nostras, vel hæredū seu successorū nostrorū, dand. seu concedend. capere, recipere, et perquirere, dare, alienare, et dimittere possint et valeant, et generaliter omnia alia et singula capere, recipere, perquirere, dare, alienare, et dimittere, ac facere, et exequi, prout et eisdem modo et forma, quibus Decanus et Capitulum prædict. Cathedralis Ecclesiæ Sancti Pauli in prædicta civitate nostra London. capere, recipere perquirere, dare, alienare, et dimittere, ac facere aut exequi possint, et non aliter, neq; aliquo alio modo: Et quod Decanus et Capitulum Ecclesiæ Cathedralis beati Petri Westm. et successores sui in perpetuum habebunt commune Sigillum, ad omnimodas cartas, evidencias, et cætera scripta, vel facta sua fiend. eos vel Ecclesiam Cathedralem prædict. aliquo modo tangens. sive continend. sigilland. Et insuper volumus et per præsentem concedimus et ordinamus, quod prædict. Episcopus Westm. et quilibet successorum suorum pro tempore existen. et prædictus Decanus et Capitulum Ecclesiæ Cathedralis beati Petri Westm. et quilibet successorum suorum habeant plenam potestatem et facultatem faciendi, recipiendi, dandi, alienandi, dimittendi, exequendi et agendi omnia et singula quæ Episcopus London. et Decanus et Capitulum Sancti Pauli London. conjunctim et divisim facere, recipere, dare, alienare, dimittere, exequi aut agere possint. Volumus etiam et ordinamus, ac per præsentem Statuimus, quod Archidiaconus Midd. qui nunc est et successores sui sint deinceps in perpetuum separati et exonerati et prorsus liberati a jurisdictione, potestate, jure et autoritate Episcopi London. et successorum suorum, ac ab Ecclesia Cathedrali Sancti Pauli London. ab omniq; jure, potestate et autoritate ejusdem ipsiusq; Archidiaconi, et successores suos per

præsentem separamus, exoneramus, penitus in perpetuum liberamus, eundemq; Archidiaconum et successores suos decernimus, Statuimus, Ordinamus, ac stabilimus in simili Statu, modo, forma et jure esse, ac deinceps in perpetuum fore, in prædicta Ecclesia Cathedrali Westm. quibus ipse aut aliquis prædecessorum suorum unquam fuit in Ecclesia Cathedrali Sancti Pauli London. Statuimus etiam et ordinamus, ac per præsentem volumus et concedimus, quod prædictus Thomas Episcopus Westm. et successores sui Episcopi Westm. habeant, teneant et possideant, in omnibus et per omnia auctoritatem, potestatem, jus et jurisdictionem, de et super Archidiaconatu Midd. et Archidiacono et successoribus suis, tam plene et integre ad omnem effectum quam Episcopus London. qui nunc est aut aliquis prædecessorum suorum habet aut habuit, aut habere debuit vel usus fuit. Volumus autem ac per præsentem concedimus, tam præfato Episcopo quam Decano et Capitulo, quod habeat et habeat, habeant et habebunt, has Literas nostras Patentes sub magno sigillo nostro Angliæ debito modo factas et sigillatas, absq; fine seu feod. magno vel parvo nobis in Hanaperio nostro seu alibi ad usum nostrorum, proinde quoquo modo reddend. solvend. vel faciend. eo quod expressa mentio, et cæt. In cujus rei, &c. Teste Rege apud Westm. decimo septimo die Decembris Anno Regni Regis Henrici Octavi trigesimo secundo.

XXIV.—*A Proclamation ordained by the King's Majesty, with the advice of his Honourable Council, for the Bible of the largest and greatest volume to be had in every church; devised the sixth day of May, the thirty-third year of the King's most gracious reign.*

. Bonner. fol. 21.]

WHEREBY injunctions heretofore set forth by the authority of the king's royal majesty, supreme head of the church of this his realm of England, it was ordained and commanded, amongst other things, that in all and singular parish churches, there should be provided, by a certain day now expired, at the costs of the curates and parishioners, Bibles containing the Old and New Testament in the English tongue, to be fixed and set up openly in every of the said parish churches; the which godly commandment and injunction was to the only intent that every of the king's majesty's loving subjects, minding to read therein, might, by occasion thereof, not only consider and perceive the great and ineffable omnipotent power, promise, justice, mercy and goodness of Almighty God, but also to learn thereby to observe God's commandments, and to obey their sovereign lord and high powers, and to exercise godly charity, and to use themselves according to their vocations, in a pure and sincere Christian life without murmur or grudging: by the which injunctions, the king's royal majesty intended that his loving subjects should have and use the commodities of the reading of the said Bibles, for the purpose above rehearsed, humbly, meekly, reverently, and obediently, and not that any of them should read the said Bibles with high and loud voices, in time of the celebration of the holy mass, and other divine services used in the church; or that any his lay-subjects reading the same, should presume to take upon them any common disputation, argument, or exposition of the mysteries therein contained; but that every such layman should, humbly, meekly, and reverently, read the same for his own instruction, edification, and amendment of his life, according to God's holy word therein mentioned. And notwithstanding the king's said most godly and gracious commandment and injunction, in form as is aforesaid, his

royal majesty is informed, that divers and many towns and parishes within this his realm have neglected their duties in the accomplishment thereof; whereof his highness marvelleth not a little; and minding the execution of his said former most godly and gracious injunctions, doth straitly charge and command, that the curates and parishioners of every town and parish within this his realm of England, not having already Bibles provided within their parish churches, shall, on this side the feast of All Saints next coming, buy and provide Bibles of the largest and greatest volume, and cause the same to be set and fixed in every of the said parish churches, there to be used as is aforesaid, according to the said former injunctions, upon pain that the curate and inhabitants of the parishes and towns shall lose and forfeit to the king's majesty for every month that they shall lack and want the said Bibles, after the same feast of All Saints, 40s. the one half of the same forfeit to be to the king's majesty, and the other half to him or them which shall first find and present the same to the king's majesty's council. And finally, the king's royal majesty doth declare and signify to all and singular his loving subjects, that to the intent they may have the said Bibles of the greatest volume at equal and reasonable prices, his highness, by the advice of his council, hath ordained and taxed, that the sellers thereof shall not take for any of the said Bibles unbound, above the price of ten shillings; and for every of the said Bibles well and sufficiently bound, trimmed and clapsed, not above twelve shillings, upon pain the seller to lose, for every Bible sold contrary to his highness's proclamation, four shillings, the one moiety thereof to the king's majesty, and the other moiety to the finder and presenter of the defaulter as is aforesaid. And his highness straitly chargeth and commandeth, that all and singular ordinaries, having ecclesiastical jurisdiction within this his church and realm of England, and dominion of Wales, that they and every of them shall put their effectual endeavours that the curates and parishioners shall obey and accomplish this his majesty's proclamation and commandment, as they tender the advancement of the king's most gracious and godly purpose in that behalf, and as they will answer to his highness for the same.

God save the king.

XXV.—*An Admonition and Advertisement given by the Bishop of London to all Readers of this Bible in the English Tongue.*

[Regist. Bonner.]

To the intent that a good and wholesome thing, godly and virtuously, for honest intents and purposes, set forth for many, be not hindered or maligned at, for the abuse, default, and evil behaviour of a few, who for lack of discretion, and good advisement, commonly without respect of time, or other due circumstances, proceed rashly and unadvisedly therein; and by reason thereof, rather hinder than set forward the thing that is good of itself: it shall therefore be very expedient, that whosoever repaireth hither to read this book, or any such like, in any other place, he prepare himself chiefly and principally, with all devotion, humility, and quietness, to be edified and made the better thereby; adjoining thereto his perfect and most bounden duty of obedience to the king's majesty, our most gracious and dread sovereign lord and supreme head, especially in accomplishing his grace's most honourable injunctions and commandments given and made in that behalf. And right expedient, yea necessary it shall be also, that leaving behind him vain-

glory, hypocrisy, and all other carnal and corrupt affections, he bring with him discretion, honest intent, charity, reverence, and quiet behaviour, to and for the edification of his own soul, without the hindrance, let, or disturbance of any other his Christian brother; evermore foreseeing that no number of people be specially congregate therefore to make a multitude; and that no exposition be made thereupon otherwise than it is declared in the book itself, and that especially regard be had no reading thereof be used, allowed, and with noise in the time of any divine service or sermon; or that in the same be used any disputation, contention, or any other misdemeanour, or finally that any man justly may reckon himself be offended thereby, or take occasion to grudge or malign thereat.

God save the king.

XXVI.—*Injunctions given by Bonner, bishop of London, to his Clergy.*

[Regist. Bonner. fol. 38.]

INJUNCTIONS made by the consent and authority of me Edmund Bonner, bishop of London, in the year of our Lord God 1542, and in the thirty-fourth year of the reign of our sovereign lord Henry VIII. by the grace of God king of England, France, and Ireland, defender of the faith, and supreme head here in earth, next under God, of the church of England and Ireland. All which and singular injunctions, by the authority given to me of God, and by our said sovereign lord the king's majesty, I exhort, require, and also command, all and singular parsons, vicars, curates, and chantry priests, with other of the clergy, whatsoever they be, of my diocese and jurisdiction of London, to observe, keep, and perform accordingly, as it concerneth every of them in virtue of their obedience, and also upon pains expressed in all such laws, statutes, and ordinances of this realm, as they may incur, and be objected against them, now, or at any time hereafter, for breaking and violating of the same, or any of them.

First; That you, and every of you, shall, with all diligence and faithful obedience, observe and keep, and cause to be observed and kept, to the uttermost of your powers, all and singular the contents of the king's highness' most gracious and godly ordinances and injunctions given and set forth by his grace's authority; and that ye, and every of you, for the better performance thereof, shall provide to have a copy of the same in writing, or imprinted, and so to declare them accordingly.

Item; That every parson, vicar, and curate shall read over and diligently study every day one chapter of the Bible, and that with the gloss ordinary, or some other doctor or expositor, approved and allowed in this church of England, proceeding from chapter to chapter, from the beginning of the Gospel of Matthew to the end of the New Testament, and the same so diligently studied to keep still and retain in memory, and to come to the rehearsal and recital thereof at all such time and times as they, or any of them, shall be commanded thereunto by me or any of my officers or deputies.

Item; That every of you do procure and provide of your own a book, called "The Institution of a Christian Man," otherwise called "The Bishop's Book;" and that ye, and every of you, do exercise yourselves in the same, according to such precepts as hath been given heretofore, or hereafter to be given.

Item; That ye being absent from your benefices, in cases lawfully permitted by the laws and statutes of this realm, do suffer no priest to keep your cure, unless he being first by you presented, and by me or my

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officers thereunto abled and admitted. And for the more and better assurance and performance thereof to be had, by these presents I warn and monish peremptorily all and singular beneficed parsons having benefices with cure, within my diocese and jurisdiction, that they and every of them shall either be personally resident upon their benefices and cures, before the feast of St. Michael the Archangel now next ensuing ; or else present, before the said feast, to me the said bishop, my vicar-general, or other my officers deputed in that behalf, such curates as upon examination made by me, or my said officers, may be found able and sufficient to serve and discharge their cures in their absence ; and also at the said feast, or before, shall bring in and exhibit before my said officers their sufficient dispensations authorised by the king's majesty as well for non-residence as for keeping of more benefices with cure than one.

Item ; That every parson, vicar, and other curates, once in every quarter, shall openly in the pulpit exhort and charge his parishioners that they in nowise do make any privy or secret contract of matrimony between themselves, but that they utterly defer it until such time as they may conveniently have the father and mother, or some other kinsfolks or friends of the person that shall make such contract of matrimony ; or else two or three honest persons to be present, and to hear and record the words and manner of their contract, as they will avoid the extreme pains of the law provided in that behalf, if they presumptuously do or attempt the contrary.

Item ; That in the avoiding of divers and grievous offences and enormities, and specially the most detestable sin of adultery, which oftentimes hath happened by the negligence of curates in marrying persons together which had been married before, and making no due proof of the death of their other husbands and wives at the time of such marriages, I require and command you, and monish peremptorily by these presents all manner of parsons, vicars, and curates, with other priests, being of my diocese and jurisdiction, that they, nor any of them, from henceforth do presume to solemnise matrimony in their churches, chapels, or elsewhere, between any persons that have been married before, unless the said parson, vicar, curate, or priest, be first plainly, fully, and sufficiently informed and certified of the decease of the wife or husband of him or her, or of both, that he shall marry, and that in writing, under the ordinary's seal of the diocese, or place where he or she inhabited or dwelt before, under pain of excommunication, and otherwise to be punished for doing the contrary, according to the laws provided and made in that behalf.

Item ; That ye, and every of you that be parsons, vicars, curates, and also chauntry-priests and stipendiaries, do instruct, teach, and bring up in learning the best ye can, all such children of your parishioners as shall come to you for the same ; or at the least to teach them to read English, taking moderately therefor of their friends that be able to pay, so that they may thereby the better learn and know how to believe, how to pray, how to live to God's pleasure.

Item ; That every curate do at all times his best diligence to stir, move, and reduce such as be at discord, to peace, concord, love, charity, and one to remit and forgive one another, as often and howsoever they shall be grieved or offended : and that the curate show and give example thereof, when and as often as any variance or discord shall happen to be between him and any of his cure.

Item ; Where some froward persons, partly for malice, hatred, displeasure, and disdain, neglect, contemn, and despise their curates, and such as have the

cure and charge of their souls, and partly to hide and cloak their lewd and naughty living, as they have used all the year before, use at length to be confessed of other priests which have not the cure of their souls : wherefore I will and require you to declare, and show to your parishioners, that no testimonials brought from any of them shall stand in any effect, nor that any such persons shall be admitted to God's board, or receive their communion, until they have submitted themselves to be confessed of their own curates (strangers only except), or else upon arduous and urgent causes and considerations they be otherwise dispensed with in that behalf, either by me or by my officers aforesaid.

Item ; That whereupon a detestable and abominable practice universally reigning in your parishes, the young people and other ill-disposed persons doth use upon the Sundays and holidays, in time of divine service, and preaching the word of God, to resort unto ale-houses, and there exerciseth unlawful games, with great swearing, blasphemy, drunkenness, and other enormities, so that good and devout persons be much offended therewith : wherefore I require and command you to declare to such as keepeth ale-houses or taverns within your parishes, that at such times from henceforth, they shall not suffer in their houses any such unlawful and ungodly assemblies ; neither receive such persons to bowling and drinking at such seasons into their houses, under pain of excommunication, and otherwise to be punished for their so doing, according to the laws in that behalf.

Item ; That all curates shall declare openly in the pulpit, twice every quarter to their parishioners, the seven deadly sins, and the ten commandments, so that the people thereby may not only learn how to obey, honour, and serve God, their prince, superiors, and parents, but also to avoid and eschew sin and vice, and to live virtuously, following God's commandments and his laws.

Item ; That where I am credibly informed, that certain priests of my diocese and jurisdiction doth use to go in an unseemly and unpriestly habit and apparel, with unlawful tonsures, carrying and having upon them also armour and weapons, contrary to all wholesome and godly laws and ordinances, more like persons of the lay than of the clergy ; which may and doth minister occasion to light persons, and to persons unknown, where such persons come in place, to be more licentious both of their communication and also of their acts, to the great slander of the clergy : wherefore in the avoiding of such slander and obloquy hereafter, I admonish and command all and singular parsons, vicars, curates, and all other priests whatsoever they be, dwelling, or inhabiting, or who hereafter shall dwell and inhabit within my diocese and jurisdiction, that from henceforth they, and every of them, do use and wear meet, convenient, and decent apparel, with their trussures accordingly, whereby they may be known at all times from lay-people, and to be of the clergy, as they intend to avoid and eschew the penalty of the laws ordained in that behalf.

Item ; That no parson, vicar, or other beneficed man, having cure within my diocese and jurisdiction, do suffer any priest to say mass, or to have any service within their cure, unless they first give knowledge, and present them with the letters of their orders to me as ordinary, or to my officers deputed in that behalf, and the said priest so presented shall be by me, or my said officers, found able and sufficient thereunto.

Item ; That every curate, not only in his preachings, open sermons, and collations made to the people, but also at all other times necessary, do persuade, exhort, and monish the people being of his cure, whatsoever

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they be, to beware and abstain from swearing and blaspheming of the holy name of God, or any part of Christ's most precious body or blood. And likewise to beware and abstain from cursing, banning, chiding, scolding, backbiting, slandering, and lying. And also from talking and jangling in the church, specially in time of divine service or sermon-time. And semblably to abstain from adultery, fornication, gluttony, and drunkenness: and if they or any of them be found notoriously faulty or infamed upon any of the said crimes and offences, then to detect them at every visitation, or sooner, as the case shall require, so that the said offenders may be corrected and reformed to the example of other.

Item; That no priest from henceforth do use any unlawful games, or frequently use any ale-houses, taverns, or any suspect place at any unlawful times, or any light company, but only for their necessities, as they, and any of them, will avoid the danger that may ensue thereupon.

Item; That in the plague-time, no dead bodies or corpses be brought into the church, except it be brought straight to the grave, and immediately buried, whereby the people may the rather avoid infection.

Item; That no parsons, vicars, nor curates, permit or suffer any manner of common plays, games, or interludes, to be played, set forth, or declared within their churches or chapels, where the blessed sacrament of the altar is, or any other sacrament, ministered, or divine service said or sung; because they be places constitute and ordained to well-disposed people for godly prayer, and wholesome consolation. And if there be any of your parishioners, or any other person or persons, that will obstinately or violently inforce any such plays, interludes, or games to be declared, set forth, or played in your churches or chapels, contrary to this our forbidding and commandment; that then you, or either of you, in whose churches or chapels any such games, plays, or interludes shall be so used, shall immediately thereupon make relation of the names of the person or persons so obstinately and disobediently using themselves unto me, my chancellor, or other my officers, to the intent that they may be therefore reformed and punished according to the laws.

Item; That all priests shall take this order when they preach: first, they shall not rehearse no sermons made by other men within this two hundred or three hundred years; but when they shall preach, they shall take the gospel or epistle of the day, which they shall recite and declare to the people, plainly, distinctly, and sincerely, from the beginning to the end thereof, and then to desire the people to pray with them for grace, after the usage of the church of England now used: and that done, we will that every preacher shall declare the same gospel or epistle, or both even from the beginning, not after his own mind, but after the mind of some catholic doctor allowed in this church of England, and in nowise to affirm anything but that which he shall be ready always to show in some ancient writer; and in nowise to make rehearsal of any opinion not allowed for the intent to reprove the same, but to leave that for those that are and shall be admitted to preach by the king's majesty, or by me the bishop of London, your ordinary, or by mine authority. In the which epistle and gospel, ye shall note and consider diligently certain godly and devout places which may incense and stir the hearers to obedience of good works and prayers: and in case any notable ceremony used to be observed in the church shall happen that day when any preaching shall be appointed, it shall be meet and convenient that the preacher declare and set forth to the people the true

meaning of the same, in such sort that the people may perceive thereby what is meant and signified by such ceremony, and also know how to use and accept it to their own edifying. Furthermore, that no preacher shall rage or rail in his sermon, but coldly, discreetly, and charitably, open, declare, and set forth the excellency of virtue, and to suppress the abomination of sin and vice; every preacher shall, if time and occasion will serve, instruct and teach his audience what prayer is used in the church that day, and for what the church prayeth, specially that day, to the intent that all the people may pray together with one heart for the same; and as occasion will serve, to show and declare to the people what the sacraments signifyeth, what strength and efficacy they be of, how every man should use them reverently and devoutly at the receiving of them; and to declare wherefore the mass is so highly to be esteemed and honoured, with all the circumstances appertaining to the same. Let every preacher beware that he do not feed his audience with any fable, or other histories, other than he can avouch and justify to be written by some allowed writer. And when he hath done all that he will say and utter for that time, he shall then in few words recite again the pith and effect of his whole sermon, and add thereunto as he shall think good.

Item; That no parson, vicar, curate, or other priest, having cure of souls within my diocese and jurisdiction, shall from henceforth permit, suffer, or admit any manner of person, of whatsoever estate or condition he be, under the degree of a bishop, to preach, or make any sermon or collation openly to the people within their churches, chapels, or elsewhere within their cures, unless he that shall so preach have obtained before special license in that behalf, of our sovereign lord the king, or of me Edmund, bishop of London, your ordinary; and the same license so obtained shall then and there really bring forth in writing under seal, and show the same to the said parson, vicar, curate, or priest, before the beginning of his sermon, as they will avoid the extreme penalties of the laws, statutes, and ordinances provided and established in that behalf, if they presumptuously do or attempt anything to the contrary.

Item; I desire, require, exhort, and command you, and every of you, in the name of God, that ye firmly, faithfully, and diligently, to the uttermost of your powers, do observe, fulfil, and keep all and singular these mine injunctions. And that ye, and every of you, being priests, and having cure, or not cure, as well benefice as not beneficed, within my diocese and jurisdiction, do procure to have a copy of the same injunctions, to the intent ye may the better observe and cause to be observed the contents thereof.

The names of Books prohibited, delivered to the Curates, Anno 1542, to the intent that they shall present them with the names of the Owners to their Ordinary, if they find any such within their Parishes.

The Disputation between the Father and the Son.
The Supplication of Beggars; the author Fish.
The Revelation of Antichrist.
The Practice of Prelates, written by Tindall.
The Burying of the Mass, in English Rithme.
The Book of Friar Barnes, twice printed.
The Matrimony of Tindall.
The Exposition of Tindall, upon the 4th chap. to the Corinth.

The Exposition of Tindall upon the Epistles Canonick of St. John.

The New Testament of Tindall's translation, with his preface before the whole book, and before the Epistles of St. Paul and Rom.

The Preface made in the English Prymmers, by Marshall.

The Church of John Rastall.

The Table, Glosses, Marginal, and Preface before the Epistles of St. Paul and Romans, of Thomas Mathews' doing, and printed beyond the sea without priviledg, set in his Bible in English.

The A. B. C. against the Clergy.

The book made by Friar Roys against the Seven Sacraments.

The Wicked Mammon.

The Parable of the wicked Mammon.

The Liberty of a Christian Man.

Ortulus Animæ, in English.

The Supper of the Lord by G. Joye.

Frisk's Dispensation against Purgatory.

Tindall's Answer to Sir T. More's Defence of Purgatory.

The Prologue to Genesis, translated by Tindall.

The Prologues to the other four Books of Moses.

The Obedience of a Christian Man.

The book made by Sir John Oldcastle.

The Summ of Scripture.

The Preface before the Psalter in English.

The Dialogue between the Gentleman and the Ploughman.

The Book of Jonas in English.

The Dialogue of Goodale.

Defensorium Paris; out of Latin into English.

The Summ of Christianity.

The Mirror of them that be sick and in pain.

Treatise of the Supper of the Lord, by Calwyn.*

Every one of Calwyn's works.

XXVII.—*A Collection of Passages out of the Canon Law, made by Crammer, to shew the necessity of reforming it. An Original.*

[Ex MSS. D. Stillingfleet.]

Dist. 22. *Omnes de Major. et obediens. solit. Extra. De Majorit. et obediens. Unam Sanctam.*

HE that knowledgeth not himself to be under the bishop of Rome, and that the bishop of Rome is ordained by God to have primacy over all the world, is an heretic, and cannot be saved, nor is not of the flock of Christ.

Dist. 10. *de Sententia Excommunicationis, Noverit. 25. q. 11. omne.*

Princes' laws, if they be against the canons and decrees of the bishop of Rome, be of no force nor strength.

Dist. 19, 20, 24. q. 1. *A recta memoria. Quotiens hec est 25. q. 1. General. violatores.*

All the decrees of the bishop of Rome ought to be kept perpetually of every man, without any repugnancy, as God's word spoken by the mouth of Peter; and whosoever doth not receive them, neither availeth them the Catholic faith, nor the four evangelists, but they blaspheme the Holy Ghost, and shall have no forgiveness.

35. q. 1. *Generali.*

All kings, bishops, and noblemen, that believe or suffer the bishop of Rome's decrees in anything to be violate, be accursed, and for ever culpable before God, as transgressors of the Catholic faith.

Dist. 21. *Quantis, et 24. q. 1. A recta memoria.*

The see of Rome hath neither spot nor wrinkle in it, nor cannot err.

Calvin.

35. q. 1. *Ideo de Senten. et re judicata, de jurejurando licet ad Apostolicæ li. 6. de jurejurando.*

The bishop of Rome is not bound to any decrees, but he may compel, as well the clergy as laymen, to receive his decrees and canon law.

9. q. 2. *Ipsi cuncta. Nemo 2. q. 6. dudum aliorum. 17. q. 4. Si quis de Baptis. et ejus effectu majores.*

The bishop of Rome hath authority to judge all men, and specially to discern the articles of the faith, and that without any counsel, and may assolt them that the counsel hath damned; but no man hath authority to judge him, nor to meddle with anything that he hath judged, neither emperor, king, people, nor the clergy: and it is not lawful for any man to dispute of his power.

gr. Duo sunt 25. q. 6. *Alius Nos Sanctorum juratos in Clemen. de Hæreticis aut officium.*

The bishop of Rome may excommunicate emperors and princes, depose them from their states, and assolt their subjects from their oath and obedience to them, and so constrain them to rebellion.

De Major. et obediens. solit. Clement. de Sententia et re judicata. Pastoral.

The emperor is the bishop of Rome's subject, and the bishop of Rome may revoke the emperor's sentence in temporal causes.

De Elect. et Electi potestate. Venerabilem.

It belongeth to the bishop of Rome to allow or disallow the emperor after he is elected; and he may translate the empire from one region to another.

De supplenda Negligen. prelat. Grand. li. 6.

The bishop of Rome may appoint coadjutors unto princes.

Dist. 17. *Sinodum Regula. Nec licuit multum. Concilia. 96. ubinam.*

There can be no council of bishops without the authority of the see of Rome; and the emperor ought not to be present at the council, except when matters of the faith be entreating, which belong universally to every man.

2. q. 6.

Nothing may be done against him that appealeth unto Rome.

1. q. 3. *Aliorum Dist. 40. Si Papa. Dist. 96. Satis.*

The bishop of Rome may be judged of none but of God only; for although he neither regard his own salvation nor no man's else, but draw down with himself innumerable people by heaps unto hell, yet may no mortal man in this world presume to reprehend him: forsomuch as he is called God, he may not be judged of man, for God may be judged of no man.

3. z. q.

The bishop of Rome may open and shut heaven unto men.

Dist. 40. *Non nos.*

The see of Rome receiveth holy men, or else maketh them holy.

De Penitentia. Dist. 1. Serpens.

He that maketh a lie to the bishop of Rome committeth sacrilege.

De Consecra. Dist. 1. De locorum præcepta. Ecclesia de Elect. et Electi potestate. Fundamenta.

To be senator, capitane, patrician, governor, or officer of Rome, none shall be elected or pointed, without the express license and special consent of the see of Rome.

De Electione et Electi potestate. Venerabilem.

It appertaineth to the bishop of Rome to judge which oaths ought to be kept, and which not.

De Jurejurand. Si vero. 15. q. 6. Auctoritatem.

And he may absolve subjects from their oath of fidelity, and absolve from other oaths that ought to be kept.

De Foro competent. Ex tenore. De donat. inter virum et Uxorem dependentia. Qui Filii sunt legitime per venerabilem. De Elect. et Electi potestate Fundamenta. Extravag. de Majorit. et Obedient. unam Sanctam. De judiciis Novit.

The bishop of Rome is judge in temporal things, and hath two swords, spiritual and temporal.

De Hæreticis multorum.

The bishop of Rome may give authority to arrest men, and imprison them in manacles and fetters.

Extrav. de Consuetudine super gentes.

The bishop of Rome may compel princes to receive his legates.

De Truga et Pace. Trugas.

It belongeth also to him to appoint and command peace, and truce to be observed and kept, or not.

De Præbend. et dig. dilectus et li. 6. licet.

The collation of all spiritual promotions appertaineth to the bishop of Rome.

De Excessibus Prælatorum. Sicut unire.

The bishop of Rome may unite bishoprics together, and put one under another at his pleasure.

Li. 6. de Pœnis Felicitis.

In the chapter *Felicitis*, li. 6. de pœnis, is the most partial and unreasonable decree made by Bonifacius VIII. that ever was read or heard against them that be adversaries to any cardinal of Rome, or to any clerk, or religious man of the bishop of Rome's family.

Dist. 23. Consulendum. Dist. 96. Si Imperator. 11. q. 1. Quod Clericus. Nemo nullus. Clericum, &c. et q. 2. Quod vero de sentent. Excommunicationis. Si iudex q. 2. q. 5. Si quis de foro competent. Nullus. Si quis. Ex transmissa. de foro compet. in 6 Secularis.

Laymen may not be judges to any of the clergy, nor compel them to pay their undoubted debts, but the bishops only must be their judges.

De Foro Competent. Cum sit licet.

Rectors of churches may convent such as do them wrong, whither they will, before a spiritual judge or a temporal.

Idem ex parte Dilecti.

A layman being spoiled, may convent his adversaries before a spiritual judge, whether the lords of the feod consent thereto or not.

Ibidem Significasti, et li. q. 1. placuit.

A layman may commit his cause to a spiritual judge, but one of the clergy may not commit his cause to a temporal judge without the consent of the bishop.

Ne Clerici vel Monachi. Secundum.

Laymen may have no benefices to farm.

De Sententia Excommunicationis. Noverit extra. de Penitentis et Remiss. &c. et li.

All they that make or write any statutes contrary to the liberties of the church; and all princes, rulers, and counsellors, where such statutes be made, or such customs observed, and all the judges and others that put the same in execution; and where such statutes and customs have been made and observed of old time;

all they that put them not out of their books, be excommunicate, and that so grievously, that they cannot be assailed but only by the bishop of Rome.

De Immunitate Ecclesiar. Non minus adversus. Quia quum et in 6. Clericis.

The clergy, to the relief of any common necessity, can nothing confer without the consent of the bishop of Rome; nor it is not lawful for any layman to lay any imposition of taxes, subsidies, or any charges upon the clergy.

Dist. 97. Hoc capitulo et 63. Nullus et quæ sequuntur. Non aliter cum Laic.

Laymen may not meddle with elections of the clergy, nor with any other thing that belongeth unto them.

De Jurejurando. Nimis.

The clergy ought to give no oath of fidelity to their temporal governors, except they have temporalities of them.

Dist. 96. Bene Quidem. 12. q. 2. Apostolicos. Quisquis.

The goods of the church may in nowise be alienated, but whosoever receiveth or buyeth them is bound to restitution; and if the church have any ground which is little or nothing worth, yet it shall not be given to the prince; and if the prince will needs buy it, the sale shall be void and of no strength.

13. q. 2. Non liceat.

It is not lawful for the bishop of Rome to alienate or mortgage any lands of the church for every manner of necessity, except it be houses in cities which be very chargeable to support and maintain.

Dist. 96. Quis nunquam, 3. q. 6. Accusatio 11. q. 1. Continua nullus Testimonium Relatum Experientie. Si quisquam. Si quæ. Sicut Statuimus, nullus de persona. Si quis.

Princes ought to obey bishops and the decrees of the church, and to submit their heads unto the bishops, and not to be judge over the bishops; for the bishops ought to be forborne, and to be judged of no layman.

De Major. et obedien. soliti.

Kings and princes ought not to set bishops beneath them, but reverently to rise against them, and to assign them an honourable seat by them.

11. q. 1. Quæcunque. Relatum. Si qui omnes volumus. Placuit.

All manner of causes, whatsoever they be, spiritual or temporal, ought to be determined and judged by the clergy.

Ibidem Omnes.

ad abolendam, et in Clementinis ut officium.

Whosoever teacheth or thinketh of the sacraments otherwise than the see of Rome doth teach and observe, and all they that the same see excommunicate.

And the bishop of Rome may compel by an oath all rulers and other people to observe, and cause to be observed, whatsoever the see of Rome shall ordain concerning heresy, and the fautors thereof; and who will not obey, he may deprive them of their dignities.

Clement de reliq. et venerat. Sanctorum. Si Dominus extravag. de reliq. et venerat. Sanctorum. Cum pre excelsa: de penitent. et remiss. antiquorum, et Clemen. unigenitus. Quemadmodum.

We obtain remission of sin by observing of certain feasts, and certain pilgrimages in the jubilee, and other prescribed times, by virtue of the bishop of Rome's pardons.

De Penitentia et Remissionibus extravag. ca. 3. Et si Dominici.

Whosoever offendeth the liberties of the church, or doth violate any interdiction that cometh from Rome, or conspireth against the person or statute of the bishop or see of Rome; or by any ways offendeth, disobeyeth, or rebelleth against the said bishop or see, or that killeth a priest, or offendeth personally against a bishop or other prelate; or invadeth, spoileth, withholdeth, or wasteth lands belonging to the church of Rome, or to any other church immediately subject to the same; or whosoever invadeth any pilgrims that go to Rome, or any suitors to the court of Rome, or that let the devolution of causes unto that court, or that put any new charges or impositions, real or personal, upon any church or ecclesiastical person; and generally all other that offend in the cases contained in the bull, which is usually published by the bishops of Rome upon Maundy Thursday; all these can be assailed by no priest, bishop, archbishop, nor by none other but only by the bishop of Rome, or by his express license.

2.4. q. z.

Robbing of the clergy, and poor men, appertaineth unto the judgment of the bishops.

23. 9. q.

He is no manslayer that slayeth a man which is excommunicate.

Dist. 63. Tibi Domino de sententia Excommunicationis. Si iudice.

Here may be added the most tyrannical and abominable oaths which the bishops of Rome exact of the emperors; in *Clement. de iurejurando Romanū dist. 6. 3. Tibi Domino.*

De Consecra. Dist. 1. Sicut.

It is better not to consecrate, than to consecrate in a place not hallowed.

De Consecrat. Dist. 5. De his manus, ut

Confirmation, if it be ministered by any other than a bishop, is of no value, nor is no sacrament of the church; also confirmation is more to be had in reverence than baptism; and no man by baptism can be a christened man without confirmation.

De Peniten. Dist. 1. Multiplex.

A penitent person can have no remission of his sin, but by supplication of the priests.

XXVIII.—*A Mandate for publishing and using the Prayers in the English Tongue.*

[Regist. Bonner. fol. 48.]

Mandatum Domino Episcopo London. direct. pro publicatione Regiarum Injunctionum.

MOST reverend father in God, right trusty and right well-beloved, we greet you well, and let you wit, that calling to our remembrance the miserable state of all Christendom, being at this present, besides all other troubles, so plagued with most cruel wars, hatred, and dissensions, as no place of the same almost (being the whole reduced to a very narrow corner) remaineth in good peace, agreement, and concord; the help and remedy whereof far exceeding the power of any man, must be called for of Him who only is able to grant our petitions, and never forsaketh nor repelleth any that firmly believe and faithfully call on him; unto whom also the example of Scripture encourageth us, in all these and other our troubles and necessities, to fly and to cry for aid and succour; being therefore resolved to have continually from henceforth general

processions, in all cities, towns, churches, and parishes of this our realm, said and sung, with such reverence and devotion as appertaineth. Forasmuch as heretofore the people, partly for lack of good instruction and calling, and partly for that they understood no part of such prayers or suffrages as were used to be sung and said, have used to come very slackly to the procession, when the same have been commanded heretofore; we have set forth certain godly prayers and suffrages in our native English tongue, which we send you herewith, signifying unto you, that for the special trust and confidence we have of your godly mind, and earnest desire, to the setting forward of the glory of God, and the true worshipping of his most holy name, within that province committed by us unto you, we have sent unto you these suffrages, not to be for a month or two observed, and after slenderly considered, as other our injunctions have, to our no little marvel, been used; but to the intent that as well the same, as other our injunctions, may be earnestly set forth by preaching good exhortations and otherwise to the people, in such sort as they feeling the godly taste thereof, may godly and joyously, with thanks, receive, embrace, and frequent the same, as appertaineth. Wherefore we will and command you, as you will answer unto us for the contrary, not only to cause these prayers and suffrages aforesaid to be published, frequented, and openly used in all towns, churches, villages, and parishes of your own diocese, but also to signify this our pleasure unto all other bishops of your province, willing and commanding them in our name, and by virtue hereof, to do and execute the same accordingly. Unto whose proceedings, in the execution of this our commandment, we will that you have a special respect, and make report unto us, if any shall not with good dexterity accomplish the same; not failing, as our special trust is in you.

At St. James's, Junii — Regni 36. Directed to the Archbishop of Canterbury.

XXIX.—*The Articles acknowledged by Shaxton, late Bp. of Sarum.*

[Regist. Bonner. fol. 100.]

THE first; Almighty God, by the power of his word, pronounced by the priest at mass in the consecration, turneth the bread and wine into the natural body and blood of our Saviour Jesus Christ; so that after the consecration, there remaineth no substance of bread and wine, but only the substance of Christ, God and man.

The second; The said blessed sacrament being once consecrate, is and remaineth still the very body and blood of our Saviour Christ, although it be reserved, and not presently distributed.

The third; The same blessed sacrament being consecrate, is and ought to be worshipped and adored with godly honour wheresoever it is, forasmuch as it is the body of Christ inseparably united to the Deity.

The fourth; The church, by the ministration of the priest, offereth daily at the mass for a sacrifice to Almighty God, the self-same body and blood of our Saviour Christ, under the form of bread and wine, in the remembrance and representation of Christ's death and passion.

The fifth; The same body and blood which is offered in the mass, is the very propitiation and satisfaction for the sins of the world; forasmuch as it is the self-same in substance which was offered upon the cross for our redemption; and the oblation and action of the priest is also a sacrifice of praise and thanksgiving unto God for his benefits, and not the satisfaction for

the sins of the world, for that is only to be attributed to Christ's passion.

The sixth ; The said oblation, or sacrifice, so by the priest offered in the mass, is available and profitable, both for the quick and the dead, although it lieth not in the power of man to limit how much or in what measure the same doth avail.

The seventh ; It is not a thing of necessity that the sacrament of the altar should be ministered unto the people under both kinds, of bread and wine : and it is none abuse that the same be ministered to the people under the one kind ; forasmuch as in every of both the kinds, whole Christ, both body and blood, is contained.

The eighth ; It is no derogation to the virtue of the mass, although the priest do receive the sacrament alone, and none other receive it with him.

The ninth ; The mass used in this realm of England is agreeable to the institution of Christ ; and we have in this church of England the very true sacrament, which is the very body and blood of our Saviour Christ, under the form of bread and wine.

The tenth ; The church of Christ hath, doth, and may lawfully order some priests to be ministers of the sacraments, although the same do not preach, nor be not admitted thereunto.

The eleventh ; Priests being once dedicated unto God by the order of priesthood, and all such men and women as have advisedly made vows unto God of chastity or widowhood, may not lawfully marry, after their said orders received, or vows made.

The twelfth ; Secret auricular confession is expedient and necessary to be retained, continued, and frequented in the church of Christ.

The thirteenth ; The prescience and predestination of Almighty God, although in itself it be infallible, induceth no necessity to the action of man, but that he may freely use the power of his own will or choice, the said prescience or predestination notwithstanding.

I, NICHOLAS SHAXTON, with my heart do believe, and with my mouth do confess all these articles above-written to be true in every part.

No despicias hominem avertentem se a peccato, neque improperes ei : memento quoniam omnes in corruptione sumus, Eccles. 3.

XXX.—*A Letter written by Lethington the Secretary of Scotland, to Sir William Cecil, the Queen of England's Secretary, touching the title of the Queen of Scots to the Crown of England : by which it appears that King Henry's Will was not signed by him.*

[Ex MS. D. G. Petyt.]

I CANNOT be ignorant that some do object as to her majesty's foreign birth, and hereby think to make her incapable of the inheritance of England. To that you know for answer what may be said by an English patron of my mistress's cause, although I being a Scot will not affirm the same, that there ariseth amongst you a question, whether the realm of Scotland be forth of the homage and leageance of England ; and therefore you have in sundry proclamations preceding your wars-making, and in sundry books at sundry times, laboured much to prove the homage and fealty of Scotland to England. Your stories also be not void of this intent. What the judgment of the fathers of your law is, and what commonly is thought in this matter, you know better than I, and may have better intelligence than I, the argument being fitter for your assertion than mine.

Another question there is also upon this objection of foreign birth ; that is to say, whether princes inher-

able to the crown, be in case of the crown exempted or concluded as private persons, being strangers born forth of the allegiance of England. You know in this case, as divers others, the state of the crown : the persons inheritable to the crown at the time of their capacity, have divers differences and prerogatives from other persons ; many laws made for other persons take no hold in case of the prince, and they have such privileges as other persons enjoy not : as in cases of attainders and other penal laws : examples, Henry VII. who being a subject, was attainted ; and Edward IV. and his father Richard Plantagenet were both attainted ; all which notwithstanding their attainders had right to the crown, and two of them attained the same. Amongst may reasons to be showed, both for the differences, and that foreign birth doth not take place in the case of the crown as in common persons, the many experiences before the Conquest and since of your kings do plainly testify. 2. Of purpose I will name unto you, Henry II. Maud the empress's son, and Richard of Bordeaux, the Black Prince's son, the rather for that neither of the two was the king of England's son, and so not *Enfant du Roy*, if the word be taken in this strict signification. And for the better proof, that it was always the common law of your realm, that in the case of the crown foreign birth was no bar ; you do remember the words of the Stat. 25 Edward III. where it is said, the law was ever so : whereupon if you can remember it, you and I fell out at a reasoning in my lord of Leicester's chamber, by the occasion of the abridgment of Rastal, wherein I did show you somewhat to this purpose ; also these words, *infant* and *ancestors* be in *Prædicamento ad aliquid*, and so correlatives in such sort, as the meaning of the law was not to restrain the understanding of this word *infant*, so strict as only to the children of the king's body, but to others inheritable in remainder ; and if some sophisters will needs cavil about the precise understanding of *infant* let them be answered with the scope of this word *ancestors* in all provisions, for *Filii*, *Nepotes* and *Liberi*, you may see there was no difference betwixt the first degree and those that come after by the civil law. *Liberorum appellatione comprehenduntur non solum Filii, verum etiam Nepotes, Pronepotes, Abnepotes*, &c. If you examine the reason why foreign birth is excluded, you may see that it was not so needful in princes' cases as in common persons. Moreover, I know that England hath oftentimes married with daughters, and married with the greatest foreign princes of Europe. And so I do also understand, that they all did repute the children of them, and of the daughters of England, inheritable in succession to that crown, notwithstanding the foreign birth of their issue ; and in this case I do appeal to all chronicles, to their contracts of marriages, and to the opinion of all the princes of Christendom. For though England be a noble and puissant country, the respect of the alliance only and the dowry hath not moved the great princes to match so often in marriage, but the possibility of the crown in succession. I cannot be ignorant altogether in this matter, considering that I serve my sovereign in the room that you serve yours. The contract of marriage is extant betwixt the king, my mistress's grandfather, and queen Margaret, daughter to king Henry VII. by whose person the title is devolved on my sovereign ; what her father's meaning was in bestowing of her, the world knoweth by that which is contained in the chronicles written by Polidorus Virgilius, before (as I think) either you or I was born ; at least when it was little thought that this matter should come in question. There is another exception also laid against my sovereign, which seems at the first to be of some weight, grounded upon some

statutes made in king Henry VIII.'s time, (viz.) of the 28th and 35th of his reign, whereby full power and authority was given him the said king Henry, to give, dispose, appoint, assign, declare and limit, by his letters patents under his great seal, or else by his last will made in writing, and signed with his hand at his pleasure, from time to time thereafter the imperial crown of that realm, &c. Which imperial crown is by some alleged and constantly affirmed to have been limited and disposed, by the last will and testament of the said king Henry VIII. signed with his hand before his death, unto the children of the lady Francis, and Elenor, daughter to Mary the French queen, younger daughter of Henry VII. and of Charles Brandon duke of Suffolk; so as it is thought the queen, my sovereign, and all others, by course of inheritance, be by these circumstances excluded and fore-closed: so as it does well become all subjects, such as I am, so my liking is, to speak of princes, of their reigns and proceedings, modestly and with respect; yet I cannot abstain to say, that the chronicles and histories of that age, and your own printed statutes, being extant, do contaminate and disgrace greatly the reign of that king in that time. But to come to our purpose, what equity and justice was that to disinheric a race of foreign princes of their possibility and maternal right, by a municipal law or statute made in that, which some would term abrupt time, and say, that that would rule the roast, yea, and to exclude the right heirs from their title, without calling them to answer, or any for them: well, it may be said, that the injury of the time, and the indirect dealing is not to be allowed; but since it is done, it cannot be avoided, unless some circumstances material do annihilate the said limitation and disposition of the crown.

Now let us examine the manner and circumstances how king Henry VIII. was by statute enabled to dispose the crown. There is a form in two sorts prescribed him, which he may not transgress, that is to say, either by his letters patents, sealed with his great seal, or by his last will, signed with his hand: for in this extraordinary case he was held to an ordinary and precise form; which being not observed, the letters patents, or will, cannot work the intent or effect supposed. And to disprove that the will was signed with his own hand: you know that long before his death he never used his own signing with his own hand; and in the time of his sickness, being divers times pressed to put his hand to the will written, he refused to do it. And it seemed God would not suffer him to proceed in an act so injurious and prejudicial to the right heir of the crown, being his niece. Then his death approaching, some as well known to you as to me, caused William Clarke, sometimes servant to Thomas Henneage, to sign the supposed will with a stamp (for otherwise signed it was never); and yet notwithstanding some, respecting more the satisfaction of their ambition, and others their private commodity, than just and upright dealing, procured divers honest gentlemen, attending in divers several rooms about the king's person, to testify with their handwritings the contents of the said pretended will, surmised to be signed with the king's own hand. To prove this dissembled and forged signed testament, I do refer you to such trials as be yet left. First, the attestation of the late lord Paget, published in the parliament in queen Mary's time, for the restitution of the duke of Norfolk. Next, I pray you, on my sovereign's behalf, that the depositions may be taken in this matter of the marquiss of Winchester, lord treasurer of England, the marquiss of Northampton, the earl of Pembroke, sir William Petre, then one of king Henry's secretaries, sir Henry Nevill, sir Maurice Barkley, doctor Buts, Edmond

Harman Baker, John Osborn, groom of the chamber, sir Anthony Demmis, if he be living, Terris the chirurgion, and such as have heard David Vincent and others speak in this case; and that their attestations may be enrolled in the chancery, and in the arches, *In perpetuum rei memoriam*.

Thirdly; I do refer you to the original will surmised to be signed with the king's own hand, that thereby it may most clearly and evidently appear, by some differences, how the same was not signed with the king's hand, but stamped as aforesaid: and albeit it is used both as an argument and calumination against my sovereign to some, that the said original hath been embezzled in queen Mary's time, I trust God will and hath reserved the same to be an instrument to relieve the truth, and to confound false surmises, that thereby the right may take place, notwithstanding the many exemplifications and transcripts, which being sealed with the great seal, do run abroad in England, and do carry away many men's minds, as great presumptions of great verity and validity. But, sir, you know in cases of less importance, that the whole realm of England, transcripts and exemplifications be not of so great force in law to serve for the recovery of anything, either real or personal: and inasmuch as my sovereign's title in this case shall be little advanced, by taking exceptions to others' pretended and erased titles, considering her precedency, I will leave it to such as are to claim after the issue of Henry VII., to lay in bar the polygamy of Charles Brandon, the duke of Suffolk, and also the vitiated and clandestine contract (if it may be so called), having no witness nor solemnization of Christian matrimony, nor any lawful matching of the earl of Hertford and the lady Katharine. Lastly; the seembably compelling of Mr. Key and the lady Mary, sister to the lady Katharine.

And now, sir, I have to answer your desire, said somewhat briefly to the matter, which indeed is very little, where so much may be said; for, to speak truly, the cause speaketh for itself. I have so long forborne to deal in this matter, that I have almost forgotten many things which may be said for roboracion of her right, which I can shortly reduce to my remembrance, being at Edinburgh, where my notes are; so that if you be not by this satisfied, upon knowledge from you of any other objection I hope to satisfy you unto all things may be said against her. In the meantime I pray you so counsel the queen your sovereign, as some effectual reparation may follow without delay, of the many and sundry traverses and disfavours committed against the queen my sovereign: as the publishing of so many exemplifications of king Henry's supposed will, the secret embracing of John Halle's books, the books printed and not avowed the last summer, one of the which my mistress hath sent by Henry Killigrew to the queen your sovereign; the disputes and proceedings of Lincoln's Inn, where the case was ruled against the queen my sovereign; the speeches of sundry in this last session of parliament, tending all to my sovereign's derision, and nothing said to the contrary by any man, but the matter shut up with silence, most to her prejudice,—and by so much the more as every man is gone home settled and confirmed in his error. And, lastly, the queen your sovereign's resolution to defend now by proclamations all books and writings containing any discussion of titles, when the whole realm hath engendered by these fond proceedings and other favoured practices, a settled opinion against my sovereign's, to the advancement of my lady Katharine's title. I might also speak of another book lately printed and set abroad in this last session, containing many untruths and weak reasons, which Mr. Wailing desired might be answered before the

defence were made by proclamation. I trust you will so hold hand to the reformation of all these things, as the queen my sovereign may have effectual occasion to esteem you her friend; which doing, you shall never offend the queen your mistress, your country, nor conscience, but be a favourer of the truth against errors, and yet deserve well of a princess, who hath a good heart to recognize any good turn, when it is

done her, and may hereafter have means to do you pleasure. For my particular, as I have always honoured you as my father, so do I still remain of the same mind as one whom in all things not touching the state you may direct, as your son Thomas Cecil, and with my hearty commendations to you and my lady, both, I take my leave. From Striveling, the 14th of January 1566.

AN APPENDIX

CONCERNING SOME OF THE ERRORS AND FALSEHOODS IN SANDERS' BOOK OF THE ENGLISH SCHISM.

THOSE who intend to write romances or plays do commonly take their plot from some true piece of history; in which they fasten such characters to persons and things, and mix such circumstances and secret passages with those public transactions and changes that are in other histories, as may more artificially raise these passions and affections in their readers' minds, which they intend to move, than could possibly be done if the whole story were a mere fiction and contrivance: and though all men know those tender passages to flow only from the invention and fancy of the poet, yet, by I know not what charm, the greatest part that read or hear their poems are softened and sensibly touched.

Some such design Sanders seems to have had in his book, which he very wisely kept up as long as he lived: he intended to represent the Reformation in the foulest shape that was possible, to defame queen Elizabeth, to stain her blood, and thereby to bring her title to the crown in question; and to magnify the authority of the see of Rome, and celebrate monastic orders, with all the praises and high characters he could devise: and therefore after he had writ several books on these subjects, without any considerable success, they being all rather filled with foul calumnies and detracting malice than good arguments or strong sense, he resolved to try his skill another way; so he intended to tell a doleful tale, which should raise a detestation of heresy, an ill opinion of the queen, cast a stain on her blood, and disparage her title, and advance the honour of the papacy. A tragedy was fitter for these ends, since it left the deepest impressions on the graver and better affections of the mind; the scene must be laid in England, and king Henry VIII. and his three children, with the changes that were in their times, seemed to afford very plentiful matter for a man of wit and fancy, who knew where he could dexterously show his art, and had boldness enough to do it without shame, or the reverence due either to crowned heads or to persons that were dead. Yet because he knew not how he could hold up his face to the world after these discoveries were made, which he had reason to expect, this was concealed as long as he lived: and, after he had died for his faith (that is, in rebellion, which I shall show is the faith in his style), this work of his was published. The style is generally clean, and things are told in an easy and pleasant way; only he could not use his art so decently as to restrain that malice which boiled in his breast, and often fermented out too palpably in his pen. The book served many ends well, and so was gene-

rally much cried up by men who had been long accustomed to commend anything that was useful to them, without troubling themselves with those impertinent questions, whether they were true or false: yet Rish-ton, and others since that time, took the pencil again in their hands, and, finding there were many touches wanting which would give much life to the whole piece, have so changed it, that it was afterwards reprinted, not only with a large continuation, that was writ by a much more unskilful poet, but with so many and great additions scattered through the whole work, whereby it seemed so changed in the vamping that it looked new.

If any will give themselves the trouble to compare his fable with the history that I have written, and the certain undoubted authorities I bring in confirmation of what I assert, with the slender and (for the most part) no authorities he brings, they will soon be able to discern where the truth lies: but because all people have not the leisure or opportunities for laying things so critically together, I was advised by those whose counsels directed me in this whole work, to sum up, in an appendix, the most considerable falsehoods and mistakes of that book, with the evidences upon which I rejected them. Therefore I have drawn out the following extraction, which consists of errors of two sorts. The one is of these in which there is indeed no malice, yet they show the writer had no true information of our own affairs, but commits many faults which, though they leave not such foul imputations on the author, yet tend very much to disparage and discredit his work. But the others are of an higher guilt, being designed forgeries, to serve partial ends; not only without any authority, but manifestly contrary to truth and to such records as (in spite of all the care they took in queen Mary's time by destroying them, to condemn posterity to ignorance in these matters) are yet reserved, and serve to discover the falsehood of those calumnies in which they have traded so long. I shall pursue these errors in the series in which they are delivered in Sanders' book, according to the impression at Colen 1628, which is that I have. I first set down his errors, and then a short confutation of them, referring the reader for fuller information to the foregoing history.

Page 2.—1. Sanders says; "that when prince Arthur and his princess were bedded, king Henry VII. ordered a grave matron to lie in the bed, that so they might not consummate their marriage."

This is the groundwork of the whole fable; and should have been some way or other proved. But, if

we do not take so small a circumstance upon his word, we treat him rudely; and who will write histories if they be bound to say nothing but truth! But little thought our author that there were three depositions upon record, point blank against this; for the duchess of Norfolk, the viscount of Fitzwater, and his lady, deposed they saw them bedded together, and the bed blessed after they two were put in it; besides, that such an extravagant thing was never known done in any place.

Ibid.—2. Sanders says, "Prince Arthur was not then fifteen years of age, and was sick of a lingering disease."

The plot goes on but scurvily, when the next thing that is brought to confirm it is contradicted by records. Prince Arthur was born the 20th of September in the year 1486, and so was fifteen years old and two months past at the 11th of November 1501, in which he was married to the princess, and was then of a lively and good complexion, and did not begin to decay till the Shrovetide following, which was imputed to his excesses in the bed, as the witnesses deposed.

Ibid.—3. He says; "Upon the motion for the marrying of his brother Henry to the princess, it was agreed to by all, that the thing was lawful."

It was perhaps agreed on at Rome, where money and other political arts sway their counsels; but it was not agreed to in England: for which we have no meaner author than Warham, archbishop of Canterbury, who, when examined upon oath, deposed that himself then thought the marriage was not honourable nor well pleasing to God, and that he had thereupon opposed it much, and that the people murmured at it.

Page 3.—4. He says; "There was not one man in any nation under heaven, or in the whole church, that spake against it."

The common style of the Roman church, calling the see of Rome the Catholic church, must be applied to this, to bring off our author; otherwise I know not how to save his reputation. Therefore, by all the nations under heaven, must be understood only the divines at Rome; though when it came to be examined, they could scarce find any who would justify it: all the most famous universities, divines, and canonists condemned it, and Warham's testimony contradicts this plainly, besides the other great authorities that were brought against it, for which see lib. 2. from page 69 to page 78.

Page 4.—5. He says; "The king once said, he would not marry the queen."

Here is a pretty essay of our author's art, who would make us think it was only in a transient discourse, that the king said he would not marry queen Katharine; but this was more maturely done, by a solemn protestation, which he read himself before the bishop of Winchester, that he would never marry her, and that he revoked his consent given under age. This was done when he came to be of age, see page 36: it is also confessed by Sanders himself.

Ibid.—6. He says; "The queen bore him three sons and two daughters."

All the books of that time speak only of two sons, and one daughter; but this is a flourish of his pen, to represent her a fruitful mother.

Page 5.—7. He says; "The king had sometimes two, sometimes three concubines at once."

It does not appear he had ever any but Elizabeth Blunt; and if we judge of his life, by the letters the popes wrote to him, and many printed eulogies that were published then, he was a prince of great piety and religion all that while.

Page 6.—8. He says; "The lady Mary was first desired in marriage by James V. of Scotland, then

by Charles V. the emperor; and then Francis asked her, first for the Dolphin, then for the duke of Orleans, and last of all for himself."

But all this is wrong placed, for she was first contracted to the Dolphin, then to the emperor, and then treated about to the king of Scotland; after that it was left to Francis his choice, whether she should be married to himself, or his second son the duke of Orleans: so little did our poet know the public transactions of that time.

Ibid.—9. He says; "She was in the end contracted to the Dolphin: from whence he concludes that all foreign princes were satisfied with the lawfulness of the marriage."

She was first of all contracted to the Dolphin. Foreign princes were so little satisfied of the lawfulness of the marriage, that though she being heir to the crown of England, was a match of great advantage; yet their counsellors excepted to it, on that very account, that the marriage was not good. This was done in Spain, and she was rejected, as a writer who lived in that time informs us; and Sanders confesses it was done by the French ambassador.

Page 7.—10. He says; "Wolsey was first bishop of Lincoln, then of Durham, after that of Winchester, and last of all archbishop of York; after that he was made chancellor, then cardinal and legate."

The order of these preferments is quite reversed; for Wolsey soon after he was made bishop of Lincoln, upon cardinal Bembridge his death, was not only promoted to the see of York, but advanced to be a cardinal in the seventh year of the king's reign: and some months after that, he was made lord chancellor; and seven years after that, he got the bishopric of Durham, which six years after he exchanged for Winchester. He had heard perhaps that he enjoyed all these preferments; but knowing nothing of our affairs beyond hearsay, he resolved to make him rise as poets order their heroes, by degrees, and therefore ranks his advancement not according to truth, but in the method he liked best himself.

Page 8.—11. He says; "Wolsey first designed the divorce, and made Longland, that was the king's confessor, second his motion for it."

The king not only denied this in public, saying, that he himself had first moved it to Longland in confession; and that Wolsey had opposed it all he could: but in private discourse with Grinæus told him, he had laboured under these scruples for seven years; *septem perpetuis annis trepidatio*. Which reckoning from the year 1531, in which Grinæus wrote this to one of his friends, will fall back to the year 1524, long before Wolsey had any provocation to tempt him to it.

Page 9.—12. He says; "In the year 1526, in which the king was first made to doubt of his marriage, he was resolved then whom to marry when he was once divorced."

But by his other story, Ann Boleyn was then but fifteen years old, and went to France at that age, where she stayed a considerable time before she came to the court of England.

Ibid.—13. He says; "The king spent a year in a private search, to see what could be found, either in the Scriptures, or the pope's bull, to be made use of against his marriage; but they could find nothing."

In that time all the bishops of England, except Fisher, declared under their hands and seals, that they thought the marriage unlawful; for which see page 29: and upon what reasons this was grounded, has been clearly opened, page 74.

Ibid.—14. He says; "If there were any ambiguities in the pope's first letters (meaning the bull, for dispensing with the marriage), they were cleared by other

letters, which Ferdinand of Spain had afterwards procured."

These other letters (by which he means the breve) bear date the same day with the bull; and so were not procured afterwards. There were indeed violent presumptions of their being forged long after, even after the process had been almost a year in agitation. But though they helped the matter in some lesser particulars; yet in the main business, whether prince Arthur did know his princess, they did it a great prejudice; for whereas the bull bore, that by the queen's petition her former marriage was perhaps consummated, the breve bears that in her petition, the marriage was said to be consummated, without any perhaps.

Ibid.—15. He says; "The king having seen these second letters, both he and his council resolved to move no more in it."

The process was carried on, almost a year, before the breve was heard of: and the forgery of it soon appeared, so they went on notwithstanding it.

Page 16.—He says; "The bishop of Tarby being come from France, to conclude the match for the lady Mary, was set on by the king and the cardinal, to move the exception to the lawfulness of the marriage."

There is no reason to believe this; for that bishop, though afterwards made a cardinal, never published this: which both he ought to have done as a good catholic, and certainly would have done as a true cardinal, when he saw what followed upon it, and perceived that he was trepanned to be the first mover of a thing, which ended so fatally for the interests of Rome.

Page 11.—17. He says; "The bishop of Tarby, in a speech before the king in council, said, that not he alone, but almost all learned men, thought the king's marriage unlawful and null: so that he was freed from the bond of it, and that it was against the rules of the gospel; and that all foreign nations had ever spoken very freely of it, lamenting that the king was drawn into it in his youth."

It is not ordinary for ambassadors to make speeches in king's councils: but if this be true, it agrees ill with what this author delivers in his third page, that there was not a man in the whole church, nor under heaven, that spoke against it, otherwise the bishop of Tarby was both an impudent and a foolish man.

Page 13.—18. He says; "Upon the pope's captivity, Wolsey was sent over to France with 300,000 crowns to procure the pope's liberty."

Hall, Hollingshead, and Stow say, he carried over 240,000 pounds sterling, which is more than thrice that sum.

Ibid.—19. He says; "Two colleagues were sent in this embassy with the cardinal."

His greatness was above that, and none are mentioned in the records.

Ibid.—20. He says; "Orders followed him to Calais, not to move anything about the king's marriage with the French king's sister, the king having then resolved to marry Ann Boleyn."

This agrees ill with what he said, page 9, that a year before the king was resolved whom to marry.

Ibid.—21. He says; "King Henry, that he might have freer access to sir Thomas Boleyn's lady, sent him to France; where after he had stayed two years, his lady was with child of Ann Boleyn by the king."

This story was already confuted, see page 31, 32. And in it there are more than one or two lies.

1. Sir Thomas Boleyn went not ambassador to France till the 7th year of the king's reign: and if two years after that, Ann was born, which was the 9th of his reign, she must then have been but ten years old at this time.

2. Though he had sent him upon his first coming to the crown, this could not be true; for two years after, admit her to be born, that is *anno* 1511, then a year before this, which was *anno* 1526, she was fifteen years old; in which age, Sanders says, she was corrupted in her father's house, and sent over to France, where she staid long. But all this is false: for,

3. She was born two years before the king came to the crown, in the year 1507; and if her father was sent to France two years before, it was in the year 1505.

4. The king being then prince, was but fourteen years old, for he was born the 28th of June, in the year 1491: in which age there is no reason to think he was so forward as to be corrupting other men's wives, for they will not allow his brother, when almost two years elder, to have known his own wife.

As for the other pieces of this story, that sir Thomas Boleyn did sue his lady in the spiritual court; that upon the king's sending him word that she was with child by him, he passed it over; that the king had also known her sister, and that she had owned it to the queen, that at the fifteenth year of Ann's age, she had prostituted herself both to her father's butler and chaplain; that then she was sent to France, where she was at first for some time concealed; then brought to court, where she was so notoriously lewd, that she was called an hackney; that she afterwards was kept by the French king; that when she came over into England, sir Thomas Wiat was admitted to base privacies with her, and offered to the king and his council, that he himself should with his own eyes see it: and in fine, that she was ugly, misshaped, and monstrous,—are such an heap of impudent lies, that none but a fool, as well as a knave, would venture on such a recital. And for all this, he cites no other authority but Rastal's Life of Sir Thomas More, a book that was seen by none but himself; and he gives no other evidence that there was any such book but his own authority. Nor is it likely that Rastal ever writ More's Life, since he did not set it out with his works, which he published in one volume, *anno* 1556. It is true, More's son-in-law, Roper, writ his life, which is since printed, but there is no such story in it. The whole is such a piece of lying, as if he who forged it had resolved to outdo all who had ever gone before him: for can it be so much as imagined, that a king could pursue a design for seven years together, of marrying a woman of so scandalous a life, and so disagreeable a person; and that he who was always in the other extreme of jealousy, did never try out these reports, and would not so much as see what Wiat informed? Nor were these things published in the libels that were printed at that time, either in the emperor's court, or at Rome. All which show that this was a desperate contrivance of malicious traitors, against their sovereign queen Elizabeth, to defame and disgrace her. And this I take to be the true reason, why none made any full answer to this book all her time. It was not thought for the queen's honour to let such stuff be so much considered as to merit an answer. So that the 13th, 14th, 15th, 16th, 17th, and 18th pages are one continued lie.

Page 16.—22. He says; "Sir Thomas Boleyn hearing the king intended to marry his supposed daughter, came over in all haste from France, to put him in mind that she was his own child; and that the king bade him hold his peace for a fool, for a hundred had lien with his wife as well as he, but whosoever daughter she was, she should be his wife: and upon that sir Thomas instructed his daughter how she should hold the king in her toils."

Sir Thomas must have thought the king had an ill memory, if he had forgot such a story: but the one

part of this makes him afraid that the king should marry his daughter, and the other part makes him afraid they should miss their hopes in it: not to mention how little likely it is, that a king of such high vanity would have done that which the privatest person has an aversion to; I mean, the marrying the daughter of one whom they know to be a common prostitute.

Page 19.—23. He says; "Wolsey, before his return from France, sent Gambara to the pope, desiring him to name himself vicar of the papacy, during his captivity."

This was not done till almost a year after this: and the motion was sent by Staphileus dean of the Rota, for which see page 37.

Page 20.—24. He says; "None but ill men and ignorant persons wrote against the marriage, but all learned and good men wrote for it."

The whole doctors of the church, in all ages, were against it; and no doctor, ancienter than Cujetan, could ever be found to have writ for it.

Ibid.—25. He says; "That though great endeavours were used to persuade sir Tho. More of the unlawfulness of the marriage, all was in vain."

Is it probable that the king would have made him lord chancellor, when he was so earnest in this business, if he had not known that he would have gone along with him in it? By one of his letters to Cromwell out of the Tower, it appears that he approved the divorce, and had great hopes of success in it, as long as it was prosecuted at Rome, and founded on the defects in the bull. And in the 22d year of the king's reign, when the opinions of the universities, and the books of learned men were brought to England against the marriage, he carried them down to the house of commons, and made read them there; after which he desired they would report in their country what they had heard and seen; and then all men would openly perceive that the king had not attempted this matter of his will and pleasure, but only for the discharge of his conscience. More was a man of greater integrity than to have said this, if he had thought the marriage good; so that he has either afterwards changed his mind, or did at this time dissemble too artificially with the king.

Page 22.—26. After a long flourish about the king's secret fears and apprehensions, and the perplexities the cardinal was in, which must pass for a piece of his wit, that is to say, lying, for he knew none of their thoughts; he says, "that Gardiner and sir Francis Brian were sent to the pope together, Gardiner being then secretary of state."

In this there are only three gross mistakes. First, Gardiner was not sent with the first message to the pope; secretary Knight carried it.

2. Sir Francis Brian went never to Rome with Gardiner: it is true, a year after the commencing the suit, sir Francis Brian was sent to Rome, and about a month after him Gardiner was also sent; so though they were both together at Rome, yet they were not sent thither together.

3. Gardiner was not secretary of state, but was Wolsey's secretary, when he went first to Rome, and was made a privy counsellor when he was sent thither the second time; and was not secretary of state till some months after his return from his journey the last time.

Page 23.—27. He says; "They made the pope believe that the queen would willingly retire into a monastery."

This was on the contrary a contrivance of the pope's, who thought it the easiest way to bring the matter to a good issue; but in England they had no hopes of it,

and so always diverted the motion when it was proposed by the pope.

Ibid.—28. He says; "The pope said he would consult with some cardinals and divines, and do all that he could lawfully do to give the king satisfaction."

Upon the first motion of it, the pope frankly granted the king's desire, and gave a bull with a commission upon it; and only consulted some cardinals about the methods of doing it. And did assure the king, that he would not only do everything that could be granted in law or justice, but whatsoever he could grant out of the fullness of his power. It is true, afterwards when the pope changed his measures, and resolved to agree with the emperor, he pretended he understood not these things himself, but would needs turn it over upon the cardinals and divines.

Page 24.—29. He says; "All the cardinals were of a mind that the marriage was good."

Cardinal Sanctorem Quatuor, by the force of that mighty argument of 4000 crowns, changed his mind. All the other cardinals were forward in granting the king's desires, for which he wrote them a letter of thanks.

Page 26.—30. He says; "The pope granted the commission to the two legates, not doubting but it was true that had been told him of the queen's readiness to go into a monastery."

The pope knew she would not yield to any such thing; but when he granted that commission, he sent with Campegio a decretal bull annulling the marriage; and sent afterwards a promise never to advocate the process, but to confirm what sentence the legates should give; though soon after he broke his promise most signally. And, since he had often dispensed with others for breaking their faith, he might think that it was hard to deny him the same privilege for himself.

Ibid.—31. He says; "The pope understanding that the queen did not consent to the propositions that were made, and that he had been abused, sent after Campegio, when he was on his journey, that he should not proceed to a sentence without a new order."

The pope sent Campana to England after Campegio, to assure the king he would do everything for him that he could do out of the fullness of his power: and ordered the same person to charge cardinal Campegio to burn the decretal bull which he had sent by him: in all which the pope, as appears by the original letters, was only governed by politic maxims, and considered nothing but the dangers himself was like to fall in; though Sanders would persuade us he was ready to run the hazard of all these.

Page 30.—32. He says; "The king, by his letters to the pope, did, at the same time that he was moving scruples about his own marriage, transact about a dispensation for a marriage betwixt his own natural son the duke of Richmond and his daughter the lady Mary."

Though the whole despatches at that time, both to and from Rome, be most happily preserved, there is not the least mention of any such design: and can anybody think that if any such motion had been made, the pope would not have taken great advantages from it, and that these letters would not have been afterwards published? But this Sanders thought was a pretty embellishment of his fable; and of a piece with this is his next.

Ibid.—33. He says; "The king did under his own hand confess he had known Anne Boleyn's sister Mary, and desired the pope would dispense with his marrying Anne notwithstanding that."

The falsehood of this appears from the recital of it: and how came it that these letters were not published?

Nor is there any mention of this in all the despatches I have seen. And it is not possible that in so many conferences which the English ambassadors had with the pope, these two things should never have been discoursed of. And can it be thought credible that at the same time when the king pretended such scruples and troubles of consciences, he could be guilty of so much folly and impudence as to put himself thus in the pope's mercy by two such demands? This was a forgery of cardinal Pole's, which Sanders greedily caught to dress up the scene.

Page 34.—34. From page 34 to 42 there is a trifling account given of the reasons brought against the marriage, which Sanders answers manfully, and fights courageously against the man of straw he had set up. But if that be compared with what has been opened in the history, it will appear how lame and defective his account is.

Page 42.—35. He says; "Clarke bishop of Bath and Wells, Tonstal bishop of London, and West bishop of Ely, writ for the lawfulness of the king's marriage."

All the bishops, except Fisher, had a year before this given it under their hands and seals that the king's marriage was unlawful: and, in all the memorials of that time, Fisher is the only bishop I find mentioned to have writ for it. Tonstal was also soon after translated to Durham, which none that have considered that king's temper will think could have been done, if he had interposed in so tender a point, against what the king so vehemently desired.

Ibid.—36. He says; "that Abel, Powel, Fetherston, and Ridley, also writ for the marriage."

This is not likely of the second and third, for they being afterwards attainted of treason, no such books were objected to them; but the crime charged on them was only that they said, the king's marriage with queen Katharine was good.

Page 43.—37. He says; "All things appeared clear in the trial before the legates, in behalf of the marriage, so that they could give no sentence against such full evidence as was brought for it."

This is said without any regard to truth; for all the matter of fact that had been alleged was clearly proved for the contrary side. It was proved that prince Arthur married the queen; violent presumptions appeared of his consummating the marriage: it was also proved that the king was under age when the bull was obtained, and that the petitions given in his name, upon which the bull was granted, were false: that the king had not desired it, but when he came of age he had protested against it: and that there was no hazard of a war between Spain and England, the preventing which was the chief reason set down in the bull that permitted it. So that all that had been informed at Rome, as to matter of fact, was fully proved before the legates, by clear instruments, and many and noble witnesses.

Ibid.—38. He puts a long bold speech in Campegio's mouth, who was far from assuming such freedom; but lived licentiously in England, in all manner of disorders, of which both he and his bastard son were guilty. And, by dissembling and other arts, persuaded the king to delay the process from day to day, giving him full assurances that in conclusion he should obtain what he desired: and by such means he gained time, and drew out the trial, till the pope had ended his treaty with the emperor; and then he served him an Italian trick, by adjourning the court.

Page 48.—39. He says; "Some doctors being corrupted with the king's money, declared for him; but those were none of the most learned."

The king ordered those he sent not to give or promise anything to any person, till they had delivered

their opinion freely: upon which some of them wrote to him, that they would answer upon their heads, that they had followed his orders in that particular.

Ibid.—40. He says; "These determinations were published in the names of the universities to deceive the world by a false representation of so great authorities."

Were the public seals of the universities put to their determinations, after a long debate, all being required to deliver their consciences upon oath, and done with the unanimous consent of the whole faculty in some places, false representations? This was done in Italy, in Padua, Bononia, Ferrara, and Milan, under the pope and the emperor's eye, and within their dominions.

Page 50.—41. He says; "Endeavours were used to corrupt the university of Colen and some others in Germany, for which great sums were offered, and that the king was at a vast expense in it."

Crook's accounts show that his expense in Italy was very considerable. And who can imagine that when Paris, Padua, and Bononia had declared for the king, he would be much concerned for Colen or any other university in Germany? Those who will believe Sanders and such authors as he quotes, Cochleus, and an unknown bishop of Brasile, may if they will.

Page 51.—42. He says; "In Oxford the king not being able to obtain a satisfactory answer in that matter, eight students of the university broke into the place where the seal was laid, and put it to an answer, which passed for the determination of the university."

The lord Herbert says, there was an original instrument passed, which he saw; by which the university did appoint a committee of thirty-three doctors and bachelors of divinity to examine the questions proposed by the king, and to set the seal of the university to any answer that they should agree on; and these did afterwards give a resolution against the lawfulness of the marriage.

Page 52.—43. He tells a long story of "the king's endeavours to gain Reginald Pole, and that he came over to England; and being much pressed by his kindred to comply with the king, he went to him, fully purposed to have done it, but could not speak a word to him till he resolved to talk to him in another style; and then he found his tongue and spake very freely to the king, who put his hands sometimes to his poignard intending to have killed him, but was overcome with the simplicity and humility of his discourse, and so the king continued his pension to him, and gave him leave to go back to Padua."

This is another pretty adventure of one of the heroes of the romance, but has this misfortune in it, that it is all without any proof; for as none of the books of that time ever mention it, so neither did Pole himself pretend to have carried so in his book, though written with the most provoking insolence that was possible. In it he mentions his going over to England, but not one word of any such discourse with the king. And king Henry was not a man of such a temper as to permit one of Pole's quality to go out of England, and live among his enemies, and continue his pensions to him, if he had to his face opposed him in a matter he laid so much to heart.

Page 53.—44. He says, "Fisher of Rochester, and Holman bishop of Bristol, wrote for the marriage."

There was no bishopric, nor bishop of Bristol, at that time, nor thirteen years after.

Ibid.—45. "Many are reckoned up who wrote for the marriage in all nations."

These are neither to be compared in number nor authority to those who wrote against it; an hundred books were showed in parliament, written by divines

and lawyers beyond sea, besides the determinations of twelve of the most celebrated universities in Europe. The emperor did indeed give so great rewards and such good benefices to those who wrote against the king, that it is a wonder there were not more writers of his side.

Page 56.—46. He says; "That upon Warham archbishop of Canterbury's death, the earl of Wiltshire told the king that he had a chaplain, who was at his house, that would certainly serve the king in the matter of his divorce; upon which Cranmer was promoted."

Cranmer was no stranger to the king at this time: he was first recommended by the king to the earl of Wiltshire, to be kept in his house; but was in Germany when Warham died, and made no haste over, but delayed his journey some months. It is true he was of the mind that the king ought to be divorced; but this was not out of servile compliance, for when the king pressed him in other things that were against his conscience, he expressed all the courage and constancy of mind which became so great a prelate.

Ibid.—47. He says; "That Cranmer being to swear the oath of obedience to the pope, before he was consecrated, did protest to a public notary, that he took it against his will, and that he had no mind to keep his faith to the pope, in prejudice to the king's authority."

He did not protest that he did it unwillingly, nor was it only to a notary, but twice at the high altar he repeated the protestation that he made; which was to this effect, that he intended not thereby to oblige himself to anything, contrary to the law of God, the king's prerogative, or the laws of the land; nor to be restrained from speaking, advising, or consenting to anything that should concern the reformation of the christian faith, the government of the church of England, and the prerogative of the crown and kingdom.

Page 57.—48. He says; "Cranmer did in all things so comply with the king's lusts, that the king was wont to say he was the only man that had never contradicted him in anything he had a mind to."

Cranmer was both a good subject and a modest and discreet man, and so would obey and submit as far as he might, without sin; yet when his conscience charged him to appear against anything that the king pressed him to, as in the matter of the six articles, he did it with much resolution and boldness.

Page 58.—49. He says; "The king going over to Calais, carried Ann Boleyn secretly with him."

He carried her over in great state, having made her marchioness of Pembroke; and in the public interview between him and Francis, she appeared with all possible splendour.

Page 59.—50. He says; "After the king's return from France, he brought the action of premunire against all the clergy."

This is an error of two years, for so long before this voyage to France was that action begun; and the clergy about eighteen months before had made their submission, and obtained their pardon in March 1531, which appears by the printed statutes, and the king went over to France in September 1532; so that it is clear Sanders never looked for any verification of what he wrote.

Ibid.—51. He says; "The king by an unheard-of tyranny, and a new calumny, brought this charge against the clergy."

These laws upon which the charge was founded, had been oft renewed: they were first made under Edward I., by reason of the papal encroachments that gave the rise to them; they were oft confirmed by

Edward III., Richard II., Henry IV., and Henry V., with the concurrence of their parliaments; so the charge was neither new nor tyrannical.

Ibid.—52. He says; "The clergy submitted to the king, being betrayed by their metropolitans, Cranmer and Lee."

The submission was made two years before Cranmer was archbishop, in March 1531, and Cranmer was consecrated in March 1533, but at that time Warham sate in Canterbury; as for Lee, he opposed it for some time.

Ibid.—53. He says; "The whole clergy petitioned the king to forgive their crime, according to that supreme power which he had over all the clergy and laity, within his kingdom; from whence the king's counsellors took occasion afterwards to call him supreme head."

The clergy did in the title of their submission call the king in formal terms, "Supreme Head of the Church and Clergy of England, as far as by the law of Christ is lawful;" to which Fisher, with the rest of the convocation, subscribed. And all this was done when More was chancellor.

Page 62.—54. He says; "When the king went to marry Ann Boleyn, he persuaded Rowland Lee, made soon after bishop of Coventry and Litchfield, to officiate in it, assuring him he had obtained a bull for it from Rome, which was then lying in his cabinet. Upon which Lee, giving credit to what he said, did marry them."

This is another trial of Sanders' wit to excuse Lee, who though at this time he complied absolutely with the king, yet did afterwards turn over to the popish party; therefore to make him look a little clean, this story must be forged. But at that time all the world saw that the pope and the emperor were so linked together, that Lee could not but know that no such thing was possible. And he was so obsequious to the king, that such arts were needless to persuade him to anything the king had a mind to.

Page 67.—55. For five pages he runs out in repetition of all those foul lies concerning Ann Boleyn, by which he designed both to disgrace the Reformers, who were supported by her, and to defame her daughter queen Elizabeth, which have been before confuted. After that he says, "Queen Katharine, with three maids and a small family, retired into the country."

She had both the respect of a princess dowager, and all the jointure contracted to her by prince Arthur; so she could not be driven to that straitness, but this must go for an ornament in the fable.

Page 71.—56. He says; "It was concluded that Cranmer might be more free to pass sentence, that there should be an oath imposed on the clergy for paying the same obedience to the king that they had paid the pope;" upon which he tells a long formal story, for two pages, that "it was resolved to draw Fisher into it, to swear obedience to the king in all ecclesiastical causes, with that exception, 'as far as is lawful, according to the word of God;' which he did, and persuaded others to do it; and upon this Cranmer taking the new oath, went and pronounced judgment for divorce."

There is not one tittle of this true, for there was no oath sworn about the king's supremacy at this time. The story of Fisher is that which was done by the convocation two years before Cranmer's preferment; nor was there any oath taken then, or at this time. It is true, two years after this, Gardiner, Stokesley, and many other bishops, did of their own accord take such an oath; but there was no law for it till the 28th year of the king's reign.

Page 72.—57. He says; "One Richard Risey (or

Rouse, according to the Records) was hired by Ann Boleyn to poison Fisher."

Rouse was boiled alive for poisoning the bishop's family, but did not discover any that set him on it: which none can think but he would have done, if the queen had hired him to it, and had then deserted him, to perish in so horrid a manner.

Page 73.—58. He says; "Cranmer being by authority of parliament freed from his oath to the pope, and bound by a new one to the king, went now confidently to pronounce sentence."

The parliament did not put down the pope's authority for eight months after this, and appointed no new oath till three years after; for Cranmer sat in judgment as primate of England, and legate of the apostolic see.

Ibid.—59. He says; "Cranmer carried some bishops with him, and having cited the queen, without hearing her, he gave sentence against the marriage."

Gardiner, Stokesly, Clark, and Longland, the bishops of Winchester, London, Bath, and Lincoln, went with him. He could not hear the queen, when she would not appear; but he examined all the instruments and evidences that had been brought in the whole process.

Page 75.—60. He says; "The pope would not proceed against the king till he met with the French king at Marseilles; but that the English ambassadors did there carry so insolently, that Francis was ashamed of their behaviour, and desired the pope to proceed against the king as he thought fit, and that he should never defend him more, but should be against him."

Here the romance goes on too grossly, for the pope and the French king agreed at Marseilles to bring this matter to an issue: the pope declared he thought the king's cause was just and right, and promised, if the king would send a full submission to Rome, he would give sentence in his favours: upon which the French king sent over the bishop of Paris, who prevailed with the king to do it; though this afterwards came to nothing. It is true, Bonner, who was always officious and forward when there was anything to be got by it, being sent to Marseilles by the king, to deliver an appeal in the king's name to the pope, to the next general council, and perhaps knowing nothing of the private transactions between the pope and the French king, it being a secret of too great importance to be communicated to such a hot-brained man, did deliver his message to the pope in such provoking language, that the pope talked of throwing him into a boiling cauldron; and he was fain to fly for it.

Page 76.—61. He says; "The pope returning to Italy, after he had again most carefully reviewed the whole cause, gave sentence."

This was so precipitated, that they would not stay six days beyond the time which they prefixed for the return of the messenger that was sent to England; but despatched that, which by the forms of their court should have been done in three consistories, all in one day.

Page 78.—62. He says; "Upon this sentence, the king being enraged, did command queen Katharine to be only called princess, and declared her daughter the lady Mary a bastard."

Both these were done five months before the pope's sentence, and soon after the sentence was pronounced by Cranmer. And these were the natural consequences of it; for the marriage being annulled, neither could she be longer a queen, nor her daughter princess any more.

Ibid.—63. He says; "The king imprisoned F. Forest, a Franciscan Observant, a most holy and learned man, for contradicting Latimer when he was inveighing against the pope's authority."

Concerning this Forest, I have seen an original letter of one List, a friar of the same house, a year after this, that says Forest was a great scandal to their house, and was very ignorant; and that though he had been much against the king in his marriage, yet he had then insinuated himself into his favour, of which many of the house, who were for the king's cause, had great apprehensions. In the same letter he writes how cruel they were against any of their brethren, who they thought discovered anything that was done among them; and that one Rainscroft, a brother, whom they suspected to have informed what passed among them, was cruelly used, and kept in prison till he died; which he chiefly imputes to Forest. This friar swore the king's supremacy, and yet at the same time was persuading others not to do it; and being questioned upon it, said, he took the oath only with his outward, but not with his inward man; and for that, and his denying the gospel, he was burnt as an obstinate heretic.

Page 79.—64. He says; "Abell, Powel, and Fetherston, were put in prison because they consulted with the Maid of Kent."

This is only charged upon the former of these, but the two latter are not accused of any such thing.

Ibid.—65. He says; "Elizabeth being born the 8th of September, but five months after the king had publicly married her mother, could not be the lawful issue of that marriage."

This is a malicious lie, for himself confessed that the king was married to her mother, the 14th of November the former year; between which and the 8th of September, there were ten months; nor was the king ever after that married publicly to the queen; for what he calls a public marriage, was only the showing her openly as queen. But the design of this lie is so visible that it needs not be opened.

Ibid.—66. He says; "The king's daughter Mary, who was then present, could never be induced to think she was the king's child."

In the former page he said Mary was sent to her mother; and now forgetting himself too soon, he says, she was present when Elizabeth was born. What Mary's thoughts were, none can tell; but she publicly acknowledged her to be her sister, though she did not use her as one.

Page 80.—67. He says; "Elizabeth Barton, who was famed for her sanctity, and six with her, who thought she was inspired by the Holy Ghost, were accused in parliament."

Those six knew that she was not inspired; and that all that was given out about her was a contrivance of theirs, who had instructed her to play such tricks, as was proved by their own confessions and other evidences.

Ibid.—68. He says; "They all died very constantly;" and on the margin calls them "seven martyrs."

The nun herself acknowledged the imposture at her death, and laid the heaviest weight of it on the priests that suffered with her, who had taught her the cheat: so that they died both for treason and imposture. And this being Sanders' faith, as appeared by his works, they were indeed martyrs for it.

Ibid.—69. He says; "More and Fisher having examined her, could see no ground to think she was acted by a fanatical spirit, as it was given out."

It was not given out that she was acted by a fanatical spirit, for that had been more honest; but her spirit was cheating and knavery. More cleared himself, and looked on her as a weak woman, and commonly called her the Silly Maid: but Fisher did disown her when the cheat was discovered, though he had given her too much encouragement before.

Page 81.—70. He says; "The thing she pro-

phesied came to pass ; which was, that Mary should be queen of England."

The thing for which she and her complices were attainted of treason was, that she said, if the king married Ann Boleyn, he should not be a king a month longer, and not an hour longer in the sight of God, and should die a villain's death. But it did not serve Sanders' ends to tell this.

Ibid.—71. He says ; " The day she suffered, many of the nobility came and swore to the succession of the issue of the king's marriage with queen Ann, before the archbishop of Canterbury, the lord chancellor, and Cromwell."

Both houses of parliament did in the house of lords take that oath, on the day of their prorogation, which was the 30th of March, as appears by the second act of the next session : and the nun, with her complices, did not suffer till the 21st of April after.

Ibid.—72. He says ; " The Franciscans of the Observance, chiefly two fathers in London, Elston and Payton, did, both in their sermons and public disputes, justify the king's marriage with queen Katharine."

Elston and Payton were not of London, but of Greenwich. They compared the king to Achab, and said, in the pulpit to his face, the dogs should lick his blood ; with many other such virulent expressions. But to rail at a prince with the most spiteful reproaches that could be, was a part of Sanders' faith : and so no wonder those pass for confessors, when Elizabeth Barton and her complices are reckoned martyrs.

Page 82.—73. He says ; " Tonsal bishop of Durlham was ordered by the king's messengers not to come to the session of parliament 26 *regni*, in which the king's supremacy was established."

In this he is safer than in some other stories, for the journals of that session are lost, so the falsehood of this cannot be demonstrated : yet it is not at all likely, that he who justified all that was done in the former session, in which the pope's power was put down, the nomination of bishops annexed to the crown, a reformation of ecclesiastical laws appointed to be made, in defence of all which he wrote afterwards, was now so scrupulous as to be ordered to stay at home. But Tonsal suffering imprisonment in Edward the Sixth's time, it was fit to use some art to show that he was unwillingly brought to comply with the king.

Ibid.—74. He, to show God's judgments on the chief instruments that served the king, says, that " the duke of Norfolk was by the king condemned to perpetual imprisonment."

This bewrays palpable ignorance, since he was attainted of high treason, the very day before the king's death, and should have suffered the next day, if the king's death had not prevented it. But since he will descant on the providence of God, he should rather have concluded that his escaping so narrowly, was a sign of God's great care of him.

Ibid.—75. In the session of parliament that met the third of November (as he describes it, which was the 26th year of the king's reign) he says, " Mary the king's daughter was illegitimated, and all her honours were transferred on Elizabeth, and the pope's power put down."

This shows he never looked on our public statutes ; otherwise he had seen that these acts passed in the former session.

Page 84.—76. He says ; " When the king sent his ambassadors to the French court, Francis would not so much as hear them give a justification of the king's proceedings."

How true this can be, the world may judge, since these two kings continued in a firm alliance eight years after this. And Francis did often treat, both with him

and the princes of Germany, about these things, and was inclined to do almost all that he did.

Ibid.—77. He says ; " The Lutherans did so abominate the grounds of his separation from Rome, that they could never be induced to approve it ;" for which he cites Cochleus, an author of his own kidney.

They did condemn the king's first marriage as unlawful, and thought the pope's dispensation had no force : and so far they approved it. But they had this singular opinion, that he should have continued unmarried as long as queen Katharine lived. Yet in that they were so modest that they only desired to be excused, as to the second marriage : which considering that queen Ann favoured their doctrine, and that by an absolute compliance with what the king had done, they might have secured his protection to themselves, whom otherwise they provoked highly, is an evidence of a strict adhering to what their consciences dictated, that cannot be sufficiently commended.

Page 85.—78. He says ; " The king made many write apologies for what he did ; which some did willingly, being tainted with heresy, others unwillingly, and for fear, as Gardiner and Tonsal."

In this he shows how little judgment he had of the nature of things, when he thinks to excuse their writing for the king, as extorted by force : to have done it through error and mistake, was much the softer excuse ; but to make them men of such prostituted consciences, as not only to subscribe and swear, but to write with learning and zeal, and yet against their consciences, represents them guilty of unexpressible baseness. Indeed Gardiner was a man like enough to write anything that might please the king ; but Tonsal was a man of greater probity than to have done so unworthy a thing upon any account whatsoever. But since he mentioned writers, he should have named Longland bishop of Lincoln, Stokeley bishop of London, and above all Bonner, who did officiously thrust himself into the debate, by writing a preface to Gardiner's book, with the greatest vehemence that could be. But the blood he shed afterwards did so endear him to this author, that all past faults were forgiven and to be clean forgotten.

Page 86.—79. He says ; " Five martyrs suffered because they would not swear the king's supremacy according to the law that was then passed."

There was no such law made at that time, nor could any such oath be then put to them. The only oath which the parliament had enacted, was the oath of the succession, and the refusing it was only misprision of treason, and was not punishable by death. But it was for denying the king's supremacy, and for writing and speaking both against it and his marriage, that they suffered according to law.

Page 87.—80. He says ; " Cromwell threatened the jury, in the king's name, with certain death, if they did not bring them in guilty."

Everybody that knows the law of England, will soon conclude this to be a lie : for no such threatenings were ever made in trials in this nation. Nor was there any need at this time, for the law was so plain, and their facts so clearly proved, that the jury could not refuse to bring them in guilty.

Pages 88, 89.—81. He says ; " The three Carthusians that suffered, were made stand upright and in one place fourteen days together, with irons about their necks, arms, and legs, before they died ;" and then with great pomp he describes their death in all its parts, as if it had been a new-devised cruelty, it being the death which the law appoints for traitors. He tells, that Cromwell lamented that others of them had died in their cells, and so prevented his cruelty.

He also adds a long story of the severities against the Franciscans.

All this he drew from his learning in the Legend. The English nation knows none of these cruelties, in which the Spanish inquisitors are very expert. I find, by some original letters, that the Carthusians who were shut up in their cells, lived about a year after this; so if Cromwell had designed to take away their lives, he wanted not opportunities: but it appears from what More writ in his imprisonment, that Cromwell was not a cruel man, but, on the contrary, merciful and gentle. And for the Franciscans, though they had offended the king highly, two of them railing spitefully at him to his face, in his chapel at Greenwich; yet that was passed over with a reproof, from which it appears that he was not easily provoked against them. So all that relation which he gives, being without any authority, must pass for a part of the poem.

Page 91.—82. He says; "The bishop of Rochester was condemned, because he would not acknowledge the king's supremacy in ecclesiastical matters."

He was never pressed to acknowledge it, but was condemned for denying it, and speaking against it: for had he kept his opinion to himself, he could not have been questioned. But the denying the king's titles, of which his being supreme head was one, was by the law treason; so he was tried for speaking against it, and not for his not acknowledging it.

Page 93.—83. He runs out in an high commendation of Fisher, and among other things mentions his "episcopal and apostolical charity."

His charity was burning indeed. He was a merciless persecutor of heretics, so that the rigour of the law, under which he fell, was the same measure that he had measured out to others.

Page 100.—84. Sanders will let the world see how carefully he had read the Legend, and how skilfully he could write after that copy, in a pretty fabulous story concerning More's death; to whom I will deny none of the praises due to his memory, for his great learning and singular probity: nor had he any blemish, but what flowed from the heaven of that cruel religion, which carried him to great severities against those that preached for a reformation. His daughter Roper was a woman of great virtue, and worthy of such a father, who needed none of Sanders' art to represent her well to the world. His story is; "that the morning her father died, she went about distributing all the money she had in alms to the poor: and at last was at her prayers in a church, when of a sudden she remembered that she had forgot to provide a winding-sheet for his body; but having no more money left, and not being well known in that place, she apprehended they would not give her credit: yet she went to a linen-draper's shop, and calling for so much cloth, she put her hand in her pocket, knowing she had nothing in it, but intending to make an excuse, and try if they would trust her. But by a miracle she found the price of the sheet, and neither more nor less was conveyed into her pocket." This is such a lively essay of the man's spirit that invented it, that I leave it without any further commentary.

Page 105.—85. He says; "Lee, that was not in orders, was sent to visit the monasteries, who solicited the chastity of the nuns."

He does not mention Leighton and London, the two chief visitors, for Leighton brought in Lee: but they were of the popish party, and Lee was Cranmer's friend, therefore all must be laid on him. He was in orders, and soon after was made dean of York. I have seen complaints of Dr. London's soliciting the nuns, yet I do not find Lee complained of. But since Lon-

don was a persecutor of heretics, such a small kindness as the concealing his name, and the turning the blame over on Lee, was not to be stood on among friends, especially by a man of Sanders' ingenuity.

Page 107.—86. For the correspondence between queen Katharine and Father Forest, and the letters that passed; since Sanders tells us not a word how he came by them, we are to look on them as a piece of the romance.

Page 114.—87. He says; "Ann Boleyn bore a monstrous and misshaped lump of flesh, when the time of her bearing another child came."

She bore a dead child before the time, says Hall; but there was no great reproach in that, unless made up by Sanders' wit.

Page 115.—88. He lays out the business of Ann Boleyn with so much spite and malice, that we may easily see against whom he chiefly designed this part of his work. He says; "She was found guilty of adultery and incest."

There was no evidence against her, but only a hearsay from the lady Wingfield: we neither know the credit of that lady, nor of the person who related it in her name. It is true, Mark Smeton did confess his adultery with the queen, but it was generally thought he was drawn into it by some promises that were made to him, and so cheated out of his life; but for the queen, and the other four, they attested their innocence to the last: nor would any of those unfortunate persons redeem their lives at so ignominious a rate, as to charge the queen, whom they declared they knew to be innocent; so that all the evidence against her was an hearsay of a woman that was dead, the confession of a poor musician, and some idle words herself spake of the discourses that had passed between her and some of those gentlemen.

Page 116.—89. He says; "Foreigners did generally rejoice at her fall;" and to prove this, he cites Cochleus's words, that only show that author's ill opinion of her.

The Germans had so great a value of her, that all their correspondence with the king fell to the ground with her: but he may well cite Cochleus, an author of the same honesty with himself, from whose writings we may, with the like security, make a judgment of foreign matters, as we may upon Sanders' testimony believe the account he gives of English affairs.

Page 117.—90. He tells us, among other things done by the king, and picks it out as the only instance he mentions of the king's injunctions, "that the people should be taught in churches the Lord's Prayer, the Ave, the Creed, and the Ten Commandments, in English."

It seems this author thought the giving these elements of religion to the people in the vulgar tongue, a very heinous crime, when this is singled out from all the rest.

Ibid.—91. "That being done," he says, "there was next a book published, called Articles, appointed by the king's majesty, which were the Six Articles."

This shows that he either had no information of English affairs, or was sleeping when he wrote this: for the Six Articles were not published soon after the injunctions, as he makes it, by the same parliament and convocation, but three years after, by another parliament: they were never put in a book, nor published in the king's name; they were enacted in parliament, and are neither more nor less than twenty-five lines in the first impression of that act; so far short come they of a book.

Page 119.—92. He reckons up very defectively the differences between the church of Rome and the doctrine set forth by the king's authority: but in one

point he shows his ordinary wit; for, in the sixth particular, he says, "He retained the sacrament of order, but appointed a new form of consecrating of bishops."

This he put in out of malice, that he might annul the ordinations of that time: but the thing is false, for except that the bishops, instead of their oaths of obedience to the pope, which they formerly swore, did now swear to the king, there was no other change made; and that, to be sure, is no part of the form of consecration.

Page 120.—93. He resolved once to speak what he thought was truth, though it be treasonable and impious; and says, "Upon these changes many in Lincolnshire, and the northern parts, did rise for religion and the faith of Christ."

This was indeed the motive by which their seditious priests misled them; yet he is mistaken in the time, for it was not after the Six Articles were published, but almost three years before it. Nor was it for the faith of Christ, which teaches us to be humble, subject, and obedient; but because the king was removing some of the corruptions of that faith, which their false teachers did impiously call the faith of Christ.

Ibid. 94. He says; "The king did promise most faithfully that all these things of which they complained should be amended."

This is so evidently false, that it is plain Sanders resolved dexterously to avoid the speaking of any sort of truth: for the king did fully and formally tell them, he would not be directed nor counselled by them in these points they complained of, and did only offer them an amnesty for what was past.

Page 121.—95. Then he reckons up "thirty-two that died for the defence of the faith."

They were attainted of treason, for being in actual rebellion against the king: and thus it appears that rebellion was the faith in his sense; and himself died for it, or rather in it, having been starved to death in a wood, to which he fled after one of his rebellious attempts on his sovereign, in which he was the pope's nuncio.

Page 122.—96. He says; "The king killed the earl of Kildare, and five of his uncles."

By this strange way of expressing a legal attainder, and the execution of a sentence for manifest treason and rebellion, he would insinuate on the reader a fancy, that one of Bonner's cruel fits had taken the king, and that he had killed those with his own hand. The lord Herbert has fully opened that part of the history from the records that he saw, and shows that a more resolved rebellion could not be than that was of which the earl of Kildare and his uncles were guilty. But because they sent to the pope and emperor for assistance, the earl desiring to hold the kingdom of Ireland of the pope, since the king by his heresy had fallen from his right to it, Sanders must needs have a great kindness for their memory, who thus suffered for his faith.

Ibid.—97. He says; "Queen Jane Seymour being in hard labour of Prince Edward, the king ordered her body to be so opened by surgeons, that she died soon after."

All this is false, for she had a good delivery, as many original letters written by her council (that have been since printed) do show, but she died two days after of a distemper incident to her sex.

Page 124.—98. He sets down some passages of cardinal Pole's heroic constancy; which being proved by no evidence, and not being told by any other writer (whom I ever saw), are to be looked on as the flourishes of the poet to set off his hero.

Page 125.—99. He would persuade the world, that

the marquis of Exeter, the lord Montacute, and the rest that suffered at that time, died, because they were believed to dislike the king's wicked proceedings; and that the countess of Sarum was beheaded on this single account, that she was the mother of such a son, and was sincerely addicted to the Catholic faith; and that she was condemned because she wrote to her son, and for wearing in her breast the picture of the five wounds of Christ.

The marquis of Exeter pretended he was well satisfied with the king's proceedings, and was lord steward when the lords Darcy and Hussie were tried, and he gave judgment against them. But it being discovered that he and other persons approved of cardinal Pole's proceedings, who endeavoured to engage all Christian princes in a league against the king, pursuant to which they had expressed themselves, on several occasions, resolved, when a fit opportunity offered itself, to rebel; it was no wonder if the king proceeded against them according to law. And for the countess of Sarum, though the legality of that sentence passed against her cannot be defended, yet she had given great offence, not only by her correspondence with her son, but by the bulls she had received from Rome, and by her opposing the king's injunctions, hindering all her tenants to read the New Testament, or any other books set out by the king's order. And for the picture, which was found among her clothes, it having been the standard of the rebellion, and the arms of England being found on the other side of it, there was just ground to suspect an ill design in it.

Page 129.—100. He says; "The images which the king destroyed, were by many wonderful works of God recommended to the devotion of the nation."

All the wonder in these works, was the knavery of some juggling impostors, and the simplicity of a credulous multitude, of which see page 165, which being so openly discovered, nothing that had shame in it could speak of them as our author does.

Page 131.—101. He says; "Six-and-twenty carts drawn with oxen, were loaded with the riches taken from Thomas Becket's shrine;" whom he makes "a most glorious martyr, that died for the defence of the faith, and was honoured by many miracles after his death."

Other writers have sufficiently showed what a perfidious, ingrateful, and turbulent priest he was. All these were virtues in our author's opinion, and ingredients in his faith. But he has in this account of the riches of that shrine gone beyond himself, having, by a figure of speech very familiar to him (called lying), increased two chests (see page 179) to twenty-six cart-loads.

Page 132.—102. He says; "The sentence which P. Paul gave out against the king, was affixed in some towns, both in France, Flanders, and Scotland;" from which he infers, that "both the emperor, the French, and the Scotch king, did consent to that sentence."

In this he designed an eminent piece of service to the apostolic see, to leave on record an evidence that three sovereign princes had acknowledged the Pope's power of deposing kings. But he did ill to name the proofs of his assertion, and had done better to have said simply that it was so, than to have founded it on so ill grounds: as if the affixing papal bulls in a place, were an evidence that the princes in whose dominions it was done consented to it. He might with the same reason have concluded, that queen Elizabeth consented to the sentence against herself; which it is very like will not be easily believed, though the bull was affixed in London. But all those very princes whom he names, continuing to keep up their correspondence with the king, as well after as before this sentence, is a much

clearer demonstration that they despised the Pope's sentence.

Page 134.—103. He says; "The king, by his own authority, threw all the begging orders out of their houses."

The falsehood of this has appeared already, for they resigned their houses to the king: and of these resignations, though many were destroyed, yet near an hundred are still extant.

Ibid.—104. He says; "The parliament, in the year 1539, gave the king all the great monasteries."

The parliament passed no such act; all that they did, was only to confirm the grants made, or to be made, by these houses to the king. It was their surrenders that clothed the king with the right to them. All the tragical stories he tells us that followed upon this, are founded on a false foundation.

Page 135.—105. He sets down a form of a resignation, which, he says, "all the abbots, and many religious persons, were made to sign and set their seals to it."

Among all the resignations which are yet extant, there is not one in this form, for which see page 175.

Page 136.—106. He says; "The king's commissioners, who went about getting hands to that form, made them believe, in every house, that all the rest had signed it; and so by that, and other persuasions, prevailed with many to set their hands to it."

If all the subscriptions had been procured about the same time, such arts might be suspected: but in a thing that was three years a-doing, these tricks could not have served their turn.

Ibid.—107. He says; "They told the monks, that though the king might, by virtue of the act of parliament, seize on their houses and rents, yet he desired rather to do it with their good-will."

In this there are two errors: first, most of these houses were resigned to the king before the act of parliament, see page 174; and next, the act of parliament only confirmed their deeds, but did not give their houses to the king.

Page 137.—108. He says; "The abbots of Glastonbury, Colchester, and Reading, suffered martyrdom, because they refused to set their hands to that writing."

There was no such writing ever offered to them; nor was there any law to force them to resign: so they could not suffer on that account, but they were martyrs for Sanders' faith, for they were attainted by a legal trial of high treason.

Page 138.—109. He tells a long story of Whitting abbot of Glastonbury being "brought up to London, to be prevailed with to set his hand to the surrender. Which he still refusing to do, was sent back; and though a book against the king's divorce was found among his papers, which was laid there by those who searched for it; yet that was past over in a chiding: but as he went home, hearing there was a meeting of the county at Wells, he went thither; and as he was going up to his place on the bench, he was called to the bar to answer some things that were to be objected to him: he was amazed at it, and asked what the matter was? but one told him, he needed fear nothing, for somewhat was only to be done for form, to terrify others: upon which he was condemned and sent away to his abbey, little thinking he was so near his end; but when he came near it, a priest was sent to him to take his confession, for they told him he must die immediately; he begged a day or two's respite, but in vain: so they hanged him up in his habit, on the top of the hill near his abbey, and quartered him; and all this was done in one day."

This book came out in foreign parts, and was printed at Rome, in the reign of Sixtus the Fifth, who took

great pleasure in such executions, as he describes this to have been, which may fall off out, where the lives of the subjects are wholly at the prince's mercy: but to tell such tales of England, which is so famed over the world for the safety and security the subjects enjoy, and for the regular and legal proceedings in all trials, especially of life and death, was a great error in the poet; for the decorum of the laws and customs of a place must be observed, when any nation is made the scene of a fable. But as nothing like this can be done by the law of England, so there was nothing of it in this case: the jury that sate on him were men of great credit in the country; when he died, he acknowledged his offences, and with appearance of repentance, begged God's pardon, and the king's: see page 176.

Page 145.—110. After many bitter invectives against Cromwell, for which I could never see good evidence, though I cannot disprove them by any convincing arguments; he says, "that he advised the king to make a law, that persons might be convented and condemned in absence, and without being heard: and that this law first of all fell upon himself."

There was no such law ever made, only the parliament by their supreme authority did attain some in that manner, but no other court might do it. Nor was this first applied to Cromwell, for a year before his attainder, the countess of Sarum, with a great many more, were so attainted, though she did not suffer till a year after him.

Ibid.—111. He tells many reasons why the king had a mind to put away Ann of Cleves: but in this, as in other things, he betrays a profound ignorance of that time; for everybody knew, that the king, from the first time he saw her, disliked her, and that he never consummated the marriage.

This is a subject not fit to be long dwelt on: but if any will compare the account I give of this matter from the Records with Sanders' tale, they will see that he wrote at random, and did not so much as know public transactions.

Page 146.—112. He says; "The king had promised to the emperor, that he would no longer continue in the Smalcaldick league; but Cromwell counterfeited the king's hand, to a new confirmation of it; which coming to the emperor's knowledge, he challenged the king of it: and sent him over a copy of it; upon which the king disowned it, and cast it on Cromwell; and that this was the cause of his fall."

This I believe is one of Sanders' dreams: there is not one word of it in Cromwell's attainder; nor do I find the least shadow of this in some original letters which he wrote to the king for his pardon, in which he answers many of the things laid to his charge. Nor is it likely he would adventure on so bold a thing, with such a king; nor could the emperor have that writing in his power, as long as the king lived: for it is not to be imagined how he could come by it, till he had taken the duke of Saxony prisoner, which was after this king's death.

Page 148.—113. He says; "When Cromwell was put to death, the king proceeded to the divorce of Ann of Cleves."

The divorce was judged by the convocation eight days before Cromwell's death, and confirmed in parliament, which was dissolved before he suffered.

Ibid.—114. He says; "The king sent to her, to tell her, he had a mind to be separated from her; and though he could proceed more severely against her, since he knew she was an heretic; yet for her family's sake, he left it to herself to devise any reason for their divorce: upon which she came next day to the senate (which may be either the king's council, or the parliament), and confessed she had been married to

another before she was married to the king ; and thereupon, by the authority of parliament, he was divorced, and within eight days married Katharine Howard."

There are but six gross errors in this period. 1. The king sent not any message to her, nor came there any answer from her till the sentence of divorce was quite passed. 2. In the original letter which those he sent to her wrote to him from Richmond, it appears that they used no threatenings to her, but barely told her what was done ; to which she acquiesced. 3. She never came from Richmond in all that process, and so made no such declaration in the senate. 4. She did not say that she was married to another, but only that she had been contracted to the prince of Lorraine when she was under age. 5. The parliament did not dissolve the marriage, but only confirmed the sentence of the convocation. 6. The king did not marry Katharine Howard before the 8th of August, and the divorce was judged the 10th of July, a month wanting two days.

Page 149.—115. He says ; " The king had consummated the marriage for seven months together."

There were but six months between his marriage and the divorce ; and in all that while, as they bedded but seldom, so there were very clear evidences brought, that it was not consummated.

Page 151.—116. He says ; " The king sent the bishop of Winchester and Sir Henry Knevet to the diet of the empire ; who were ordered to propose to the emperor, that the king might be again reconciled to the see of Rome ; to which," he adds, " his conscience did drive him : but since the king would not confess his past crimes, nor do penance for them, nor restore the goods of the church, it came to nothing."

This is another ornament of the fable, to show the poet's wit ; but is as void of truth as any passage in Plautus or Terence is. For the king was all his life so intractable in that point, that the popish party had no other way to maintain their interest with him, but to comply, not without affectation in that matter : and when an information was given against Gardiner, for his holding some correspondence with the pope's legate at the diet, he got the man who had innocently discovered it to be put in prison ; and said, it was a plot against him to ruin him, which he needed not be so solicitous about, if his instructions from the king had allowed him to enter on such a treaty.

Page 153.—117. He runs out in a long digression, upon the king's assuming the title of King of Ireland ; to show that the kings of England only hold Ireland by the pope's donation.

In this Sanders shows his art, he being to carry the standard of rebellion in that kingdom, to blast the king's right to it. He acknowledges the crown of England had the dominion of Ireland, with the title of Lord of Ireland, about 400 years : and certainly if so long a possession does not give a good title, and a prescription against all other pretenders, most of the royal families in Christendom will be to seek for their rights. But he says, it was given by the pope to king Henry II., and yet he confesses that he had conquered some parts of it before that grant was sent him by Hadrian IV. Certainly king Henry II. had as good a right to take it as pope Hadrian had to give it : nor was the king's accepting the pope's donation any prejudice to his title, for things extorted or allowed upon a public error can have no force when that is openly discovered. If then the superstition of those ages made that the pope's donation was a great help to any pretender, it was no wonder that kings made use of it ; but it were a wonder indeed if they should acknowledge it, after the trick is known and seen by all.

Page 162.—118. After this, and a satire against

queen Elizabeth for assuming the title Defender of the Faith, and a long enumeration of the exactions in the last years of this reign ; in which, though there is matter enough for severe complaints, yet many of the particulars he mentions are without any proof, and must rest on the author's credit ; which, by this time, the reader will acknowledge is not very great. Another long discourse of some length follows, of the misfortunes of the duke of Norfolk, and of all that served the king in his divorce, and in the following actions of his life ; from which he infers, that these were effects of a curse from heaven upon all that he did, and on all those that assisted him : but as the inference is bad, so he forgot to mention those noble families that were raised in his time, and have continued since in great honour,—as the Seymours, from whom the dukes of Somerset are descended ; the Paullets, from whom the marquis of Winchester derives ; the Russels, Wriotheslies, Herberts, Riches, and Cromwells, from whom the earls of Bedford, Southampton, Pembroke, Essex, and Ardglass have descended ; and the Browns, the Petres, the Pagets, the Norths, and the Mountagues, from whom the vice-count Mountague, the barons Petre, Paget, North, and Mountague are descended. These families have now flourished in great wealth and honour an age and a half ; and only one of them has, and that but very lately, determined in the male line : but the illustrious female branches of it are intermixed with other noble families. So that the observation is false, and the inference is weak.

Page 164.—119. He says ; " When the king found his strength declining, he had again some thoughts of reconciling himself to the church of Rome ; which when it was proposed to one of the bishops, he made a flattering answer. But Gardiner moved that a parliament might be called for doing it ; and that the king, for the quiet of his own conscience, would vow to do it, of which God would accept in that extremity when more was not possible to be done. But some of his courtiers coming about him, who were very apprehensive of such a reconciliation, lest they should have been made restore the goods of the church, diverted the king from it : " and from this our author infers, that what the king had done was against his conscience, and that so he sinned the sin against the Holy Ghost.

I shall not examine this theological definition of the sin against the Holy Ghost, for my quarrel is not at present with his divinity, but with his history ; though it were easy to show that he is alike at both. But for this story, it is a pure dream ; for not only there is no evidence for it, nor did Gardiner in the reign of queen Mary ever own any such thing, though it had been then much for the credit of their cause, especially he being often upbraided with his compliances to this king, for which the mention of his repentance had furnished him with a good answer : but, as the tale is told, the fiction appears too plainly, for a parliament was actually sitting during the king's sickness, which was dissolved by his death, and no such proposition was made in it. The king, on the contrary, destroyed the chief hopes of the popish party, which were founded on the duke of Norfolk's greatness, by the attainder which was passed a day before he died. And yet Sanders makes this discourse to have been between the king and Gardiner after his fall, and his son's death, between which and the king's death there were only nine days : but besides all this, Gardiner had lost the king's favour a considerable time before his death.

Page 166.—120. He says ; " The king, that he might not seem never to have done any good work in his whole life, as he was dying, founded Christ's Church Hospital in London ; which was all the restitution he

ever made for the monasteries and churches he had robbed and spoiled."

If it had not already appeared, in many instances, that our author had as little shame as honesty, here is a sufficient proof of it. I will not undertake to justify the king, as if he had done what he ought to have done in his new foundations; but it is the height of impudence to deny things that all England knows. He founded six bishoprics; he endowed deans and prebendaries, with all the other offices belonging to a cathedral, in fourteen several sees:—Canterbury, Winchester, Durham, Ely, Norwich, Rochester, Worcester, and Carlisle,—together with Westminster, Chester, Oxford, Gloucester, Peterborough, and Bristol, where he endowed bishoprics likewise. He founded many grammar-schools, as Burton, Canterbury, Coventry, Worcester, &c. He founded and endowed Trinity College in Cambridge, which is one of the noblest foundations in Christendom. He also founded professors in both universities for Greek, Hebrew, law, physic, and divinity. What censure then deserves our author for saying that the hospital of Christ's Church was all the restitution he ever made of the church lands?

Ibid.—121. He gives a character of the king which suits very well with his history, his malice in it being extravagantly ridiculous. Among other things, he says, "The king promoted always learned bishops, Cranmer only being excepted, whom he advanced to serve his lusts."

Cranmer was a man of greater learning than any that ever sat in that see before him, as appears in everything that he writ: Tonstal was a learned man, and Gardiner was much esteemed for learning; yet if any will compare Cranmer's books of the sacrament with those the other two writ on the same subject, there is so great a difference between the learning and solidity of the one and the other, that no man of common ingenuity can read them but he must confess it.

Page 170.—122. He says; "When the king found himself expiring, he called for a bowl of white wine, and said to one that was near him, 'We have lost all;' and was often heard repeating, 'Monks, monks;' and so he died."

This was to make the fable end as it had gone on, and it is forged without any authority or appearance of truth. The manner of his death was already told, so it needs not be repeated.

Page 172.—123. He says; "The king by his will appointed the crown to go to his righteous heirs after his three children, and commanded his son to be bred a true catholic: but his will was changed, and another was forged, by which the line of Scotland was excluded, and they bred his son an heretic."

There was no such will ever heard of: and in all the debates that were managed in queen Elizabeth's reign about the succession, those that pleaded for the Scottish line never alleged this; which, had it been true, did put an end to the whole controversy. It was indeed said, that the will which was given out as the king's will, was not signed by his hand, nor sealed by his order, but it was never pretended that there was any other will: so this is one of our author's forgeries.

The Conclusion.

Thus I have traced him in this history, and hope I have said much more than was necessary to prove him a writer of no credit, and that his book ought to have no authority, since he was not only a stranger to the public transactions, printed statutes, and the other authentic registers of that time, but was a bold and

impudent assertor of the grossest and most malicious lies that ever were contrived. I have not examined all the errors of his chronology, for there is scarce anything told in its right order and due place; nor have I insisted on all the passages he tells, without any proof, or appearance of truth; for as I could only deny these without any other evidence but what was negative, so there are so many of them, that I must have transcribed the greatest part of his book if I had considered them all. I have therefore only singled out these passages, which I had in the former history demonstrated to be false: and these are both so many and so important, that I am sure enough is said to destroy the credit of that author, and of his book, which has too long deceived the world. And what is performed in this first part will, I hope, dispossess the reader of any ill impressions the following parts of that work have made on him concerning the succeeding reigns, of which an account shall be given as soon as it possibly can be made ready.

I shall esteem my time to have been well employed, and my pains rightly placed, if my endeavours have so good an effect as to take off the unjust prejudices which some may have conceived at the changes that were then made in religion; or at the beginnings of them, which being represented by this author, and upon his testimony by many other writers, in such odious characters to the world, are generally so ill looked on.

The work itself was so good, done upon so much reason, managed with such care, directed by such wisdom, and tempered with so great moderation, that those who intended to blast it, did very wisely to load it with some such prejudices: for if without these, the thing itself be examined by men of a candid temper and solid judgment, the opposers of it know well where the truth lies; and on whose side, both the Scriptures and the best ages of the primitive church have declared. But it was not fit to put a question of such importance, on so doubtful and so dangerous an issue: therefore it was well considered by them, that some popular and easily understood calumnies, to disgrace the beginnings of it, and the persons that were most employed in it, were to be fastened on them: and if these could be once generally received, then men might be alienated from it by a shorter way, than could be done by the dull and unsuccessful methods of reason. Therefore as the cause of our church hath been often vindicated, by the learned books that have been published in it; and never with more success, and a clearer victory, than of late, in the elaborate writings (which are never to be mentioned but with honour) of the renowned Dr. Stillingfleet; so I judged it might not be an unuseful and unacceptable work (which though it be of a lower form, and so most suitable to my genius, yet will be of general use) to employ the leisure I enjoy, and the small talent committed to me, in examining and opening the transactions of those times: and if these who read it are dispossessed of their prejudices, and inclined to consider things as they are now set before them, in a truer light, I have gained my end in it.

The truths of religion need no support from the father of lies. A religion made up of falsehoods and impostures must be maintained by means suitable to itself: so Sanders' book might well serve the ends of that church, which has all along raised its greatness by public cheats and forgeries; such as the Donation of Constantine, and the Book of the Decretals; besides the vast number of miracles and visions that were for many ages made use of by them; of which even the most disingenuous of their own writers begin to be now ashamed. But the Reformation of religion was a work

of light, and needs none of the arts of darkness to justify it by. A full and distinct narrative of what was then done, will be its apology, as well as its history. There is no need of artifice, but only of industry and sincerity, to gather together all the remains of that time, and put them in good order.

I am now beginning to look towards the next, and indeed the best part of this work: where in the first reign, we shall observe the active endeavours of those restorers of religion. The next reign affords a sadder prospect of that work laid in ruins, and the authors of it in ashes; but the fires that consumed them, did rather spread than extinguish that light which they

had kindled. And what is fabled of the Phoenix, will be found true of our church, that she rose new out of these ashes, into which she seemed consumed.

Towards the perfecting this history, I hope all that love the subject of it, will contribute their endeavours, and furnish everything that is in their power, which may make it fuller or clearer: so I end with that desire which I made in the preface, that any who have in their hands any papers relating to these times, will be pleased to communicate them; and whatever assistance they give to it, shall be most thankfully owned and acknowledged.

END OF THE APPENDIX.

ADDENDA.

Number I.—Articles about Religion, set out by the Convocation, and published by the King's Authority. An Original.

[Cott. Libr. Cleop. E. 5.]

HENRY VIII., by the grace of God king of England and of France, defender of the faith, and lord of Ireland, and in earth supreme head of the church of England, to all and singular our most loving, faithful, and obedient subjects, greeting. Amongst other cures committed unto this our princely office, wherunto it hath pleased God of his infinite mercy and goodness to call us, we have always esteemed and thought (as we also yet esteem and think) this to be most chief, most ponderous, and of most weight, that his holy word and commandments may sincerely, without let or hinderance, be of our subjects truly believed and reverently kept and observed; and that unity and concord in opinions, namely in such things as does concern our religion, may increase and go forthward, and all occasion of dissent and discord touching the same be repressed, and utterly extinguished; for the which cause we being of late to our great regret credibly advertised of such diversity in opinions, as have grown and spongen in this our realm, as well concerning certain articles necessary to our salvation, as also touching certain honest and commendable ceremonies, rites, and usages in our said church, for an honest policy, and decent order heretofore of long time used and accustomed; minding to have that unity and agreement established through our said church concerning the premises; and being very desirous to eschew not only the dangers of souls, but also the outward inquietness which by occasion of the said diversity in opinions (if remedy had not been provided) might perchance have ensued, have not only in our own person many times taken great pain, study, labour, and travails, but also have caused our bishops and other, the most discreet and best learned men of our clergy of this our whole realm, to be assembled in our convocation, for the full debatement and quiet determination of the same; where after long and mature deliberation and disputations, had of and upon the premises, finally they have concluded and agreed upon the said matters, as well those which be commanded of God, and are necessary to our salvation, as also the other touching the honest ceremonies, and good and politic order, as is aforesaid; which their determination, debatement, and agreement, forasmuch as we

think to have proceeded of a good, right, and true judgment, and to be agreeable to the laws and ordinances of God, and much profitable for the establishment of that charitable concord and unity in our church of England, which we most desire, we have caused the same to be published, willing, requiring, and commanding you to accept, repute, and take them accordingly; most heartily desiring and praying Almighty God, that it may please him so to illumine your hearts that you, and every of you, may have no less desire, zeal, and love to the said unity and concord, in reading, divulging, and following the same, than we have had and have, causing them to be thus devised, set forth, and published. And for because we would the said articles, and every of them, to be taken and understanden of you after such sort, order, and degree as appertaineth accordingly,—we have caused, by the like assent and agreement of our said bishops and other learned men, the said articles to be divided into two sorts, that is to say, such as are commanded expressly by God, and are necessary to our salvation, and such other, as although they be not expressly commanded of God, nor necessary to our salvation, yet being of a long continuance for a decent order and honest policy, prudently instituted, are for that same purpose and end to be observed in like manner; which ye following, after such sort as we have prescribed unto you, shall not only attain that most charitable unity and loving concord, whereof shall ensue your incomparable commodity, profit and lucre, as well spiritual as other; but also ye conforming yourselves, and using these our said articles as is aforesaid, shall not a little encourage us to take further travel, pains and labours for your commodities in all such other matters as in time to come may happen to occur, and as it shall be most to the honour of God and ours, the profit, tranquillity, and quietness of all you our most loving subjects.

The Articles of our Faith.

First, As touching the chief and principal articles of our faith, sith it is thus agreed as hereafter followeth by the whole clergy of this our realm, we will that all bishops and preachers shall instruct and teach our people, by us committed to their spiritual charge, that they ought and must most constantly believe and defend all those things to be true, which be comprehended in the whole body and canon of the Bible, and also in the three Creeds or symbols, whereof one was

made by the Apostles, and is the common creed which every man useth; the second was made in the holy council of Nice, and is said daily in the mass; and the third was made by Athanasius, and is comprehended in the psalm *Quicumque vult*; and that they ought and must take and interpret all the same things according to the self-same sentence and interpretation, which the words of the self-same creeds or symbols do purport, and the holy approved doctors of the church do entreat and defend the same.

Item, That they ought and must repute, hold, and take all the same things for the most holy, most sure, and most certain and infallible words of God, and such as neither ought ne can be altered or convelled by any contrary opinion or authority.

Item, That they ought and must believe, repute and take all the articles of our faith contained in the said creeds to be so necessary to be believed for man's salvation, that whosoever being taught will not believe them as is aforesaid, or will obstinately affirm the contrary of them, he or they cannot be the very members of Christ and his spouse the church, but be very infidels or heretics, and members of the devil, with whom they shall perpetually be damned.

Item, That they ought and must most reverently and religiously observe and keep the self-same words, according to the very same form and manner of speaking, as the articles of our faith be already conceived and expressed in the said creeds, without altering in any wise or varying from the same.

Item, That they ought and must utterly refuse and condemn all these opinions contrary to the said articles, which were of long time past condemned in the four holy councils, that is to say, in the council of Nice, Constantinople, Ephesus, and Chalcedonense, and all other sith that time in any point consonant to the same.

The Sacrament of Baptism.

Secondly, As touching the holy sacrament of baptism, we will that all bishops and preachers shall instruct and teach our people committed by us unto their spiritual charge, that they ought and must of necessity believe certainly all those things, which hath been always by the whole consent of the church approved, received and used in the sacrament of baptism; that is to say, that the sacrament of baptism was instituted and ordained in the New Testament by our Saviour Jesus Christ, as a thing necessary for the attaining of everlasting life, according to the saying of Christ, *Nisi quis renatus fuerit ex aqua et Spiritu Sancto, non potest intrare in regnum celorum.*

Item, That it is offered unto all men, as well infants as such as have the use of reason, that by baptism they shall have remission of sins and the grace and favour of God, according to the saying of St. John, *Qui crediderit et baptizatus fuerit salvus erit.*

Item, That the promise of grace and everlasting life, which promise is adjoined unto the sacrament of baptism, pertaineth not only unto such as have the use of reason, but also to infants, innocents and children; and they ought therefore and must needs be baptised: and that by the sacrament of baptism they do also obtain remission of their sins, the grace and favour of God, and be made thereby the very sons and children of God, insomuch as infants and children dying in their infancy shall undoubtedly be saved thereby, or else not.

Item, That infants must needs be christened because they be born in original sin, which sin must needs be remitted; which cannot be done but by the sacrament of baptism, whereby they receive the Holy Ghost which exerciseth his grace and efficacy in them, and

cleanseth and purifieth them from sin by his most secret virtue and operation.

Item, That children or men once baptised, can, ne ought ever to be baptised again.

Item, That they ought to repute and take all the Anabaptists' and the Pelagians' opinions contrary to the premises, and every other man's opinion agreeable unto the said Anabaptists' or the Pelagians' opinions in this behalf, for detestable heresies, and utterly to be condemned.

Item, That men or children having the use of reason, and willing and desiring to be baptised, shall by the virtue of that holy sacrament obtain the grace and remission of all their sins, if they shall come thereunto perfectly and truly repentant and contrite of all their sins before committed, and also perfectly and constantly confessing and believing all the articles of our faith, according as it was mentioned in the article before, or else not.

And finally, if they shall also have firm credence and trust in the promise of God adjoined to the said sacrament, that is to say, that in and by this said sacrament which they shall receive, God the father giveth unto them for his son Jesus Christ's sake, remission of all their sins, and the grace of the Holy Ghost, whereby they be newly regenerated and made the very children of God, according to the saying of Christ and his apostle St. Peter, *Pœnitentiam agite et baptizetor unusquisque vestrum in nomine Jesu Christi in remissionem peccatorum, et accipietis donum Spiritus Sancti*; and according also to the saying of St. Paul ad Titum 3. *non ex operibus iustitiæ quas, sed secundum suam misericordiam, salvos nos fecit per lavacrum regenerationis et renovationis Spiritus Sancti, quem effudit in nos opulenter per Jesum Christum servatorem nostrum, ut justificati illius gratia hæredes efficiamur juxta spm i*

The Sacrament of Penance.

Thirdly, Concerning the sacrament of penance, we will that all bishops and preachers shall instruct and teach our people committed by us unto their spiritual charge, that they ought and must most constantly believe, that that sacrament was instituted of Christ in the New Testament as a thing so necessary for man's salvation, that no man which after his baptism is fallen again and hath committed deadly sin, can without the same be saved or attain everlasting life.

Item, That like as such men which after baptism do fall again into sin, if they do not penance in this life, shall undoubtedly be damned; even so whensoever the same men shall convert themselves from the said naughty life, and do such penance for the same as Christ requireth of them, they shall without doubt attain remission of their sins and shall be saved.

Item, That this sacrament of perfect penance which Christ requireth of such manner of persons, consisteth of three parts, that is to say, contrition, confession, with the amendment of the former life, and a new obedient reconciliation unto the laws and will of God, that is to say, exterior acts in works of charity according as they be commanded of God, which be called in Scripture *fructus digni pœnitentiæ*.

Furthermore, as touching contrition, which is the first part, we will that all bishops and preachers shall instruct and teach our people committed by us unto their spiritual charge, that the said contrition consisteth in two special parts, which must always be conjoined together and cannot be dissevered; that is to say, the penitent and contrite man must first knowledge the filthiness and abomination of his own sin, whereunto he is brought by hearing and considering of the

will of God declared in his laws, and feeling and perceiving in his own conscience that God is angry and displeased with him for the same; he must also conceive not only great sorrow and inward shame that he hath so grievously offended God, but also great fear of God's displeasure towards him, considering he hath no works or merits of his own which he may worthily lay before God as sufficient satisfaction for his sins; which done, then afterwards with this fear shame and sorrow must needs succeed and be conjoined—the second part, viz. a certain faith, trust and confidence of the mercy and goodness of God, whereby the penitent must conceive certain hope and faith that God will forgive him his sins, and repute him justified and of the number of his elect children, not for the worthiness of any merit or work done by the penitent, but for the only merits of the blood and passion of our Saviour Jesus Christ.

Item, That this certain faith and hope is gotten and also confirmed, and made more strong by the applying of Christ's words and promises of his grace and favour contained in his gospel and the sacraments, instituted by him in the New Testament: and therefore to attain this certain faith, the second part of penance is necessary, that is to say, confession to a priest if it may be had; for the absolution given by the priest was institute of Christ to apply the promises of God's grace and favour to the penitent.

Wherefore as touching confession, we will that all bishops and preachers shall instruct and teach our people committed by us to their spiritual charge, that they ought and must certainly believe that the words of absolution, pronounced by the priest, be spoken by the authority given to him by Christ in the gospel.

Item, That they ought and must give no less faith and credence to the same words of absolution so pronounced by the ministers of the church, than they would give unto the very words and voice of God himself if he should speak unto us out of heaven, according to the saying of Christ, *Quorum remisistis peccata, &c., et qui vos audit me audit.*

Item, That in no ways they do condemn this auricular confession which is made unto the ministers of the church, but that they ought to repute the same a very expedient and necessary mean, whereby they may require and ask this absolution at the priest's hands, at such time as they shall find their consciences grieved with mortal sin, and have occasion so to do, to the intent they may thereby attain certain comfort and consolation of their consciences.

As touching the third part of penance, we will that all bishops and preachers shall instruct and teach our people committed by us to their spiritual charge, that although Christ and his death be the sufficient oblation, sacrifice, satisfaction, and recompense, for the which God the Father forgiveth and remitteth to all sinners not only their sin, but also eternal pain due for the same; yet all men truly penitent, contrite, and confessed, must needs also bring forth the fruits of penance, that is to say, prayer, fasting, almsdeeds, and must make restitution or satisfaction in will and deed to their neighbour, in such things as they have done them wrong and injury in, and also must do all other good works of mercy and charity, and express their obedient will in the executing and fulfilling of God's commandments outwardly, when time, power, and occasion shall be ministered unto them, or else they shall never be saved; for this is the express precept and commandment of God, *Agite fructus dignos penitentia;* and St. Paul saith, *Debatores sumus;* and in another place he saith, *Castigo corpus meum et in servitutem redigo.*

Item, That these precepts and works of charity be

necessary works to our salvation; and God necessarily requireth that every penitent man shall perform the same, whensoever time, power, and occasion shall be ministered unto him so to do.

Item, That by penance and such good works of the same, we shall not only obtain everlasting life, but also we shall deserve remission or mitigation of these present pains and afflictions in this world, according to the saying of St. Paul, *Si nos ipsi judicaremus, non judicemur a Domino; et Zacharias, Convertimini ad me et ego convertar ad vos;* Esaias 58. *frange esurienti panem tuum, &c., tunc eris velut hortus irriguus. Hæc sunt inculcanda ecclesiis et ut exerceantur ad bene operandum, et in his ipsis operibus exerceant et confirmet fidem, petentes et expectantes a Deo mitigationem presentium calamitatum.*

The Sacrament of the Altar.

Fourthly, As touching the sacrament of the altar, we will that all bishops and preachers shall instruct and teach our people committed by us unto their spiritual charge, that they ought and must constantly believe, that under the form and figure of bread and wine, which we there presently do see and perceive by our outward senses, is verily, substantially, and really contained and comprehended the very self-same body and blood of our Saviour Jesus Christ which was born of the Virgin Mary, and suffered upon the cross for our redemption; and that under the same form and figure of bread and wine, the very self-same body and blood of Christ is corporally, really, and in the very substance exhibited, distributed and received of all them which receive the said sacrament; and that therefore the said sacrament is to be used with all due reverence and honour, and that every man ought first to prove and examine himself, and religiously to try and search his own conscience, before he shall receive the same, according to the saying of St. Paul, *Quisquis edierit panem hunc aut biberit de poculo Domini indigne, reus erit corporis et sanguinis Domini; probet autem scipsum homo, et sic de pane illo edat et de poculo illo bibat: nam qui edat aut bibit indigne, judicium sibi ipsi manducat et bibit, non dijudicans corpus Domini.*

Fifthly, As touching the order and cause of our justification, we will that all bishops and preachers shall instruct and teach our people committed by us unto their spiritual charge, that this word justification signifyeth remission of our sins, and our acceptance or reconciliation into the grace and favour of God, that is to say, our perfect renovation in Christ.

Item, That sinners attain this justification by contrition and faith joined with charity, after such sort and manner as we before mentioned and declared; not as though our contrition, or faith, or any works proceeding thereof, can worthily merit or deserve to attain the said justification; for the only mercy and grace of the Father, promised freely unto us for his Son's sake Jesus Christ, and the merits of his blood and his passion, be the only sufficient and worthy causes thereof; and yet that notwithstanding to the attaining of the said justification, God requireth to be in us not only inward contrition, perfect faith, and charity, certain hope and confidence, with all other spiritual graces and motions, which as we said before must necessarily concur in remission of our sins, that is to say, our justification: but also he requireth and commandeth us, that after we be justified, we must also have good works of charity and obedience towards God, in the observing and fulfilling outwardly of his laws and commandments; for although acceptance to ever-

lasting life be conjoined with justification, yet our good works be necessarily required to the attaining of everlasting life, and we being justified be necessarily bound, and it is our necessary duty to do good works ; according to the saying of St. Paul, *Debitores sumus non carni ut secundum carnem vivamus, nam si secundum carnem vixerimus moriemur, si autem spiritu facta corporis mortificaverimus, vivemus ; etenim quicumque Spiritu Dei ducuntur hi sunt filii Dei* : and Christ saith, *Si vis ad vitam ingredi serva mandata* : and St. Paul saith, *De malis operibus, qui talia agunt regnum Dei non possidebunt* : Wherefore we will that all bishops and preachers shall instruct and teach our people committed by us unto their spiritual charge, that God necessarily requireth of us to do good works commanded by him, and that not only outward and civil works, but also the inward spiritual motions and graces of the Holy Ghost ; that is to say, to dread and fear God, to love God, to have firm confidence and trust in God, to invoke and call upon God, to have patience in all adversities, to hate sin, and to have certain purpose and will not to sin again, and such other like motions and virtues ; for Christ saith, *Nisi abundaverit iustitia vestra plusquam scribarum et pharisæorum, non intrabitis in regnum cælorum* ; that is to say, we must not only do outward civil good works, but also we must have these foresaid inward spiritual motions consenting and agreeable to the law of God.

Of Images.

As touching images, truth it is that the same have been used in the Old Testament, and also for the greater abuses of them sometime destroyed and put down, and in the New Testament they have been also allowed, as good authors do declare ; wherefore we will that all bishops and preachers shall instruct and teach our people committed by us to their spiritual charge, how they ought and may use them. And first, that this may be attributed unto them that they be representers of virtue and good example, and that they also be by occasion the kindlers and firers of men's minds, and make men often remember and lament their sins and offences, especially the images of Christ and Our Lady ; and that therefore it is meet that they should stand in the churches, and none otherwise to be esteemed : and to the intent the rude people should not from henceforth take such superstition, as in time past it is thought that the same hath used to do, we will that our bishops and preachers diligently shall teach them, and according to this doctrine reform their abuses ; for else there might fortune idolatry to ensue, which God forbid. And as for censuring of them, and kneeling and offering unto them, with other like worshippings, although the same hath entered by devotion and fallen to custom ; yet the people ought to be diligently taught, that they in no ways do it, nor think it meet to be done to the same images, but only to be done to God and in his honour, although it be done before the images, whether it be of Christ, of the cross, or of Our Lady, or of any other saint besides.

Of Honouring of Saints.

As touching the honouring of saints, we will that all bishops and preachers shall instruct and teach our people, committed by us unto their spiritual charge, that saints now being with Christ in heaven be to be honoured of Christian people in earth ; but not with that confidence and honour which are only due unto God, trusting to attain at their hands that which must be had only of God, but that they be thus to be honoured, because they be known the elect persons of Christ, because they be passed in godly life out of this transitory world, because they already do reign in

glory with Christ ; and most especially to laud and praise Christ in them for their excellent virtues which he planted in them, for example, of and by them to such as are yet in this world to live in virtue and goodness, and also not to fear to die for Christ and his cause as some of them did ; and finally, to take them, in that they may, to be the advancers of our prayers and demands unto Christ. By these ways and such like be saints to be honoured and had in reverence, and by none other.

Of Praying to Saints.

As touching praying to saints, we will that all bishops and preachers shall instruct and teach our people committed by us unto their spiritual charge, that albeit grace, remission of sin, and salvation, cannot be obtained but of God only by the mediation of our Saviour Christ, which is only sufficient mediator for our sins ; yet it is very laudable to pray to saints in heaven everlastingly living, whose charity is ever permanent, to be intercessors and to pray for us and with us unto Almighty God after this manner : " All holy angels and saints in heaven pray for us and with us unto the Father, that for his dear Son Jesus Christ's sake, we may have grace of him and remission of our sins, with an earnest purpose, not wanting Ghostly strength, to observe and keep his holy commandments, and never to decline from the same again unto our lives' end." And, in this manner, we may pray to our Blessed Lady, to St. John Baptist, to all and every of the apostles, or any other saint particularly, as our devotion doth serve us ; so that it be done without any vain superstition, as to think that any saint is more merciful, or will hear us sooner than Christ ; or, that any saint doth serve for one thing more than another, or is patron of the same. And, likewise, we must keep holy-days unto God in memory of him and his saints, upon such days as the church hath ordained their memories to be celebrated ; except they be mitigated and moderated by the assent or commandment of the supreme head, to the ordinaries, and then the subjects ought to obey it.

Of Rites and Ceremonies.

As concerning the rites and ceremonies of Christ's church, as to have such vestments in doing God service as be and have been most part used, as sprinkling of holy water to put us in remembrance of our baptism and the blood of Christ sprinkled for our redemption upon the cross ; giving of holy bread to put us in remembrance of the sacrament of the altar, that all Christian men be one body mystical of Christ, as the bread is made of many grains and yet but one loaf, and to put us in remembrance of the receiving the holy sacrament and body of Christ, the which we ought to receive in right charity ; which in the beginning of Christ's church men did more often receive than they use now-a-days to do ; bearing of candles on Candlemas-day in memory of Christ the spiritual light, of whom Simeon did prophesy as is read in the church that day ; giving of ashes on Ash-Wednesday, to put in remembrance every Christian man in the beginning of Lent and penance that he is but ashes and earth, and thereto shall return ; which is right necessary to be uttered from henceforth in our mother-tongue always on the same day : bearing of palms on Palm-Sunday in memory of receiving of Christ into Jerusalem a little before his death, that we may have the same desire to receive him into our hearts ; creeping to the cross and humbling ourselves to Christ on Good-Friday before the cross, and offering there unto Christ before the same, and kissing of it in memory of our redemption by Christ made upon the cross ;

setting up the sepulture of Christ, whose body after his death was buried; the hallowing of the font, and other like exorcisms and benedictions by the ministers of Christ's church: and all other like laudable customs, rites, and ceremonies, be not to be contemned and cast away, but to be used and continued as things good and laudable, to put us in remembrance of those spiritual things that they do signify, not suffering them to be forgotten, or to be put in oblivion, but renewing them in our memories from time to time; but none of these ceremonies have power to remit sin, but only to stir and lift up our minds unto God, by whom only our sins be forgiven.

Of Purgatory.

Forasmuch as due order of charity requireth, and the book of Maccabees, and divers ancient doctors, plainly showing, that it is a very good and charitable deed to pray for souls departed, and forasmuch also as such usage hath continued in the church so many years even from the beginning, we will that all bishops and preachers shall instruct and teach our people committed by us unto their spiritual charge, that no man ought to be grieved with the continuance of the same, and that it standeth with the very due order of charity for a Christian man to pray for souls departed, and to commit them in our prayers to God's mercy; and also to cause others to pray for them in masses, and exequies, and to give alms to others to pray for them, whereby they may be relieved and holpen of some part of their pain: but forasmuch as the place where they be, the name whereof and kind of pains there, also be to us uncertain by Scripture; therefore this with all other things we remit to God Almighty, unto whose mercy it is meet and convenient for us to commend them, trusting that God accepteth our prayers for them, referring the rest wholly to God, to whom is known their estate and condition; wherefore it is much necessary that such abuses be clearly put away, which under the name of purgatory hath been advanced as to make men believe that through the bishop of Rome's pardon souls might clearly be delivered out of purgatory, and all the pains of it, or that masses said at *Scila cali*, or elsewhere, in any place, or before any image, might likewise deliver them from all their pain, and send them straight to heaven, and other like abuses. (Signed)

Thomas Cromwell. T. Cantuarien. Edwardus Ebor. Joannes London. Cuthbertus Dunelm. Joannes Lincoln. Joannes Lincoln. nomine procuratorio pro Dom. Joan. Exon. Hugo Wygornen. Joannes Roffen. Richardus Cicestren. Joannes Bathonien. Thomas Elien. Joannes Lincoln. nomine procuratorio pro Dom. Rowlando Coven. et Lichfielden. Joannes Bangoren. Nicholaus Sarisburien. Edwardus Hereforden. Willielmus Norwicen. Willielmus Meneven. Robertus Assaven. Robertus Abbas Sancti Albani. Willielmus Ab. Westminster. Joannes Ab. Burien. (A) Richardus Ab. Glasconie. (A) Hugo Ab. Redying. Robertus Ab. Malmesbur. Clemens Ab. Eveshamen. Johannes Ab. de Bello. Willielmus Ab. S. Petri Glocest. Richardus Ab. Winchelcombens. Joannes Ab. de Croyland. Robertus Ab. de Thorney. Robertus Ab. de Waltham. Joannes Ab. Cirencest. Joannes Ab. Teuxburen. Thomas Prior Coventr. Joannes Ab. de Osney. (B) Henricus Ab. de Coriari. Anthוניus Ab. de Eyntham. Robertus Prior Elien. Robertus Prior sive Magister ordinis de Semperingham. Richardus Ab. de Notley. Hugo Prior de Huntingtoun. Willielmus Ab. de Stratford. Gabriel Ab. de Buckfestrie. Henricus Ab. de Wardenor. Joannes Prior de Merton. Richardus Pr. de Walsingham. (B) Thomas Ab. de

Gerendon. Thomas Ab. de Stanley. Richardus Ab. de Bytlesden. Richardus Pr. de Lanthony. Robertus Ab. de Thame. (B) Joannes Prior de Helvenham. Radulphus Prior de Kymme. (B) Richardus Ab. de Brueza. Robertus Ab. de Welhows. Bartholamaus Pr. de Overhey. Willielmus Pr. de Burgaveny. Thomas Ab. de Abendon.

Inferior Domus.

(C) R. Gwent Archidiaconus London. et Breck. Robertus Alridge Archid. Colecestr. et Procurator Cleri Coven. et Litchf. Thomas Bedyll Archid. Cornub. Richardus Street Archid. Derbiæ. David Pole Ar. Salop. Richardus Doke Archid. Sarum. Edmundus Bonner Archid. Leycestræ. Thomas Baghe Archid. Surr. Richardus Rawson Archid. Essex. Edmundus Cranmer Archid. Cant. Poldorus Virgilius Archid. Wellen. Richardus Coren Archid. Oxon. Henricus Morgan Procurator Cleri Lincoln. Petrus Vannes Archid. Wygornen. Georgius Hennage Decanus Lincoln. Nilo Spencer Procurator Cleri Norwicen. Gulielmus Knight Archid. Cestriæ. Gamaliel Clyfton Decanus Hereford. et Proc. Capit. Joannes London. Decanus Wallingford. Richardus Layton Archid. Bucks. Hugo Coren Proc. Cleri Hereford. Richardus Sparsheford Proc. Cleri Hereford. Mauritius Griffith Proc. Cleri Roffen. Gulielmus Buckmastr. Procurator Cleri London. Richardus Shelton Mag. Colleg. de Melyngham. Per me Willielmum Glyu Archid. Anglessen. Robertus Evans Decan. Bangoren. Walterus Cretying Ar. Bathonien. Thomas Bagard Procurator Cleri Wygornen. Joannes Nase Proc. Cleri Bathon. et Wellen. Georgius Wyndham Archid. Norwicen. Nicolaus Metcalfe Archid. Roffen. Gulielmus Hedge Procurator Cleri Norwicen. Adam Traves Archid. Exon. Ricardus Woleman Dec. Wellen. Tho. Brewood Archidiacon. Bar. Procur. Capituli et Cleri Exon. Georgius Carew Archid. Totten. Proc. Capituli et Cleri Exon. Thomas Bennet Proc. Cleri et Capit. Sarum. Richardus Arche Proc. Cleri et Capit. Sarum. Petrus Lighnam Proc. Cleri Cant. Edmundus Stewart Proc. Cleri Winton. Joannes Rayne Proc. Cleri Lincoln. Leonardus Savile Proc. Cleri Archid. Lewen. Simon Mathew Proc. Cleri London. Linfrid Ogle Archid. Salop. Gulielmus Mayo Proc. Cleri Elien. Rol. Philips Proc. Eccles. St. Pauli London. Joannes Bell Ar. Glocest. Joannes Chambers Dec. St. Stephani Archid. Bedford. Nicolaus Wilson.

Some Observations on the former Subscriptions.

(A) The abbots of Glastonbury and Reading subscribe with the rest; by which it appears that they complied in the changes that were made as readily as others did.

(B) The abbots writ generally so ill that it is very hard to read their subscriptions: some of them I could by no means know what to make of.

(C) There are fifty of the lower house of Convocation; of those there are twenty-five archdeacons, four deans of cathedrals, three deans of collegial churches, seventeen procurators for the clergy, and one master of a college.

II.—*Some Queries put by Cranmer in order to the correcting of several Abuses*.*

[Cott. Libr. Cleop. E. 5.]

I.—WHAT causes, reasons, or considerations hath or might move any man to desire to have the bishop

* Mr. Strype, in his corrections, remarks that this paper, and No. IV. *infra*, are not written by Cranmer or his secretary, and therefore concludes that they are not attributable to him. —En.

of Rome restored in any point to his pretended monarchy, or to repugn against the laws and statutes of this realm made for the setting forth of the king's title of supreme head ?

2.—*Item*, Whether a man offending deadly after he is baptised, may obtain remission of his sins, by any other way than by contrition, through grace ?

3.—*Item*, If the clergy know that the common sort of men have them in a higher estimation, because they are persuaded that it lieth in the will and power of priests to remit or not remit sins at their pleasure, whether in such case the said clergy offend if they wink at this, and voluntarily suffer the people to continue in this opinion ?

4.—*Item*, Whether a sinner being sorry and contrite for his sins and forthwith dying, shall have as high a place in heaven, as if he had never offended ?

5.—*Item*, Whether any, and what difference may be assigned betwixt two men, whereof the one being very sorry and contrite for his sins dieth without absolution of the priest, and the other which being contrite is also absolved by the priest and so dieth ?

6.—*Item*, If it may appear that the common people have a greater affiance or trust in outward rites or ceremonies than they ought to have, and that they esteem more virtue in images and adorning of them, kissing their feet or offering candles unto them, than they should esteem, and that yet the curates knowing the same, and fearing the loss of their offerings, and such other temporal commodities, do rather encourage the people to continue after this sort, than teach them the truth in the premises according to Scripture; what the king's highness and his parliament may do, and what they are bound in conscience to do, in such case ?

7.—*Item*, Whether now in time of the new law the tithes or tenth be due to curates by the laws of God, or of man ; and if the same be due by the laws of man, what man's laws they be ?

8.—*Item*, Whether the clergy only, and none but they, ought to have voices in general councils ?

9.—*Item*, Whether the 19th canon in the council of Calcedon, wherein is contained that one clerk may not sue another before any secular judge, but only before his bishop, and such other canons of like effect, have been generally received or not ? and whether the same be contrary to the king's prerogative and laws of this realm ; and whether it be expedient that it were declared by the parliament that the said canons being at no time received, especially within this realm, be void and of none effect ?

10.—*Item*, Of the 24th canon of the said council, wherein is contained that monasteries once consecrate by the bishop, may not after be made dwelling-houses for laymen, whether that canon have been received and observed, and whether the same be against the power of the king and authority of his parliament ?

11.—*Item*, If it may appear that the bishops have not, ne yet do maturely examine and diligently inquire of the conversation and learning of such as be ordered or admitted to cures by them, but rather without examination or inquisition indistinctly admit persons unable, whereof ensueth great peril of souls, and innumerable inconveniences otherways, what the king's highness or his parliament ought to do, or may do, for reformation in the premises ?

12.—*Item*, If such as have deaneries, archdeaconries, chanter-ships, and other offices or promotions of the clergy, use not themselves in their own persons after such sort as the primary institution of these offices or promotions require, and according to the wills of them that endowed the same, what the king and his parliament may do or ought to do in this case ?

13.—*Item*, For what causes and to what ends and purposes such offices and promotions of the clergy were first instituted ?

14.—*Item*, If curates having benefices with cure, for their more bodily ease, refuse to dwell upon any of their said cures, and remain in idleness continually in cathedral or collegial churches, upon their prebends, whether it be in this case expedient, that the king's highness or his parliament take any order for the redress of the same ?

15.—*Item*, Of the sacraments of confirmation, order, matrimony, and extreme unction, what the external signs and inward graces be in every of the said sacraments, what promises be made to the receivers of them by God, and of what efficacy they be of and energy of themselves ?

III.—*Some Queries concerning Confirmation, with the Answers which were given to them by Cranmer, and Stokesley Bishop of London. An Original.*

[Written with Cranmer's hand. Cott. Libr. Cleop. E. 5.]

Whether Confirmation be instituted by Christ ?

Respon. There is no place in Scripture that declareth this sacrament to be instituted of Christ.

First, For the places alleged for the same be no institutions, but acts and deeds of the apostles.

Secondly, These acts were done by a special gift given to the apostles for the confirmation of God's word at that time.

Thirdly, The said special gift doth not now remain with the successors of the apostles.

What is the external sign ?

The church useth chrism for the exterior sign, b. c. the Scripture maketh no mention thereof.

What is the efficacy of this sacrament ?

The bishop in the name of the church doth invoke the Holy Ghost to give strength and constancy, with other spiritual gifts, unto the person confirmed : so that the efficacy of this sacrament is of such value, as is the prayer of the bishop made in the name of the church.

Hæc respondeo, salvo semper eruditiorum et Ecclesiæ orthodoxæ iudicio.

Stokesley's Paper.

The first question, Whether the sacrament of confirmation be a sacrament of the New Testament institute by Christ ?

To this I answer, that it is.

The second question, What is the outward sign and the invisible graces which be conferred in the same ?

To this I answer, that the words *Signo te signo sanctæ crucis et confirmo te*, &c. with the consignation, with the cream, imposition of hands of the prelates, be the signs : and the increase of the gifts of the Holy Ghost, and especially of fortitude, to speak, show, and defend the faith, and to suffer for the same in case need be.

The third question, What promises be made of the said graces ?

I answer, that the facts and deeds that be expressed in the books of the apostles, with the effects ensuing, by the imposition of their hands upon them that before had received remission of their sins, joined with the promises of Christ, made to his church, and the continual belief of the universality of the same Catholic church from the time of the apostles hitherto, without contradiction of any man (ignorance and suspects of heresy only excepted) maketh us, and in my opinion, without prejudice of other men's opinions, ought to suffice to make all men that hath promised to believe

the Catholic church, assuredly to think that God hath made the promises of the said grace.

Ego Joannes London. sic respondeo, fretus Autoritate et Testimonio antiquissimorum, eorumque Doctissimorum pariter ac Sanctissimorum virorum, et præcipue sanctæ matris nostræ Ecclesiæ Catholicæ, cui etiam in non expressis in sacra Scriptura, non multo minus quam scriptis, fides adhibenda est; nisi tam de baptismo parvulorum, quam de perpetua Driparæ virginis integritate, et id genus compluribus, quibus sine salutis periculo nemo discredit, licet salva fide contrarietate.

IV.—*Some Considerations offered to the King by Crammer, to induce him to proceed to a further Reformation.*

[Cett. Libr. Cleop. E. 4.]

PLEASETH it your highness graciously to consider, deeply to ponder and weigh by your high wisdom, these considerations following.

First, How no great thing is to be determined, principally matters of Christ's religion, without long, great, and mature deliberation.

Secondly, How evil it hath succeeded when in provincial, yea or yet in general councils, men have gone about to set forth anything as in the force of God's law, without the manifest word of God, or else without apparent reasons, infallibly deduced out of the word of God.

Thirdly, How all Christened regions are now full of learned men in the Scripture, which can well espy out and judge how things that be or shall be set forth are agreeable with Scripture or not.

Fourthly, Of what audacity men be of now-a-days, which will not spare to write against high princes, as well as against private persons, without any respect to their high estates, only weighing the equity or the iniquity of the cause.

Fifthly, How not only men of the new learning (as they be called), but also the very papistical authors, do allow that by the word of God, priests be not forbidden to marry, although they were not ignorant that many expounders of Scripture were of the contrary judgement.

Sixthly, How that it is not possible that all learned men should be of one mind, sentence, and opinion, as long as the cockle is mingled with the wheat, the godly with the ungodly, which certainly shall be as long as the world endureth.

Seventhly, How variety of opinions have been occasion of the opening of many verities heretofore taken for heresy, yea and yet so esteemed and taken of many, in other regions; as namely the usurped authority of the bishop of Rome hath by that occasion come into light, with the effusion of the blood not of a few, such as were the first stirrers up thereof.

Lastly, There be also other opinions not spoken of, which have made and yet will make as much variance in your grace's realm as any of them treated of, namely, whether the holy Scripture teacheth any purgatory to us after this life or not? whether the same Scripture teacheth the invocation of dead saints? Whether there be any unwritten verities necessary to be believed not written in Scripture, nor deducted by infallible arguments out of the open places of Scripture? Whether there be any satisfactions beside the satisfaction of Christ? Whether free will by its own strength may dispose itself to grace of a convenience (as it is said) *de congruo*? Whether it be against Scripture to kiss the image of Christ in the honour of him? And generally whether images may be used any other way than your grace setteth forth in your injunctions?

Wherefore in consideration of the premises it may please your highness to suspend your judgment for a time, and not to determine the marriage of priests to be against Scripture, but rather to put both parts to silence, commanding them neither to preach, dispute, nor openly to talk thereof under pain of, &c. And in case these premises do not move your highness to stay, that then it may please the same to grant that the article of priests' marriage may be openly disputed in both universities, under indifferent judges, before it be determined. All the arguments of the contrary party first to be delivered in writing to the defenders twelve days before the disputation; to the intent they may the more maturely and deliberately make answer to the same; and they that shall enter as defenders into this disputation, to do it under this condition, that if their judges discern them to be overcome, they be right well contented to suffer death, therefore; and if their adversaries cannot prove their purpose, their desire is no more but that it may please your highness to leave your most humble subjects to the liberty that God's word permitteth them in that behalf; and your said humble subjects shall pray unto almighty God for the preservation of your most royal estate long to continue to God's glory and honour.

V.—*A Declaration made of the Functions and Divine Institution of Bishops and Priests. An Original.*

[Cott. Libr. Cleop. E. 5.]

As touching the sacrament of holy orders, we will that all bishops and preachers shall instruct and teach our people committed by us unto their spiritual charge,

First, How that Christ and his apostles did institute and ordain in the New Testament, that beside the civil powers and governance of kings and princes, which is called in Scripture, *potestas gladii*, the power of the sword, there should be also continually in the church militant, certain other ministers or officers, which should have spiritual power, authority and commission under Christ, to preach and teach the word of God, unto his people, and to dispense and administer the sacraments of God unto them; and by the same to confer and give the grace of the Holy Ghost, to consecrate the blessed body of Christ in the sacrament of the altar, to loose and absolve from sin all persons which be duly penitent and sorry for the same; to bind and excommunicate such as be guilty in manifest crimes and sins, and will not amend their defaults; to order and consecrate others in the same room, order and office, whereunto they be called and admitted themselves; and finally, to feed Christ's people like good pastors, and rectors, as the apostles calleth them, with their wholesome doctrine, and by their continual exhortations and monitions to reduce them from sin and iniquity, so much as in them lieth, and to bring them unto the perfect knowledge, the perfect love and dread of God, and unto the perfect charity of their neighbours.

Item, That this office, this ministration, this power and authority is no tyrannical power, having no certain laws or limits, within the which it ought to be contained, nor yet none absolute power, but it is a moderate power, subject, determined, and restrained unto those certain limits and ends for the which the same was appointed by God's ordinance; which, as was said before, is only to administer and distribute unto the members of Christ's mystical body, spiritual and everlasting things; that is to say, the pure and heavenly doctrine of Christ's Gospel, and the graces conferred in his Sacraments: and therefore this said power and administration is called in some places of

Scripture, *donum et gratia*, a gift and a grace; in some places it is called *Claves sive potestas clavium*, that is to say, the keys or the power or the keys, whereby is signified a certain limited office restrained unto the execution of a special function or ministration, according to the saying of St. Paul in his first chap. of his Epistle to the Romans, and in the fourth chap. of his First Epistle to Timothy, and also in the fourth chap. of his Epistle to the Ephesians, where he writes in this sentence: *Quum ascendisset Christus in altum, captivam duxit captivitatem, et dedit dona hominibus, dedit autem, alios quidem apostolos, alios vero prophetas, alios vero evangelistas, alios autem pastores ac doctores, ad instaurationem sanctorum, in opus administrationis, in edificationem corporis Christi, donec perveniamus omnes in unitatem fidei et agnitionis filii Dei, in virum perfectum, in mensuram ætatis plene adultæ Christi.* That is to say, "When Christ ascended into heaven, he subdued and vanquished very captivity herself, and led or made her thrall and captive, and distributed and gave divers heavenly gifts and graces unto men here on earth; and among all he made some the apostles, some priests, some evangelists, some pastors and doctors, to the intent they should execute the work and office of their administration, to the instauration, instruction, and edifying of the members of Christ's mystical body: and that they should also not cease from the execution of their said office, until all the said members were not only reduced and brought unto unity of the faith, and the knowledge of the Son of God, but also that they were come unto a perfect state, and full age therein, that is to say, until they were so established and confirmed in the same that they could no more afterwards be wavering therein, and be led or carried like children into any contrary doctrine, or opinion, by the craft or subtle persuasion of the false pastors and teachers, which go about by craft to bring them into erroneous opinions, but that they should constantly follow the true doctrine of Christ's gospel, growing and increasing continually by charity unto a perfect member of that body, whereof Christ is the very head, in whom if the whole body, that is to say, if every part and member be grown and come unto his perfect estate, not all in like, but every one according to the gift and quality which is deputed unto it, and so to be compacted, united, and corporated together in the said body, no doubt but that whole body and every part thereof shall thereby be made the more perfect and the more strong, by reason of that natural love and charity, which one member so united in the body hath unto the other;" by which words it appeareth evidently not only that St. Paul accounted and numbered this said power and office of the pastors and doctors among the proper and special gifts of the Holy Ghost, but also it appeareth that the same was a limited power and office, ordained specially and only for the causes and purposes before rehearsed.

Item, That this power, office, and administration is necessary to be preserved here in earth for three special and principal causes. First, For that it is the commandment of God it should be so, as it appeareth in sundry places of Scripture. Secondly, For that God hath instituted and ordained none other ordinary mean or instrument, whereby he will make us partakers of the reconciliation which is by Christ, and confer and give the graces of his Holy Spirit unto us, and make us the right inheritors of everlasting life, there to reign with him for ever in glory, but only his words and sacraments; and therefore the office and power to minister the said word and sacraments may in nowise be suffered to perish, or to be abolished, according to the saying of St. Paul, *Quomodo credent in cum de quo*

non audierunt? quomodo autem audient sine prædicante? quomodo autem prædicabunt nisi missi fuerunt? sicut scriptum est, quam speciosi super montes pedes evangelizantium pacem, annunciantium bona! Thirdly, Because the said power and office or function hath annexed unto it assured promises of excellent and inestimable things; for thereby is conferred and given the Holy Ghost with all his graces, and finally our justification and everlasting life, according to the saying of St. Paul, *Non me pudet Evangelii Jesu Christi, potentia siquidem est Dei ad salutem omni credenti*; that is to say, I am not ashamed of the room and office which I have given unto me by Christ, to preach his Gospel, for it is the power of God, that is to say, the elect organ or instrument ordained by God and endued with such virtue and efficacy, that it is able to give and minister effectually everlasting life unto all those that will believe and obey unto the same.

Item, That this office, this power and authority was committed and given by Christ and his apostles unto certain persons only,—that is to say, unto priests or bishops, whom they did elect, call, and admit thereunto by their prayer and imposition of their hands.

Secondly, We will that all bishops and preachers shall instruct and teach our people committed unto their spiritual charge, that the sacrament of order may worthily be called a sacrament, because it is a holy rite or ceremony instituted by Christ and his apostles in the New Testament, and doth consist of two parts, like as the other sacraments of the church do,—that is to say, of a spiritual and an invisible grace, and also of an outward and a visible sign. The invisible gift or grace conferred in this sacrament is nothing else but the power, the office, and the authority before mentioned: the visible and outward sign is, the prayer and imposition of the bishop's hands upon the person which receiveth the said gift or grace. And to the intent the church of Christ should never be destituted of such ministers as should have and execute the said power of the keys, it was also ordained and commanded by the apostles, that the same sacrament should be applied and ministered by the bishop from time to time, unto such other persons as had the qualities, which the apostles very diligently describe, as it appeareth evidently in the third chap. of the first Epistle of St. Paul to Tim. and his Epistle unto Titus. And surely this is the whole virtue and efficacy, and the cause also of the institution of this sacrament, as it is found in the New Testament; for albeit the holy fathers of the church which succeeded the apostles, minding to beautify and ornate the church of Christ with all those things which were commendable in the temple of the Jews, did devise not only certain other ceremonies than be before rehearsed, as tonsures, rasures, unctions, and such other observances to be used in the administration of the said sacraments, but did also institute certain inferior orders or degrees, as janitors, lectors, exorcists, acolits, and subdeacons, and deputed to every one of those certain offices to execute in the church, wherein they followed undoubtedly the example and rites used in the Old Testament; yet the truth is, that in the New Testament there is no mention made of any degrees or distinctions in orders, but only of deacons or ministers, and of priests or bishops; nor is there any word spoken of any other ceremony used in the conferring of this sacrament, but only of prayer, and the imposition of the bishop's hands.

Thomas Cromwell. T. Cantuarien. Edwardus Ebor. Joannes London. Cuthbertus Dunelmensis. Joannes Lincoln. Joannes Bathoniensis. Thomas Elien. Joannes Bangor. Nicolaus Sarum. Edwardus Hereforden. Hugo Wygorn. Joannes Roffen. Rich. Cicestr.

Richardus Wolman. Joannes Bell. Willielmus Clyffe. Robertus Aldridge. Gilfridus Downes. Joannes Skip. Cuthbertus Marshall. Marmaduke Waldeby. Robertus Oking. Nicolaus Heyth. Rodolphus Bradford. Richardus Smith. Simon Matthew. Joannes Prynn. Gulielmus Buckmastre. Willielmus Maye. Nicolaus Wotton. Ricardus Cox. Joannes Edmondes. Thomas Robertson. Thomas Baret. Joannes Nase. Joannes Barbar. (Some other hands there are, that cannot be read.)

Sacræ Theologiæ, Juris Ecclesiastici, et Civilis Professores.

VI.—*A Letter of Melancthon's, to persuade the King to a further Reformation. An Original.*

[Cotton. Libr. Cleop. E. 5.]

S. D. SERENISSIME et Inclyte Rex, Etsi audieramus Romanum Episcopum omnibus artificibus incendere Cæsaris Caroli et Regis Gallici animos adversus Britannos et Germanos, tamen quia spero Deum hæc pericula gubernaturum esse, et defensurum tranquillitatem tuam, scripsi in alteris literis de Ecclesiarum emendatione, quam si tempora sineint, rogo ut Regia Majestas tua suscipiat. Postea adjeci hanc Epistolam, non impudentia, sed optimo studio, et amore cum Ecclesiarum, cum Regiæ Majestatis tue incitatus: quare per Christum obtestor Regiam Majestatem tuam ut meam libertatem boni consulat. Sæpe cogito Britannicæ Ecclesiæ primordia, et cæteras laudes: hinc enim propagata est doctrina Christiana in magnam Germaniæ et Galliæ partem; imo Britannicæ Ecclesiæ beneficium fuit, quod primum Romanæ Provinciæ liberatæ sunt persecutione. Hæc primum nobis Imperatorem pium Constantinum dedit: magna hæc gloria est vestri nominis. Nunc quoque Regia Majestas tua, primum heroica magnitudine animi ostendit se veritati patrocinaturum esse, excussit Romani Episcopi tyrannidem, quare veterem puritatem Ecclesiæ vestræ maxime optarim restitui integram. Sed animadverto istic esse quosdam qui veteres abusus ortos aut confirmatos a Romano Episcopo adhuc mordicus tenent. Mirum est autem Autore abusuum ejecto ipsa tamen venena retineri; qua in re illud etiam periculi est, quod illi ipsi aut eorum imitatores aliquando revocaturi potestatem Romani Episcopi videntur, si populus hunc putavit esse Magistrum Ecclesiarum, incurrunt enim ritus in oculos et admonent de autore, ut Solonis memoria cum legibus Athenis et propagata et jucunda fuit.

Gaudebam igitur in Edicto recens istic proposito de Religione, promitti publicam deliberationem et emendationem de Ecclesiarum ritibus et legibus, eaque sententia mitigavit Decreti acerbitatem: quanquam enim laudo pietatem, quod errores prohibentur, qui pugnant cum doctrina Catholicæ Ecclesiæ quam et nos profitemur; tamen doleo ad eas causas adjectum esse articulum, in quo præcipitur omnium rituum usitatorum et cælibatus observatio. Primum enim multi transferent Edicti Autoritatem ad stabiliendos abusus Missæ. Deinde in universum confirmatur pertinacia eorum qui Doctrinæ nostræ sunt iniquiores, et debilitantur studia piorum. Augustinus queritur sua ætate jam duriorem fuisse servitutem Christianam quam Judaicam, quanto erit asperior servitus, si superstitioniosiores ineptiæ, ut reptatio ad crucem aut res similes, munientur corporum suppliciis? Gerson scribit prodesse piis, qui tamen superstitioniosius observant ritus, ut invitentur ad eos violandos, ut usu et exemplo dediscant superstitionem.

Sed munio tranquillitatem, dices, et nolo

tudine rituum excitari discordias. Ego de piis et modestis loquor qui humanas traditiones sine tumultibus violant, non de his qui in cætu publico seditiose tranquillum populum aut concitant aut perturbant. Extant autem antea leges de seditiosis, nec statim violatio inepti et non necessarij ritus judicanda est seditiosa, attamen hac in re non solum tranquillitatis, sed etiam piarum conscientiarum ratio habenda est: est enim tenera res conscientia, facile languescit percussa potentum judicii.

Nec ignoro quosdam novo jam uti genere sapientiæ, excusant abusus, et leniunt eos astute affectis interpretationibus, ut habeant speciosam causam cur eos retineant; sicut nefarios abusus excusat Autor reformationis Coloniensis, ut campanarum consecrationem et similes imposturas. Quam multa sunt in fabulosis historiis sanctorum, ut Christophori, Georgii, quæ ut poemata continent venustissimas Allegorias; nec tamen propter has cogendæ sunt Ecclesiæ ut illas poeticas personas colant,

Erat in Egypto sacrum cum fici maturuissent, populus enim in templo edens recentes ficus, addebant canticum his verbis, Dulcis veritas. Huic ritui facile est bellam significationem addere, eumque accomodare ad laudem Verbi Dei, nec tamen propterea hic mos in Ecclesias revocandus est; atqui hanc novam sophisticam exoriri passim videmus. Sic in Italia dicuntur abusibus patrocinari, Contarenus, Sadoletus, et Iolus Cardinalis; nam hi præcipue susceperunt sibi jam has partes defendendæ Romanæ impietatis, et hanc ducunt esse magnam ingenii laudem fucos illinire vitiosis ritibus, putantque; se his ineptiis Dionysii Theologiam Mysticam renovare. Hæc Sophistica, nisi prudentes gubernatores Ecclesiarum obsident, pariet horribilem confusionem religionum, et rursus obruet veritatem. Donec flagitantur humani ritus tanquam necessarij, confirmatur prava opinio de cultu: ideo Paulus tam vehementer non modo opinionem, sed ritus ipsos Leviticis insectatus est, prævidebat enim non excuti posse superstitionem, si ritus manerent, quare gravissime inquit, si circumcidimini, Christus vobis nihil proderit.

Retineatur ergo simplex et perspicua sententia de libertate in adlaphoris, et doceant concionatores quæ scandala vitanda sint; retineantur ritus divinitus instituti, et aliquæ humane traditiones utiles ad bonum ordinem, ut Paulus loquitur, et sit modus cæremoziarum quæ habeant conjunctam gravitatem et elegantiam; decet autem abesse ab Ecclesiis barbariem: Cæteri inutiles et inepti ritus non duriter flagitentur.

Deinde quantum periculi adfert conscientijs prohibitio conjugii, nec ignorat Regia Majestas tua, legem de cælibatu perpetuo tantum Romæ natam esse: extant Epistolæ Episcopi Tarracensis defendentes conjugia Presbyterorum in Hispania contra Romanum Episcopum. In Germania ante annos quingentos adhuc Sacerdotes fuerunt mariti, adeoque ægre tulerunt sibi eripi hanc libertatem, ut in Episcopum Moguntinum recitantem edictum Romanum tumultuantes impetum fecerint, quare Episcopus fugere coactus recitationem omisit. Erat Autor Edicti Gregorius septimus qui cullibet tyrannorum veterum audacia et impetate par fuit. Hic cum longo et funesto bello civili nostros Germanicos imperatores implicuisset, simul etiam Ecclesias Tyrannide oppressit. Audio et in Anglia Sacerdotes fuisse maritos: denique notæ sunt Historiæ, quæ exempla satis multa continent, quare miror in Edicto citari Epistolam ad Corinthios, cum hæc longe aliud tradat de conjugio, ac præcipiat conjugium iis qui non sunt idonei ad cælibatum.

Nec obijcienda sunt vota quæ et expresse pugnant cum divinis mandatis, et trahunt secum multiplicem

propter Christum, singulos justos fieri: At illi docent alienum opus pro remittendis peccatis alteri, quod quidem merum est somnium et figmentum humanum, repugnans Evangelicæ Doctrinæ; nam tunc demum applicatur gratia per Verbum et Sacramentorum usum, cum ipsi utimur Sacramentis, sed isti pro aliis utuntur, quod perinde est ac si pro aliis Baptizarentur. Neque vero potest dici quantopere deformet Christi Gloriam opinio illa de Missa, quæ ex opere operato conferat gratiam, aut applicata pro aliis mereatur eis remissionem venialium et mortalium peccatorum culpæ et pœnæ; idque aperte adversari Scripturæ, et a vero usu Missæ sive communionis longe discedere, vel inde liquet, quia Missa sive Synaxis ideo est instituta, ut fidelis qui utitur Sacramento recordetur quæ beneficia accipiat per Christum, et erigat ac soletur pavidam conscientiam; ideoque ibi porrigi debet Sacramentum, his quibus opus est consolatione, sicut Ambrosius ait, quia semper pecco, semper debeo accipere Medicinam. Atque hic usque ad tempora Gregorii in Ecclesia Missæ usus fuit, neque antea privatæ Missæ cognitæ fuerunt; quod quidem cum multis aliis Patrum Sententiis patet, tum Chrysostomi, qui inquit, Sacerdotem stare ad altare et alios ad Communionem accersere, alios arcere: Et ex veteribus Canonibus constat, unum aliquem celebrasse Missam, a quo reliqui Presbyteri et Diaconi sumpserunt corpus Domini, sic enim inquit Canon Nicenus, Accipiant Diaconi secundum Ordinem post Presbyteros ab Episcopo vel Presbytero, Sacram Communionem. Et scribit Epiphanius, in Asia Synaxim ter celebratam singulis septimanis, nec quotidianas fuisse Missas, eumque morem ab Apostolis traditum esse; qui quidem Missæ usus etiam hodie in Græcis Parochiis durare dicitur, nam tantum singulis dominicis diebus et festis, fit ibi una publica Missa, privatas vero non habent: fuitque Græca Ecclesia hoc nomine longe felicior quam Latina, quæ meliorem usum cœnæ Domini, Synaxis, sive Missæ retinuerit, neque vel Sacramentum Corporis et Sanguinis Domini, contra claram Evangelii Doctrinam divisit, ut paulo ante diximus, neque etiam privatas Missas Sacræ Scripturæ acerrime repugnantes, receperit; cujus quidem rei hanc potentissimam causam fuisse arbitramur, quod Græca Ecclesia Romanum Episcopum auctorem perversæ et Idololatricæ Doctrinæ, et omnium pœnæ abusu qui in Ecclesiam introducti sunt, pro summo Ecclesiæ Universalis sive Catholice capite, nunquam agnovit.

Sed concedunt quidam adplicationes quæ fiunt in Missa pro vivis et mortuis, et item opiniones, quod ex opere operato gratiam mereri traduntur, non esse probandas, et disputant abolitis illis opinionibus impiis, alia ratione Missas privatas retinendas, nempe quia sunt gratiarum actiones, quæ possint ab uno vel a pluribus fieri. Hæc sane ratio videtur aliquam habere speciem, estque *σοφὸν φαρμακόν*, ut inquit Sophocles, quo in causis invalidis, et ut ipse ait, morbidis utendum sit. Si Missa tantum esset gratiarum actio, possit fortassis tali aliquo prætextu colorari; verum constat eam principaliter institutam esse, ut sit Sacramentum quod per ministrum alteri exhibeatur, ut accipiens et credens consequatur gratiam. Et hoc quidem principali fineposito, accedit alter de gratiarum actione; quare nullo modo ab institutione Christi recedere, sed modum et formam illius Institutionis, et exemplum veteris Ecclesiæ sequi et retinere debemus: Nulla enim novitas, præsertim in Sacramentis, recipienda est, contra formam a Christo traditam, et contra exempla veteris Ecclesiæ.

Porro constat privatas Missas esse recentes, et a Romanis Pontificibus introductas, et ne hodie quidem, ut paulo ante dictum est, in Græcis Ecclesiis esse,

nisi Parochiales diebus festis, cum quibus adhuc manet vestigium Communionis: Cum igitur contra Dei Verbum Missa privata introducta sit, eamque humanum tantum et commentitium cultum esse adpareat, quis dubitat quin talis Missa, sine ullo periculo omitti possit, imo debeat, cum repugnet Evangelio? Estque plium et sanctum opus, verum Missæ sive Synaxis usum Ecclesiæ restituere ac reddere, quo per Romanum Pontificem, hoc est Antichristum, multis jam annis miserabiliter privata fuit, qui quidem adhuc mordicus privatas Missas tenet, adserit, et defendit. Neque id immerito, facile enim sentit quod labefactata Missa privata, labefactetur imo ruat Universum ejus Regnum et Tyrannis, quæ Missis illis nititur; ut enim in seminibus causa est Arborum et stirpium, ita hujus luctuosissimi dominatus, imperii, tyrannidis, nundinationis et idololatriæ Pontificiæ semen fuit superstitionis Missarum privatarum: Nam hæc pepererunt et sustinuerunt, veluti Atlas quidam, totum Papatum; ad harum normam omnia redacta sunt, siquidem nihil fuit, quod non Missa aliqua expiari posse creditum est. His aucupatus Pontifex Romanus indulgentias, quibus immensam pecuniam ex toto orbe terrarum prædatus est; hæc Monachorum turbas infinitas coacervarunt, cum eorum nullus alius esset usus, quam demurmurandi Missas privatas, et alioquin inutile terræ pondus forent. Hæc sunt et fuerunt universa pietas, quam Pontifex Romanus proficitur, hanc solam novit ille Religione, quæ in Missis privatis consistit; Doctrinam enim Evangelii non modo non habet, verum acerrime odit et prosequitur, et in summa his Missis ipsam prædicationem Verbi Divini Pontifex exterminavit, ut per omnia Antichristi munere fungeretur: Nam in loco unius concionis Verbi, amplius mille Missæ privatæ, hoc est, humani et commentitii cultus, contra Divinum Verbum successerunt; cum non Missas fieri sed Evangelium prædicare, et Sacramenta rite distribuere et administrare, Christus Apostolis, quorum illi volunt esse successores, mandaverit.

Curant igitur Illustrissimi Principes nostri, et alii Evangelii Doctrinam profitentes Principes et Status, privatas Missas penitus abolere, et verum Missæ usum sive Synaxim Christi institutioni, exemplo Apostolorum, veteris Ecclesiæ ac Patrum sententiis conformem, in Ecclesias revocant et restituerunt. Quæ quidem Missa sive Synaxis summa cum reverentia celebratur, servatis pene omnibus usitatis Cæremoniis, quæ non repugnant pietati; et ad discendum Germanicæ sive vernaculæ cautiones ad docendum populum, præceptum enim Paulus, in Ecclesia uti lingua intellecta a populo. Porro, quia propter communionem sive usum Sacramenti Missa instituta est, hi qui sunt idem et antea explorati, sacramento utuntur; ac dignitas et usus Sacramenti, summa diligentia ac cura ex Verbo Dei populo commendatur, ut scient et intelligant homines, quantam consolationem pavidis conscientiiis adferat, ac discant Deo credere, et optima quæque ab eo expectare et petere.

Et hunc quidem Sacramenti et Missæ usum, Scripturæ consentaneum, Deo gratum, et pietati conducibilem esse, Serenissima Regia Majestas Vestra facile agnoscit; neque enim hic aliquid contra Dei Verbum admittitur, imo secundum Christi mandatum et ordinationem, qui hanc Sacram Communionem ad hunc finem instituit, omnia geruntur: Nulla est hic admixta, prava, aut impia opinio, ut in Missa privata Papiistica, cujus finis et institutio cum Evangelio pugnat. Nihil hic etiam absque summa reverentia, ordine, et decoro, digno Ecclesiæ, fieri cernitur. Audemusque adfirmare, majore Religione hunc verum Missæ usum exhiberi apud nos, quam hactenus unquam sub Papatu privatæ Missæ celebratæ fuerint, provocamusque ad testimonia doctissimorum virorum,

qui a Majestate Vestra missi in illis locis fuerunt, et hæc omnia coram fieri viderunt at audierunt.

Quod enim Adversarii clamant, Nostros omnes cultus Divinos, omnes Cæremonias, omnem denique Religionem abolere et labefactare, ea in re Principibus nostris, et aliis Evangelii Doctrinam profitentibus, injuriam faciunt; et hæc eos insigni quadam malevolentia et odio plusquam Vatiniano, ut dici solet, confingere et comminisci clare adparet, cum ex Doctrina nostrorum, quam consentientem Sacris Literis in lucem ediderunt, et Scriptis suis universo, orbi Christiano promulgarunt, tum etiam exemplis nostrarum Ecclesiarum, in quibus nolint velint coguntur fateri, omnia religiosius et sanctius fieri, quam apud ipsos; immo Dei beneficio universus populus, non tantum in templis est religiosior, sed in tota disciplina publica modestius se gerit, majoremque erga Magistratum civilem, et eos qui Ecclesiam præsumunt, reverentiam et honorem exhibet, quam unquam antea factum fuerit: et hoc sinceræ Evangelii Doctrinæ acceptum referre debemus, quæ singulos, rectius omnibus Pontificis constitutionibus, sui officii admonet, et sola in quibus vera pietas ac cultus divinus consistat, tradit ac docet.

Porro, quod Missæ collocatæ ad quæstum, ut sub Papatu accidit, turpiter prophaneantur, quodque hic abusus in omnibus pene templis latissime pateat, non est obscurum: Nam Christi beneficium qui nos precioso suo sanguine redemit, idque gratuito pro vili stipe et mercede vendere, et tale etiam opus inde constituere velle, quod ex sui natura, hoc est ex opere operato, mereatur gratiam, et possit applicari pro peccatis aliorum, mortuorum et vivorum, quis non videt summam esse impietatem? Quid enim est corpus Domini indigne tractare et sumere, si hoc non esset? An potest etiam magis impium quidquam dici, quam illi de Missis istis docuerunt? Nempe quod Christus sua passione satisfecerit pro peccatis Originis, et instituerit Missam, in qua fieret Oblatio pro quotidianis delictis mortalibus et venialibus: cum Christus poenitentiam et remissionem peccatorum prædicari mandaverit; Missam vero, hoc est Synaxim, ad alium plane finem instituerit, viz. ut porrigeretur Sacramentum his quibus opus est consolatione, et ut per Verbum et Sacramentum credentes gratiam recipiant, et remissionem peccatorum consequantur, non ut ipsi suum opus, quod quale quale sit, humanum figmentum, humanus cultus est, contra Scripturam Deo offerant ac sacrificent. Hoc enim non placat Deum, ut Christus ipse inquit, se frustra coli mandatis hominum: Nam Missam non esse tale opus sive Sacrificium, quod mereatur gratiam et prosit etiam aliis, inde adparet, quia Missa sive Synaxis ad hoc est instituta, non ut Deo aliquid offeratur, sed ut communicantes consolationem hauriant, et veluti pignus seu certum signum gratiæ ac bonæ voluntatis Dei erga se recipiant, atque ita recordentur mortis Christi, hoc est, beneficiorum quæ per Christum accipiunt, qui quidem pro nobis mortuus est, solusque pro peccatis nostris satisfecit, idque probant Verba ipsa quibus et Christus et Paulus de Missa sive Synaxi usi sunt.

Primum enim inquit Christus, hoc est Corpus Meum, quod pro vobis traditur. Hæc sunt Verba promissionis Divinæ quæ solam fidem exigunt, quibusque offertur nobis gratia et remissio peccatorum, ergo non est Sacrificium, hoc est, opus quod Deo offeratur et quidem pro abolendis peccatis. Item Paulus ait, Annunciantes mortem Domini: Annunciare autem non est Sacrificare, hoc est tale opus Deo reddere, quo peccata deleantur. Præterea Evangelii textus ita sonat, Fregit et dedit Discipulis, inquit, accipite et comedite, &c. item, bibite ex hoc omnes, &c. accipere autem, comedere, et bibere, non est sacrificare, quia hæc opera ex opere operato non delent peccata.

Neque mandatur hisce verbis, ut nos Deo aliquid offeramus, sed potius ut ab eo accipiamus, quia addit, pro vobis traditum, et sanguis qui pro vobis effunditur; quæ Verba ostendunt, non exhiberi a summentibus Eucharistiam Deo Sacrificium, sed donum hominibus datum. Præterea vero nemo dicit Laicos cum sumunt Sacramentum, Sacrificare: at quantum ad hanc Sacram Communionem, Missam, sive Synaxim pertinet, nulla est ratio diversitatis, cum idem Christus uno eodemque tempore ac momento, propter eundem finem et usum, hoc Sacramentum absque differentia utentium Sacerdotum vel Laicorum instituerit. Et quemadmodum prohibitio utriusque speciei, humanum tantum commentum et mandatum est; ita quod de Sacrificio Missæ ex opere operato gratiam promerente traditur, humana tantum opinio est, contra Verbum Dei, a quo in rebus maximis, nempe ad remissionem peccatorum, salutem animarum, et vitam æternam pertinentibus, nullo modo est discedendum: Non enim frustra Paulus inquit et bis repetit, Si nos aut Angelus de Coelo Evangelizet vobis præter id quod Evangelizavimus et accepistis, Anathema sit.

Præterea nec potest ratio diversitatis adsignari ex Sacris Literis, cur magis dicant eos qui Sacramento Eucharistiæ fruuntur Sacrificare, quam illos qui alio Sacramento, ut Baptismo, utuntur, cum utrumque nihil aliud sit, quam Sacramenta, quæ Christus horum institutor et auctor prorsus ad alium finem, quam ut sint talia Sacrificia, qualia illi comminiscuntur, ordinavit. Sed oportuit Romanum Pontificem Missas privatas, ad opprimendam Christi, cum ipse hostis est, gloriam attollere, ut populum Christianum a veritate Evangelica et agnitione Christi, et Sacramentorum legitimo usu, prorsus abduceret, Christique bonitatem et misericordiam obliteraret. Qui enim Missam tale Sacrificium esse cogitant, quo Deus placetur, hi non queunt Christi beneficium expendere pro dignitate, et in terroribus ac doloribus iræ et iudicii Dei non habebunt refugium, neque bona conscientia poterunt dona et signa amoris divina agnoscere, si alieno opere Deum placari et peccata remitti sibi persuasum habeant: Nam illi ipsi qui nituntur impiis opinionibus de Missa privata excusare, hoc prætextu, quasi Missa ideo vocetur Sacrificium, quia sit gratiarum actio et sacrificium laudis, hi convincuntur propriis ipsorum testimoniis et Scriptis quæ de Missis extant, hæque persuasiones hominum animis etiam hodie de Missis privatis inhaerent: sic enim Thomas inquit in Opusculo de Sacramento Altaris, cur Missa instituta sit? Corpus Domini semel oblatum est in cruce, pro debito originali, sic offeratur jugiter pro quotidianis delictis in Altari, ut habeat in hoc Ecclesia munus ad placandum sibi Deum, super omnia legis Sacrificia preciosum et acceptum.

Alexander Papa, nihil in Sacrificiis Ecclesiæ majus esse potest, quam Corpus et Sanguis Christi, nec ulla oblatio hac potior est, sed omnes præcellit: item ipsa veritas nos instruit, Calicem ac Panem in Sacramento offerre, quando ait, Accipite et comedite, nam crimina atque peccata, oblatiis his Domino Sacrificiis, delentur. Et rursus inquit, talibus hostiis delectabitur et placabitur Deus, et peccata demittet ingentia. Gabriel de Canon. Missæ, Sacramentum Eucharistiæ veluti Sacrificium summo patri oblatum, nedum veniale sed etiam mortale, non dico sumentium sed omnium eorum pro quibus offertur, et quantum ad reatum culpæ et poenæ, plus vel minus secundum dispositionem eorum pro quibus offertur, tollit: unde Thomas in Quarto Dist. i. 2. q. 2. Eucharistia in quantum est Sacrificium, habet effectum etiam in talis pro quibus offertur, in quibus non præ-exigit vitam spirituales in actu, sed in potentia, et ideo si eos dispositos inveniat, eis gratiam obtinet, virtute illius veri Sacrificii

a quo omnis gratia in nos fluxit, et per consequens peccata mortalia in eis delet, non sicut causa proxima, sed in quantum gratiam contritionis eis impetrat.

His et similibus omnes libri Scolasticorum pleni sunt, quibus uno ore docent, Missam tale esse Sacrificium, quo gratiam homines mereantur ex opere operato, quod ad delenda aliorum peccata adplicari possit. Quæ Doctrina aut potius perversum et impium figmentum, an pugnet cum Sacris Literis necne? An verum Missæ seu communionis usum tradat necne? An Christi beneficium non magis obscuraret quam illustret, imo etiam prorsus tollat? Vestræ Serenissimæ Regiæ Majestati dijudicandum relinquimus, quæ pro sua sapientia, et non tantum in rebus politicis, sed etiam Sacris et in omni genere doctrinarum acerrimo iudicio, facile censebit, justissimam causam habuisse Principes nostros et alios Evangelii Doctrinam profitentes, Missas privatas abrogandi, et verum Missæ sive Communionis usum, pro Christi gloria et consolatione totius Ecclesiæ Christianæ, restituendi et revocandi, postquam ex Dei Verbo cognoverunt, quantum private Missæ a veritate Evangelicæ distent, quantumq; in iis insit impietatis et idolatriæ: fuit enim unicum Sacrificium propitiatorium in mundo, viz. Mors Christi, qui, ut Paulus inquit, semel est pro nobis oblatas, et factus hostia pro peccatis nostris, quod cætera legis Sacrificia propitiatoria significaverunt, quæ similitudine quadam, erant satisfactiones redimentes iustitiam legis, ne ex politia excluderentur illi qui peccaverant, caq; cessaverunt post Revelatum Evangelium: in Novo Testamento, necesse est cultum tantum esse Spiritualem, hoc est, iustitiam fidei et fructus fidei, quia adfert iustitiam et vitam spiritualem et æternam, juxta, Dabo legem meam in cordibus eorum; et Christus ait, Veri adoratores adorabunt Patrem in spiritu et veritate, id est, vero cordis affectu, qua de causa abrogati sunt Levitici cultus, quod debeant succedere cultus Spirituales mentis, et horum fructus ad signa, ut in Epistola ad Hebræos manifeste docetur.

Ex quibus omnibus sequitur Missam non esse Sacrificium, quod ex opere operato mereatur, faciente vel aliis remissionem peccatorum, ut illi docuerunt. Et quocunq; quidam fucō nitantur excusare Missas privatas, semper eis refragatur et reclamat Doctrina ipsorū de Missa, qua eam aliis posse adplicari traderunt, et peccata delere hominibus persuaserunt. Hæc opinio nisi restituito vero Missæ usu, nunquam ex animis hominum delbitur, sed perpetuo manet et redit is error, quod oporteat talem esse cultum in Ecclesia, quo Deus placetur.

Et ut videatur fictione juris: ut Jureconsulti loquuntur, Missam posse vocari sacrificium memoriale sive laudis: at cum id non sit satisfactorium pro facientibus, vel adplicabile pro aliis, quo quis mereatur remissionem peccatorum, quorsum atinebit, relicto vero ejus usu et institutione, id in Ecclesiis introducere, ubi propter nullam humanam rationem, commentum, aut opinionem, a Christi mandato et ordinatione est discedendum? Eadem enim ratione; Natalis Domini et similia festa, quæ in Christi memoriam celebrantur, sacrificia memorialia sive Eucharistica dici possent; imo talia Sacrificia verius sunt, Evangelii prædicatio, fides, invocatio, gratiarum actio, adfectiones, aut applicationes pro aliis; et Missæ principalis finis, ut supra disseruimus, is est, ut sit Sacramentum, quod per ministrum alteri exhibeatur, quare non potest dici Sacrificium; cum nemo ignoret magnum inter Sacrificia et Sacramenta discrimen esse, his enim nos dona a Deo oblata accipimus, illis vero nostrum Deo reddimus et offerimus.

Neque vero habent private Missæ alios auctores quam Pontifices, qui a tempore Gregorii, nunc hanc,

nunc illam cæremoniam, cationem, aut orationem, singuli pro sua sanctitate et opinione adjecerunt, ut historiæ uno consensu testantur, donec eandem, egregium illud opus, dignum istis auctoribus edificaverunt, et relicto vero Missæ sive Communionis usu, ac oblitterata doctrina de Christo, Universa Ecclesia Missis privatis in qua sola omnem poenæ sanctitatem posuerunt, repleta et obruta fuit.

Hæc serenissime ac Potentissime Rex, nostrorum Principum et aliorum Imperii ordinum, Evangelicam Doctrinam profitentium, Theologi et Doctores, iustis voluminibus explicarunt, quæ quidem hæc Epistola nos breviter attingenda duximus; non quod Serenissimam Regiam Majestatem Vestram hæc latere penitus putemus, neque enim ignoramus Serenissimæ Regiæ Majestati Vestræ et veterū et recentiorū scripta, de his et aliis Controversiis Ecclesiasticis diligentissime cognita esse, de quibus etiam Majestas Vestra sapientissime eruditissime sæpe cum doctis viris conferre et disputare solet: Sed hæc ideo fecimus ut Majestati Vestræ quam posset fieri brevissime, occasione et causas quasdam abolarū privatarum Missarum apud nos, summa cum observantia ut deest exponeremus; et adversariorum calumnias, quibus cum apud Regiam Majestatem Vestram tum alias, undecunq; quæstia et arrepta occasione, variis technis et figmentis, doctrinam sinceriores gravare et in odium omnium perducere conantur, declinarem.

Neque vero ambigimus quin Majestas Vestra, ut Rex eruditissimus et veritatis Evangelicæ amantissimus, facillime judicabit, quod non temere private Missæ apud nos abrogatæ sint, sed justissimis et firmissimis rationibus, ex Dei Verbo quod solum errare non potest, sincere et absque sophistica deductis, pro conservanda et illustranda Christi Gloria, et hominum salute id factum esse: Et opponantur qualescunq; excogitari possint cavillationes et sophismata, tamen adparebit nostros hoc agere quod sit tutius, dum retinent modum et formam institutionis Christi. Ac maxima pars Sacerdotum sua sponte apud nos desiit Missas privatas celebrare, posteaquam intellexerunt ex Evangelica Doctrina, quantum in iis erroris et impietatis esset; et plurimi ex doctissimis quique, qui Sacerdotia aut Parochias sub Magistratibus alienis a sincera Evangelii Doctrina tenebant, eas deseruerunt, ne cogerentur facere contra suas conscientias, sequæ ad ea loca in quibus Evangelii Doctrina libere prædicatur contulerunt; gravissimum enim est quenquam in re præsertim tali, quæ Dei gloriam ledit, ac Divino Verbo repugnat, tanquam ad cultum divinum adigi, et compelli.

Sed ne Serenissimæ Regiæ Majestati Vestræ prolixitate literarum sinus molesti, desinemus plura de hoc articulo in præsentiarum disserere.

De Conjugio Sacerdotum.

Restat tertius locus instituti Argumenti, viz. de Conjugio Sacerdotum, quod itidem Romanus Episcopus contra Scripturam, contra leges naturæ, et contra omnem honestatem prohibuit, ac multorum peccatorum, scelorum et turpitudinis occasionem præbuit: sed fortassis ne possit dubitari eum esse Christi adversarium, de quo cum illam ipsam prohibitionem, tum alia quædam quæ in illum solum adperte quadrant, Scriptura clare prædixit, oportuit eum talem legem Cælibatus Sacerdotalis sancire, ut sicut leo ex unguibus, ita Papa, hoc est Antichristus, ab hac prohibitione Sanctissimi et in omnibus honorabilis conjugii, agnosceretur; sic enim Paulus inquit, Spiritus autem manifeste dicit, quod in novissimis temporibus discedent quidam a fide, attendentes Spiritibus Erroris et Doctrinis Dæmoniorum, in hypoerisi loquentium mendacium, cauteriam habentium conscientiam suam, prohibentium nubere: hæc si non in Romanum Epis-

copum congruunt, in quem alium convenient? nemo enim alius quam ipse conjugium Sacerdotibus injustissime eripuit, et cœlibatum impurissimum sub specie Sanctitatis, et ut Paulus ait in Hypocrisi et per mendacium introduxit.

Scriptura non minus Sacerdotibus, quam alterius sortis hominibus matrimonium liberum permittit, sunt enim de eadem carne, quæ totum genus humanum vestit et continet, nati: non possunt igitur naturam suam mutare, non possunt carnem abjicere, nec absque singulari Dei dono cœlibes vivere, nam non quilibet, ut Christus inquit, capit Verbum hoc: et Paulus, propter Fornicationem unusquisque suam Uxorem habeat; et peculiariter de Sacerdotibus ait, constituas per civitates Presbyteros sicut disposui tibi, si quis sine crimine est, unius Uxoris vir, Filios habens fideles, non in accusatione luxuriæ; item, oportet Episcopum esse irreprehensibilem, unius Uxoris virum: patet igitur hanc prohibitionem non ex jure Divino, sed potius contra Sacram Scripturam decretum esse.

At solet a quibusdam Pontificiis defensoribus opponi, quod licet conjugium Sacerdotum non videatur vetitum Divinis Litteris, tamen Sacerdotes a veteribus temporibus in hunc usque diem in cœlibatu vixisse, eaque de causa addunt non esse discedendum hac in re a tali exemplo, neque permittendum conjugium Sacerdotibus. His, Serenissime ac potentissime Rex, adperte refragantur historie, tum Ecclesiasticæ tum aliæ, ex quibus clare patet, Episcopos et Sacerdotes veteribus temporibus conjugatos fuisse.

Primum enim Spiridon Cyprius Episcopus, vir unus ex ordine prophetarum, ut Historia Ecclesiastica ait, Uxorem habuit ex qua filiam nomine Irenen suscepit; deinde ordine pene omnes Episcopi Uxorati fuerunt, quorum plurimi Filii postea, tum Romani, tum alii Episcopi creati sunt: fuit enim Sylvester Papa Hormisdæ Episcopi Filius, Papa Theodorus Theodori Episcopi Hierosolymitani, Papa Adrianus secundus Talari Episcopi, Joannes decimus Papa Sergii Papæ, Gelasius Valerii Episcopi, Papa Joannes decimusquintus Leonis Presbyteri Filius; et ne omnes enumeremus, patet vel unica historia Polycratis, ex cuius parentibus septem fuerunt per ordinem Episcopi, ipse vero fuit octavus: at non est credibile omnes illos ex illegitimis nuptiis progenatos esse, cum ipsi canonici et decreta Synodorum doceant, conjugia Sacerdotum esse licita; sic enim inquit Canon Apostolorum, si quis docuerit Sacerdotem sub obtentu Religionis propriam Uxorem contemnere, Anathema sit.

Item extat præclarum exemplum de Paphnutio confessore, qui universæ Synodo Nicenæ prohibitionem conjugii dissuasit, et obtinuit ne hac ex parte sancitum, sed hoc in uniuscujusque voluntate non necessitate permissum fuerit. Quæ Historia etiam in jure Pontificio recensetur, extatque decretum quoddam sextæ Synodi, in quo palam damnatur prohibitio conjugii Sacerdotalis.

Sed obijciunt iterum, propter votum castitatis, quod Sacerdotes præsisterunt, non posse eis permitti nuptias. Hoc quale votum sit, quamque obligatorium, quod sine peccato servari non potest, Serenissima Regia Majestas Vestra per summam sapientiam et Doctrinam, facile estimabit: neque enim donum castitatis omnibus datum est, idque cœlibatus ipse Sacerdotum, et quotidiana experientia etiam nunc testatur; et quid de tali voto sentiendum sit, Sanctorum Patrum sententia declaravit, sic enim Augustinus ait, quidam nubentes post votum adserunt adulteros esse, ego autem dico vobis quod graviter peccant qui tales dividunt. Et Cyprianus de virginibus qui continentiam voverunt, sic inquit, si perseverare nolunt, vel non possunt, melius est ut nubant, quam ut in ignem delitiss suis cadant.

Censent itaque prædicti Sancti Patres, tale votum non debere impedire Matrimonium, sicut revera etiam

non potest ob stare quo minus hi quibus donum continentiae non contigit, matrimonium contrahant: nam melius est nubere quam uri, ut inquit Paulus; Quid autem est impurior cœlibatu illo Sacerdotali? quam pauci vero continent? quam plurimi in fornicationibus, adulteriis, et id genus similibus ac gravioribus peccatis et flagitiis pene quotidie deprehenduntur, contra quod si leges severe animadverterent, non habituri essent, quo de illo ficto et hypocritico cœlibatu adeo gloriarentur?

Ac tradunt Historiæ in Germania triennium aut amplius, Sacerdotes acerrime restitisse Sanctioni Pontificis Hildebrandi de cœlibatu, qui summa vi eis Uxores adimere conatus est, lique justissimas causas contra illam constitutionem ac tyrannidem Pontificiam, pro Matrimonio defendendo allegarunt, in qua re cum nihil æqui obtinere potuerint, tandem ingens orta est seditio contra Archiepiscopum Moguntinum, qui decretum pontificium detulit, adeo ut is ab incepto destituerit; et vix tandem Papa post multas diras execrationes et bullas, quibus etiam cœlum ipsum expugnare conatus est, miseris Sacerdotibus facultatem liberam conjugii, contra divina et humana jura abstulerit, et omnis generis libidinis et impuritatis exercendæ occasionem præbuerit: Extat quoque Epistola ad Nicolaum Episcopum Romanum I. Divi Udalrici Episcopi Augustensis, qua is gravissimis et optimis argumentis dissuadet et damnat prohibitionem conjugii Sacerdotum.

Cum igitur Principes nostri, et alii profitentes Evangelii Doctrinam, patefacta per Dei Gratiam iterum veritate, intellexerint quid de prohibitionem illa pontificia conjugii Sacerdotalis sentiendum esset, et palam viderent et experirentur, quod non posset cœlibatus ille sine peccatis et scandalis consistere, ruperunt in ea etiam vincula pontificia, ac Matrimonium Sacerdotibus, sicut hoc Scriptura Sacra et exempla Sanctorum Patrum ac veteris Ecclesiæ exigunt et testantur, liberum permiserunt. Existimarunt enim hoc quoque ad suum officium pertinere, ut infinitorum scandalorum et scelorum, quæ necessario secum trahit cœlibatus Sacerdotalis, occasionem et materiam præcinderent et auferrent, publicæque honestati hac quoque in re consulere; maxime cum animadverterent quantæ etiam abominationes, et in ordine Sacerdotali, et in Monasteriis Vestalium ac Monachorum evenirent, in quibus compertum est sæpe infantes crudeliter necatos, pharmacis foctos depulsos, et similia nefaria crimina commissa, quos solos fructus cœlibatus ille protulit: ideoque plurimi nunc sunt conjugati Sacerdotes apud nos, multi etiam cœlibes, idque cujusque conscientiae ut vel ducat uxorem, vel a conjugio absteineat, permittitur; modo ita vivat ne sit aliis offendiculo, alioqui enim non minus in Sacerdotes quam reliquum vulgus, hac quoque parte, secundum leges politicas animadvertitur. Ac per Dei Gratiam, hoc inde secutum est, quod eorum conscientias, quibus continentiae donum non contigit, consultum fuerit, plurimorum flagitiorum et scelorum occasio cessaverit, matronis ac puellis quibus plerique istorum sub specie pietatis sæpissime inhiabant, et laqueos nectebant, nihil ejusmodi periculi sit; et in summa, quod quum tum Officia Ecclesiastica tum politica majore reverentia et honestate tractentur, quodque ab universis in majore honore et favore habeantur Sacerdotes, quam antea in illo pleno scandalis cœlibatu acceiderit, id quoque magna ex parte honestum conjugium Sacerdotum præstat.

Adhuc, nulli acrius et constantius oppugnant Romanum Pontificem, et tum Matrimonii libertatem, tum sanam Doctrinam ab illo obscuratam et oppressam defendunt, quam hi qui ab ejus jugo impuri illius cœlibatus liberati sunt: et honeste etiam suos liberos, quos ex conjugio suscipiunt educare solent, quibus

haud dubie Deus etiam post mortem parentum, ubi in timore Domini aliti et edocti fuerint, prospiciet; gravissimum enim esset, Sacerdotes ideo a conjugio arcere, quia sua munia sive officia tantum ad vitam suam, non autem jure hæreditario tenent; eadem ratione multis aliis qui sunt aut in publicis muneribus, aut in privatis Ministeriis, Matrimonium interdicendum foret. Quod quidem si fieret, Reip. plus incommodi quam boni allaturum esset; cum et Sacrarum Literarum Auctoritate, Sanctissimorum Patrum Sententiis, legum naturæ et gentium testimonio, et omnium sapientissimorum virorum judicio ac suffragiis constet, Matrimonium semper iis qui ælibes vivere non queant, ad vitanda graviora pericula, concessum et liberum esse debere.

Hæc, Serenissime ac invictissime Rex, coram Serenissima Regia Majestate Vestra, breviter disserenda diximus, ut Majestati Vestræ rationes quasdam commemoraremus, cur Illustrissimi Principes nostri, et alii Evangelii Doctrinam profitentes Principes et Status Imperii, in his tribus Articulis adeo dissentiant a Romano Pontifice, ut sicut in reliquis Doctrinæ Christianæ partibus, a veritate vel latum digitum non discedendum esse existunt, ita in his etiam decreverint, abjecta ejus tyrannide, pro Gloria Evangelii, et ad vitanda infinita scelera, perdurare: neque vero hic dicemus de aliis abusibus a Romano Pontifice introductis, in quos imprimis Confessio Auricularis recenseri meretur, qua ille, et Potestatem clavium tantum ad turpissimum quæstum et tyrannidem redegit, et Confessionem ipsam, quæ informandarum et consolandarum conscientiarum gratia salubriter instituta fuit, carnificinam tantum Conscientiarum reddidit, perque eam tum omnes Reges, Principes, et Potentatus sub suo jugo tenuit, tum multorum malorum auctor extitit; de qua quid nostri sentiant, ac qua reverentia in Ecclesiis retineant, edita ipsorum scripta testantur.

Ac gratulamur nobis datam occasionem hæc Serenissimæ Regiæ Majestati Vestræ exponendi, ejusque censuræ committendi: Cum enim Majestas Vestra et summa Doctrina, sapientia ac studio veritatis prædita sit, et Romani Episcopi tyrannidem (haud sine mente deum, sive numine divum, ut Poeta inquit) itidem ex suis amplissimis Regnis exterminari curaverit, neque amplius per Dei Gratiam illius impiis opinionibus captiva teneatur; persuasissimum nobis habemus Vestræ Serenissimæ Regiæ Majestatis hisce de rebus maximis, quæ ad Dei Gloriam, salutem Ecclesiæ, et perpetuam profligationem Romani Antichristi pertinent, æquissimum ac liberrimum fore judicium, quod sane ii, quibus vel Doctrina aut veritatis studium deest, vel animum habent addictum Pontificiis Opinionibus, vel metu interdum prohibentur, aut etiam ab affectibus diverse trahuntur, non adeo facile præstare possunt; et plurimi interdum inservientes temporis, fingunt se odisse pontificem, simulantque studium veritatis, quibus tamen revera aliud est cordi, hi vero quum non possint nec debeant de hisce controversiis ferre sententiam, Serenissima Regia Majestas Vestra nequaquam ignorat.

Non autem dubitamus, quin ut quisque est eruditissimus, et veritatis Evangelicæ amantissimus, ita facillime eum causam nostram immo Christi et Ecclesiæ adprobaturam esse, neque enim ea ullum commodum aut emolumentum privatum quæritur, sed solum agitur de abolendis impiis abusibus in Christi Ecclesiam per Antichristum investitis, et Christi Gloria illustranda, ac veris cultibus restituendis, et ut hominum Conscientiæ jugo ac tyrannide pontificia liberentur, ac scandala publica, quantum fieri possit à medio tollantur. Quarum quidem rerum studium quo jure reprehendi queat, ut etiam magis favore et imitatione dignum censendum sit: Cum enim omnium bene constitutarum

Rerumpub. hic præcipue finis et scopus esse debeat, ut et Dei Gloria ornatur, et publica salus, honestas, pax, et tranquillitas conservetur, quis dubitat eos qui sedent ad gubernacula Rerumpub. et ad hæc tantquam ad Cynosuram ut dici solet, cursum suum et omnem rationem regendi Rempublicam instituunt, maximis laudibus dignos esse? Et quoniam Serenissima Regia Vestra Majestas, ut Rex sapientissimus et eruditissimus, hunc quoque scopum in gubernandis amplissimis et laudatissimis Regnis et Provinciis suis, ob oculos habere luce meridiana clarius adparet, non possumus non nobisipsis, quum in hac honestissima causa promovendæ Christi gloriæ et publicæ utilitatis ad Serenissimam Regiam Majestatem Vestram Oratores missi sumus, non gratulari; non possumus etiam non felices judicare universos subditos Majestatis Vestræ, quibus divina bonitate talis Rex et Princeps contigerit, qui cum aliis regis virtutibus excellit, tum studio veræ pietatis et veritatis Evangelicæ omnibus modis admirandus conspicitur.

Sunt quidem illa maxima Remp. certis et justis legibus civilibus constituere, bonos tueri et juvare, improbos poenis adficere, arcere injurias, pacem et concordiam subditorum conservare; quis enim non tantquam Deum aliquem talem Principem amplectendum et honorandum putet, a quo ista præstentur: sed adhuc sunt majora, si vera pietas accesserit, si Christi Gloria ornatur, si Dei Verbum in pretio habeatur, si cultus Divine voluntati consentanei iustitiantur, si hominum conscientiis consulatur, et publica scandala e medio tollantur; illa enim tantum hanc civilem vitam attingunt, quam unumquemque quum tempus præfinitum advenerit, deserere oportet; hæc vero ad æternam salutem pertinent quæ bonos et pios, cessante hac misera conditione humanæ vitæ, expectat, quibusque; et in hoc, et in futuro sæculo, maxima præmia proposita sunt. Hoc est cur Deus Reges honore sui nominis ornat, cum ait, ego dixi Dii estis, maxime ut res divinas intelligant, et veram Religionem in mundo conservent; hæc præcipue Scriptura hortatur, cum inquit, nunc Reges intelligite, et erudimini qui iudicatis terram, servite Domino, &c. hæc invitant exempla præstantissimorum regum in Sacris Litteris, qui summa cura, opera, ac studio veram Religionem promoverunt, et impios cultus abrogarunt: hoc David, hoc Josias, hoc Josaphat, hoc Ezechias, et deinceps omnes Sanctissimi Reges præstiterunt. Eadem cum Sereniss. R. M. Vestra haud dubie etiam cogitet, imo jam nunc in hoc totis viribus incumbat, ut sincera Evangelii Doctrina Papæ Tyrannide oppressa restituatur, Gloria Christi itidem a Pontifice obscurata iterum illustretur, et impii abusus ab illo ipso Antichristo in Ecclesiam tantquam venenum quoddam pestilentissimum sparsi et introducti aboleantur, ac veri et Divinis Litteris consentanei cultus et cæremonie constituantur, non dubitabimus quin Deus Opt. Max. Sereniss. R. Majestatis Vestræ conatus et consilia, in hisce rebus Sanctissimis et Honestissimis fortunaturus sit, et pro sua bonitate clementer effecturus, ut inter Sereniss. R. M. Vestram et Principes nostros, ac eorum in causa Religionis confæderatos, talis concordia constituatur, quam et in laudem Evangelii, et publicam totius Christiani Orbis utilitatem cessuram, et majori exitu Romano Antichristo futuram esse, minime ambigimus; estque optima spes, ut volente Deo, plures Reges, Principes, et potentatus, ad hanc Sanctissimam causam accedant, ac Evangelicæ veritatis Doctrinam agnoscant et recipiant, sicut etiam hactenus per Dei Gratiam, maximi progressus facti sunt, et non tantum in Germania, verum etiam extra Germaniam, Potentissimi Reges, Principes et civitates, Divini Verbi Doctrinam receperunt.

Adparetque homines passim agnita veritate, ex.

Scriptis eorum qui Evangelii Doctrinam profitentur et docent, per totum pene orbem terrarum sparsis, sanioris Doctrinæ admodum cupidos esse, quorum preces aliquando Deus pro sua benignitate exaudiet, ac suum Verbum illuminatis mentibus Regum et Principum latissime propagabit, ut sit unus pastor, hoc est Dominus noster Iesus Christus, et unum ovile, quod est Ecclesia Catholica, quæ proficitur sincerum Christi Evangelium, et illi consentaneum usum Sacramentorum retinet, non Papistica aut Romana, quæ utrumque reprobatur, odit, et oppugnat.

Quod reliquum est, Serenissime ac Potentissime Rex, Domine Clementissime, precamur et optamus ut Sereniss. Regia Majestas Vestra in cepto negotio veritatis Evangelicæ pro illustranda Christi Gloria et salute publica, per Dei Gratiam fortiter pergat, quod quidem Majestatem Vestram, ut Regem veræ pietatis et omnis virtutis ac Doctrinæ amantissimum, facturam nihil dubitamus: Oramusque ut Serenissima Regia Majestas Vestra dato benigno responso, ad Illustrissimos Principes nostros, quam primum fieri queat, ne commodam præsentis Navigationis occasionem negligamus, clementer nos dimittat; et ut Serenissima Regia Majestas Vestra, erga quam nostra debita officia atque servitia summa cum observantia perpetuo constabunt, has nostras literas pro sua insigni humanitate, bonitate ac clementia, in optimam partem accipiat, nosque etiam clementer commendatos habeat. Bene valeat Serenissima Regia Majestas Vestra, quam Deus Opt. Max. pro illustranda et propaganda nominis sui Gloria et publica salute, diu servet incolumem. Datæ Londini quinto die Augusti Anno Dom. 1538.

Vestræ Serenissimæ Regiæ Majestatis Addictissimi et obsequantissimi,

FRANCISCUS BURGRATUS, Vicecancellarius.

GEORGIUS A BOYNEBURGH, D. Oratores.

FRIDERICHUS MYCONIUS, Ecclesiastes Gothanus.

VIII.—*The King's Answer to the former Letter.*

[Cotton. Libr. Cleop. B. 5.]

LITERAS Vestras, Egregii ac præstantissimi Oratores, per ministrum vestrum nuper ad nos missas, summa humanitate plenas, atque ingentem erga nos benevolentiam spirantes, tum libenter accepimus, tum magna cum voluptate legimus; quibus significatis vos, post exposita nobis mandata, cum quibusdam Episcopis et Theologiæ Doctoribus a nobis designatis de Christianæ Religionis nonnullis articulis per duos menses contulisse; non dubitare quoque quin inter Principes vestros et nos, atque utrorumque; Episcopos Theologos et subditos, firma perpetuaque concordia in Evangelii Doctrina ad laudem Dei, et Romani Antichristi perniciem sit sequutura: Verum quia reliquam disputationem de abusibus expectare non potestis, cum jam naves appulerint vos in patriam deportaturæ, ante discessum vestrum existimatis vestri officii esse ut sententiam vestram de quibusdam abusuum articulis nobis declaratis, de quibus nos post discessum vestrum cum Episcopis et Theologis nostris conferre possemus. Et quia tria capita præcipua putatis quæ fundamentum Pontificiæ Tyrannidis sustentare videntur, nempe Prohibitionem utriusque speciei in coena Domini, Missas privatas, et Prohibitionem Conjugii Sacerdotum; de his articulis sententiam vestram ingenuè aperitis, atque eam judicio nostro quantumcumque; id sit, et censuræ committitis: Quis non hanc vestram benevolentiam, Egregii Oratores, summopere amplectatur? Quis non hanc Vestram gratitudinem modis omnibus admiretur? Qui nobiscum ea communicare studetis, quæ non modo ad præsentem vitam transigendam sed ad futuram quoque assequendam conferunt? Enimvero si illos

non abs re existimamus amicos, qui in Regionum commerciis ea quæ sunt grata atque commoda important, ne quid usquam desit quod ad præsentem vitam degendam pertinet, quanto magis illi sunt amici iudicandi, qui quæ ad æternam vitam conferunt impertiri non gravantur! nam quæ præsentis vitæ subsidia parantur durabilia diu non sunt, quæ vero ad æternam promovent nunquam intermoriuntur; quinimo amicitia ipsa terræna, quantumvis ingens, quantumvis firma, finem habet et vita excessum, charitas vero quæ nunquam excidit post hanc vitam splendescit magis. Et quia nostrum iudicium non aspernari videmini, quod nos ipsi indignum existimamus, ut de rebus tam arduis iudicemus, atque ea proponitis quæ putatis imprimis amplectenda, qua in re non vulgarem sed ingentem vim erga nos amoris ostenditis, ne nos non respondere huic vestræ tantæ gratitudini videremur, si quæ nobis ad præsens videntur vobiscum non communicaremus, decrevimus itidem de his tribus Articulis nonnihil attingere, et pectus nostrum ingenuè vobis aperire: Quo fiet ut mutuis inter nos et Principes vestros amor eo magis augeatur, eo diutius foveatur, si nihil occultum inter amicos retentetur, sed summa sinceritate gerantur omnia, id quod nos cum omnibus amicis semper facere consuevimus; quod nostrum perpetuum institutum in præsentia apud Amicissimos, eosque quos habemus charissimos, mutare nequaquam libuit. Verum de Articulis ipsis tandem agamus.

De utraque Specie.

Quod imprimis sub utraque Specie semper Eucharistiæ populus secundum primariam Christi institutionem dandam esse existimetis, et nullo pacto sub altera tantum, non possumus quovis pacto adduci, egregii et præstantissimi Oratores, ut putemus vos id serio affirmasse, sed forsitan probandi causa nobis id protulisse, ut quid sentiamus intelligeretis; nam ipsa opinio tam aliena est a recta Scripturæ intelligentia, ut vix quivis id serio affirmare præsumeret, quod latius in hac Epistola declarabimus. Nec nobis persuadere possumus, etsi occasio sit, vos non nobiscum credere, quod sub specie Panis sit realiter et substantialiter verum et vivum Corpus Christi, et una cum Corpore Sanguis verus, alioqui fatendum esset Corpus ibi exsangue esse, quod nefas esset dicere, cum Caro illa Christi non modo viva, sed et vivificatrix sit; et quod sub specie vini non modo vivus et verus Christi Sanguis sit, sed etiam una cum vero Sanguine viva et vera entia Corporis sit Caro. Quod cum ita sit, necessario consequetur etiam eos qui sub altera specie communicant, et solum sub specie Panis Corpus Christi sumunt, non fraudari Communionem Sanguinis Christi, atque eos etiam qui sub specie vini Communicant non fraudari communionem Corporis Domini; Quocirca cum sub alterutra specie utrumque; contineatur, viz. et Corpus et Sanguis Christi, utraque solum species porrigatur populo, utrumque, id est tam Sanguis quam Corpus Christi, per hoc eisdem exhibetur. Nam Christus ipse sub altera specie dedisse legitur in Evangelio Lucæ Discipulis duobus in Emaus cunctibus, quando agnitus est in fractione Panis; scribitur enim, quod cum recumberet cum eis, accepit panem et benedixit, ac fregit et porrigebat illis, et aperti sunt oculi eorum, et cognoverunt eum fractione panis. Ubi de Eucharistia cum locum vetustissimi Authores Chrysostomus, Theophylactus, et Augustinus intelligunt, et tamen de vini poculo nulla ibi fit mentio: Unde Christus qui in altera specie ministravit Eucharistiam, libertatem Ecclesiæ sponsæ suæ reliquisse videtur, ut imitetur sponsi sui vestigia, ac similiter sub altera specie, sicut sub utraque, communicare libere possit. Nam Christus qui sub utraque specie Communionem docuit, etiam de Communionem sub altera ipse exem-

plum reliquit, qui secum tamen nusquam, vel in præceptis vel in exemplis, dissidet.

Simile idem Lucas in Actis Apostolorum citat, quando post adventum Spiritus Sancti, prædicante Petro, appositæ sunt animæ circiter tria millia, inquit, Erant autem perseverantes in Doctrina Apostolorum et Communicatione et fractione panis et orationibus; Ubi similiter de Eucharistia eum locum intelligunt veteres, et de poculo nulla fit ibi mentio. Jam si Christum ipsum Autorem, si Apostolos ab eo ad docendum orbem missos patronos habet, Communio sub una specie, nempe Panis, usitata in Ecclesia non est, tanquam Evangelicis præceptis contraria, statim repudianda; nam Apostoli, qui per adventum Spiritus edocti sunt omnem veritatem, nunquam in fractione Panis Communionem dedissent populo, si utraq; species de præcepto Christi semper necessario fuisset porrigenda, nec Christi jubentis parum memores institutum ejus mutasse viderentur.

Porro ipsa Christi Verba, quæ post Evangelistas Paulus totam cœnam dominicam Corinthiis enarrans citat, nos admonent Christum separatim de alterutra specie locutum esse; ait enim, Dominus Iesus in qua nocte tradebatur, accepit panem et gratias agens fregit, et dixit, accipite et manducate, Hoc est Corpus meum quod pro vobis traditur, hoc facite in mei commemorationem. Ecce Christus de Corpore suo sub specie panis sumendo separatim locutus est, inquit, Hoc facite, priusquam ullam de poculo faceret mentionem. Postea autem de Calice ait Paulus, Similiter et Calicem postquam cœnavit accepit dicens, Hic calix Novum Testamentum est in meo sanguine, hoc facite quotiescunq; bibetis in mei commemorationem: Nec dixit sicut de corpore dixerat simpliciter, Hoc facite in mei commemorationem, sed dixit, Hoc facite, cum hac adiectione, nempe quotiescunq; bibetis, in mei commemorationem: per hoc nobis indicans non semper sub specie vini sumendum esse sanguinem una cum corpore sub specie Panis, sed quotiescunq; sumeretur Sanguis sub specie Vini in Commemorationem Christi id faciendum.

Ecce rursum Christus post distributionem corporis sui, peracta cœna in qua corpus suum sub specie Panis separatim prius dederat, iterum separatim sub specie Vini Sanguinem suum offert, inquit, Hoc facite quotiescunq; bibetis in mei commemorationem, significans nobis et seorsum nonnunquam alterum porrigi posse, et tamen cum ita sit, utriusq; vim integram populis dari, aliqui sufflucisset semel duntaxat de utroq; fuisse dictum, Hoc facite, nec de Calice adiecit Hoc facite quotiescunq; bibetis, cum prius de specie Panis simpliciter dixisset Hoc facite, nisi separatim ea sumi posse judicaret.

Neque quisquam negare potest Discipulos in cœna sub specie panis sumpsisse Corpus Christi, nam cœnantibus illis, accepit panem et benedixit, ac fregit dedit; illis, dicens Hoc est Corpus meum: Calicem autem non nisi post intervallum ac peracta cœna porrexit, nisi quis adeo stupidus esset, ut crederet post summptionem speciei panis non prius eos sumpsisse Corpus Christi, quam postquam cœnavit porrexisset Calicem; quasi vero priora Verba Christi irrita fuissent, cum de specie panis diceret Hoc est Corpus meum, aut ipsa distributio facta Discipulis nullam vim haberet, priusquam de Calice peracta Cœna bibissent; Quod cum impium sit sentire, tum ipsum Verbum et factum Christi, prohi nefas! evacuat. Denique ipse Paulus, postquam etiam de utraque specie conjunctim locutus est, rursum de ipsis speciebus disjunctim infert, inquit, *ὡς τε ὁς ἀν ἐσθίει τὸν ἄρτον οὗτον, ἢ πίνει τὸ ποτήριον τοῦ Κυρίου ἀναίτως, ἑνοχὸς ἐστί τοῦ σώματος καὶ αἵματος τοῦ Κυρίου.*

Quæ verba latine sic transtulit Erasmus, Itaq; quis-

quis ederet panem hunc aut de Calice biberit indigne, reus erit corporis et sanguinis Domini: ubi ex Pauli verbis aperte liquet, Quisquis indigne panem hunc sumpserit, reum esse Corporis et Sanguinis Domini, aut si quis de Calice biberit indigne, similiter reum esse Sanguinis et Corporis Domini, quod tamen nullo modo crimini daretur, nisi seorsum sub specie panis esset et Corpus et Sanguis Christi, atq; itidem sub specie vini seorsum esset et Corpus et Sanguis Christi; nec disjunctim de specie panis locutus fuisset Paulus, si nunquam nisi conjunctim cum Calice sumeretur: Neq; rursum disjunctim de Calice dixisset, si nunquam nisi conjunctim cum specie panis esset sumendus. Quorsum enim ea disjunctisset si nunquam nisi conjuncta esse possent? At Verba ipsa Scripturæ singula sunt attendenda, nam Propheta inquit. Inclinate aurem vestram in Verba oris mei; et Moises in Deuteronomio ait, Ponite corda vestra in omnia verba quæ ego testificor vobis hodie, quia non incassum præcepta sunt vobis. Et iterum, non additis ad verbum quod vobis loquor, nec auferetis ab eo. Verba igitur Domini atque ipsius Pauli, et separatim de alterutra specie primum posita, et post utriusque conjunctionem etiam iterum disjuncta, significare nobis videntur, et posse alterutram speciem seorsum porrigi secundum Verbum Christi.

Nec per hoc quod Christus dixit, Bibite ex hoc omnes, statim consequatur Christum jussisse Communionem cuilibet de populo semper sub utraq; specie et nunquam sub altera dandam esse: Nam illorum Verborum sensum non alium esse apparet, quam quem ipse Dominus Apostolum suum Paulum, qui a Domino de hoc Sacramento omnia se accepisse testatur, edocuit, nempe quod quotiescunq; de Calice hoc quisquam biberet, id in Christi memoriam faceret, sicuti fecerant Discipuli, qui tunc aderant præsentibus et de eo biberunt omnes: Itaque quotiescunq; Sanguis Christi bibendus a quoquam esset, in memoria Passio Christi recordanda est; sicut similiter quisquis Corpus Christi sumpserit ad memoriam passionem ejus revocare debet: Neque ex præcepto Christi toties bibendum esse de hoc Calice, quotiescunq; Corpus Christi sumendum est, apparet per ea quæ de verbis et de exemplo Christi supradicta sunt. Certe quicquid Christus omnino observari præcepit, non posse ulla humana sanctione prohiberi putamus, cum humana lex divinam abolere non possit. Similiter etiam existimamus, nec morem ullum, nec ullam consuetudinem tantopere apud homines valere debere, ut Dei Verbum expugnet et Christi præceptum subvertat.

Veruntamen cum Christus nobis libere reliquerit ut eum tribus modis corporaliter sumere possimus, et quarto spiritualiter, nempe primo sub utraque specie, secundo, sub Panis specie tantum; tertio, sub Vini; quarto, voluntate et desiderio solo cum alter necessitate coacti eum sumere nequimus; existimamus pro primo, ut si quis fidelis ardenti in Deum amore flagrans, pietateq; ingenti æstuat, magnopere desideraret Sacramentum sub utraq; specie sumere, si nullum vel valetudinis vel imbecillitatis obstaret impedimentum, ei sub utraq; specie Communio præberi possit, dummodo neq; postulans neq; ministrans Sacramentum in scandalum populi, aut in contemptum Ecclesiæ id faciat, neque suo jure leges regionis in qua degit, sive Ecclesiasticas sive laicas, infringere præsumat.

Pro secundo et tertio sic, Quod si impedimentum aliquod hujusmodi intervenit, ut in utraque specie absq; periculo sumi non possit, ut si quis Paralysi correptus, aut ab alio quovis naturæ aut morborum impedimento utramq; speciem recipere commode non possit, hic si desideret Sacram Communionem sumere, ei sub altera tantum specie porrigatur. Pro quarto autem, Quod si quis nausea, vel alia corporis molestia

adeo sit infestatus, ut nihil in stomachus receptum non rejectet, huic si id petat Sacramentum saltem ostendi posset, ut viso eo mortem Christi redemptoris sui citius revocans in memoriam compunctus corde spiritualiter communicet.

Plurimum igitur demoror, quod hi qui Christianæ Libertatis assertores et acerrimi propugnatores videri volunt, libertatem hanc nostram in hoc uno Corporis et Sanguinis Domini Sacramento, quo nihil superexcellens, nihil celebrius, nihil incomparabilius, nihil denique ad consolandos fidelium animos solidius, Christus hinc abiturus Ecclesiæ suæ reliquit, nobis tollere velint; Quid enim majus donare potuit Christus in hoc Sacramento sumendum quam seipsum? Deinde cum ipse omnino liberum nobis reliquerit, et posse aliquos sub utraq; specie Communionem accipere, et posse alios sub altera, nonnullos quoque morborum necessitate impeditos, saltem in conspectum prolato Corpore Domini compuncto corde posse Spiritualiter communicare, quanta immo destitia, quanta inclementia esset, libertate hac fraudare Christianos! Ut quibus sub utraq; specie, ob impedimenta quæ sunt innumera, Communio præberi non posset, his summi boni fruitione privatis sub neutra daretur! Nec adhuc fatentur etsi non corporaliter sumatur saltem Spiritualiter capi posse. Qua non servitute durior esset hæc conditio, ut Christi redemptoris nostri corpus, quod ille a fidelibus sumi voluit, nobis id summopere desiderantibus violenter eripiat? quis ingenuè Christianam libertatem fruitionis huius sibi extortam non omni morte intolerabiliorem putaret? Itaque libertas hæc a Christo nobis relicta omni conatu retinenda est, omnibus viribus amplectenda, nec ipsis mea opinione fidendum est, qui eam nobis tollere velint.

Præterea quid fiat apud septentrionales populos? quid apud populos Apricæ et qui intra Tropicos habitant? apud quos non ea vini copia est ut populis omnino sub specie vini præberi possit, (nam his populis cervisia ex frugibus est potui,) an ideo quia sub utraq; specie his ministrari Sacramentum non potest, ab utraq; arcendi essent? aut sub una non integrum Christum capere possent? id quod absit.

Quando autem primum populus priscum morem deserere, et sub altera tantum panis specie Communionem sacram sumere cœpit, nobis est incompertum; credibile est majores nostros auctoritate Scripturæ motos, quæ alteram nonnunquam speciem per Christum et Apostolos datam memorat, propter periculum effusionis in terram Sanguinis Christi, cum liquida omnia levi membrorum trepidante motu facile effundantur, religiosa quadam et pia reverentia, non mediocrique Dei timore, abstinuissæ in Sacramento a vini specie, nec Christum qui se cum Ecclesia usque in finem omnibus diebus mansurum promissit, tot sæculis eam deseruisse, ut si necessarium præceptum de utraq; specie semper ab omnibus sumenda dedisset, in re tanti momenti eam permisisset turpiter labi; sed magis Ecclesiæ suæ liberum reliquissæ videtur, ut cum in alterutra specie totus et integer Christus contineatur, sub altera etiam sumi possit.

Qui vero sit mos hodie de utraq; specie in Ecclesiis Græcis, quæ Romanæ Ecclesiæ Tyrannidem nunquam admiserunt, non satis nobis est compertum, cum Græcia tota Turcarum subsit imperio, nec liberam habeant facultatem Christum ut libet profitendi, quando nec Verbum Dei publice prædicare, nec ad Campanarum sonitum populum convocare, nec publicas Litanias crucis vexillo præeunte facere, his ullo pacto est concessum.

Illud quoque imprimis est observandum, nempe quod in Universis Ecclesiis in die Parasceves Sacerdos et omnis populus sub una tantum specie panis communicant, non sub specie Vini, ut cum is dies representat

mortem Christi in qua sanguis ejus pretiosus pro nostra salute effusus est et separatus a corpore, separatim illo die sub altera solum specie communicarent omnes sive Sacerdos sive populus; qui mos per universam Ecclesiam nunquam fuisse admissus, nisi sub altera tantum specie integer Christus contineretur, atque; nisi sub altera Sacramentum populis ministrari posset.

De Missa Privata.

Per Missas autem privatas multos abusus introductos esse dicitis, quas velut Atlantem quandam Papatum sustinuisse, indulgentias invexisse, orbem expillasse, utpote quæ ad quæstum pateant, monachorum turbas coacervasse, Verbum Dei exterminasse asseritis, atque; ideo Germanos Principes Synaxim veteri more reduxisse, quam lingua vernacula facere, ritu satis decore atque decenti commemoratis; privatas vero Missas apud vos in totum abolitas esse, quæ tot pepererunt abusus et foetus malignos. Qua de re nobiscum diu multumque cogitantes, consideramus imprimis nihil unquam in Ecclesia sua Christum ordinasse quo malignus serpens aliquando non sit abusus, neque tamen propterea rejiciendum est quicquid sancte est ordinatum, alioqui Sacramenta omnia antiquanda essent; quia magis reputavimus longe satius esse abusus omnes in totum removere, quæ vero Sancte et pie introducta sunt in Ecclesiam, illa ipsa stabilia manere.

Nam si ideo Missæ privatæ abolendæ sunt in totum, quia de illis Thomas Aquinas, Gabriel, atque alii Doctrinas ut dicitis impias induxerunt, viz. Missas ex opere operato gratiam mereri, et tollere peccata vivorum et mortuorum, et applicari posse alienum opus ad alterum, Quicquid sit, quod illi asserunt, hoc de omni Missa asserunt, non de privata duntaxat; Qua propter si ad tollendas illas opiniones qualescunque Missa privata esset abroganda, eadem ratione abroganda esset Synaxis et Missa publica, quam vos ipsi retinetis nec censetis abolendam, quicquid de ea alii opinentur. Missa vero privata, velut privata quædam est Communio et Synaxis, quæ si recte atque ut decet fiat, quicumque fideles illi interesse decreverint, si pœnitentes convenerint contriti de peccatis, Deique implorent misericordiam cum filio prodigo dicentes, Pater peccavi in Cœlum et coram te, haud dubie quin ipsi Spiritualiter cum Sacerdote communicant, offerentes se et animas suas, hostias vivas et acceptabiles Deo, tametsi pauci fuerint, atque a corporalibus Sacramenti sumptione abstinerint: ac per hoc Missa privata Ecclesiæ adeo non obest, ut non parum et ad vitam corrigendam, et ad fidem in Christum corroborandam prodesse videatur; quippe Christiani per hoc peccatores se agnoscunt quotidie delinquentes, quotidie veniam postulant, quotidie per peccatum in saepestro vitæ hujus cursu cadentes, quotidie pœnitentes resurgunt, et velut alacriores redditæ, devicto sæpius hoste, fiunt ad pugnam audaciores.

Porro statim in exordio omnis Missæ privatæ publica est peccatorum omnium generalis Confessio, venia postulatur a Deo, absolutio impartitur a Sacerdote secundum Dei Verbum, quemadmodum in Missa publica.

Et si in Missa publica et quantumcumque; solenni nemo adsit alius præter Sacerdotem qui Communicare velit in esu Sacramenti, quid quæso differet Missa publica a privata? An Sacerdos in solenni die populo ad Sacra conveniente, si nemo alius communicare velit, abstinet a Missa publica? atque inter Græcos ipsos, ubi singulis dominicis diebus fit una Missa publica uti asseritis, raro admodum communicant in esu Sacramenti quisquam de populo, uti a fide dignis accepimus, qui ipsi Græcorum Sacris inter fuerunt.

Quod vero Epiphanius citatis qui singulis septimanis ter celebratam Synaxim in Asia asserit, eumque; morem ab Apostolis inductum, cum jam tantum in

Græcia singulis Dominicis fiat populi conventus ad Sacra, si mutari mos potuit ab Apostolis inductus, ut rarius quam statuerunt Apostoli populus congregaretur, cur non etiam mutari potuit ut sæpius conveniret, quando per hoc celebrior fit mortis Christi memoria, id quod in Missa fit etiam privata.

Jam vero si Sacramentum hoc a fidelibus exerceri Christus in mortis suæ memoriam præcepit, inquiens, Hoc facite in meam commemorationem, ne mors ejus raro admodum commemorata in oblivionem transiret, quo crebrius, quo frequentius, memoria ejus in Sacramento repetitur, eo mandatum ejus servatur magis: Etenim sicut raro admodum memorata oblivioni sunt obnoxia, ita crebro frequentata radices in mente agunt altius, ne obliterari unquam possint; itaq; ut mors Christi crebra memoria illustretur, Missa etiam privata non parum confert.

Certe Paulus Apostolus singulas domos privatas, ubi credentium numerus aliquis erat, Ecclesias vocat, membra Majoris Ecclesiæ, civitatis illius in qua essent, sicut majores ipsas civitates Ecclesias, membra Catholice et universalis Ecclesiæ appellat, scribens ad Corinthios; at quæ Ecclesia arcenda est a Communionem Corporis Domini? Christus etiam ipse instituendo Sacramentum hoc Corporis et Sanguinis sui, inquit, Hoc, quotiescunq; facitis, facite in meam commemorationem; nec tempus nec locum ullum cohibuit, quo fieri id non posset, quoniam modo igitur arcebamur quenquam a Missis privatis? Et ad dies festos publicamq; Synaxim eum relegabimus? Cujus arbitrio Christus liberum reliquit, quando et ubi id vellet decenter exequi, dum inquit quotiescunq;? nam si certa tempora servanda essent, non indefinite locutus fuisset Christus, ipsum Dei Verbum, ipsa sapientia Patris.

Jam vero ab initio nascentis Ecclesiæ per singulas domos ubi erant fideles fiebat communio, atq; id quotidie, teste Luca in Apostolorum Actis, ubi ait, Quotidie quoq; perdurantes unanimiter in templo, et frangentes circa domos panem; quem locum etiam de Communionem veteres interpretes intelligunt, et tamen singulis diebus non agebant publice dies festos, sed privatim per domos communicabant: Etsi terrenorum regum atq; principum ministri pleriq; omnes nullum diem transigere cupiunt, quo non fruatur vel solo aspectu sui Domini, tametsi propior congressus non contingat, quis fidelis Christianus non omnibus optabit votis, ut quando in hac vita Christum Regem Regum, et Dominum Dominantium, in Majestate gloriæ regnantem cernere mortales oculi non possunt, saltem per fidem in Sacramento Corporis Domini, quod ille fidelibus in memoriam sui frequentandam reliquit, interim quotidie Regem gloriæ videat?

Quod vero Chrysostomus Sacerdotem ad altare stare, et alios ad Communionem accersere, alios arcere scribit, enarrat morem publicæ Communionis, qui in initio nascentis Ecclesiæ crebrius quam nunc fit frequentabatur; qui mos nunc in Paschate, quando ubiq; communicat populos, apud omnes servatur Ecclesiis: Cæterum ille ipse expostulat cum fidelibus sui temporis, quod rarius communicent, quam vel oporteret, vel vetus mos erat; cæterum nusquam is privatas Missas vetuit.

At Canon Nicenus Diaconis in Communionem publica suum locum designat post Presbyteros; cæterum nec is Canon, nec ullus alius Missas privatas abrogat.

Sacramentum autem Eucharistiæ Sacrificium non esse arbitramini, quod unum Sacrificium sit propitiatorum mors Christi, et cum is ultra non moritur, qui semel tantum pro nobis oblatus est, nullum restat ultra Sacrificium, nisi cultus Spiritualis, hoc est, justitia fidei et fructus fidei. Quid sibi velit justitia quæ ex fide est scimus, quippe quam Paulus opponit

Justitiæ quæ est ex lege: Cæterum qui sunt fructus fidei, nobis ex Scripturis non satis liquet, ipsam fidem sicut charitatem, et multas alias virtutes scimus esse fructus Spiritus. Verum enimvero non satis miramur, cur quispiam ægre ferat Missam Sacrificium vocari, quando omnis vetustas et Græcorum et Latinorum sic eam appellare consuevit, quum ibi fiat consecratio Corporis et Sanguinis Domini in memoriam mortis ejus, qui, ut inquit Paulus, pro peccatis offerens hostiam, in sempiternum sedet ad dextram Dei, una enim oblatione consummavit in sempiternum sanctificatos; itaq; si Christus et Sacerdos esset, et Sacrificium, et hostia, ubicunq; est Christus, ibi est hostia nostra, ibi est sacrificium nostrum; at si in Sacramento altaris est verum Corpus Christi, et verus Sanguis Christi, quo pacto manente veritate Corporis et Sanguinis Domini, non est ibi Sacrificium nostrum?

Porro quia in Missa est Christus Sacrificium nostrum, qui ipse ultra non moritur, ibiq; cum ipso capite nostro, nos illius Corpus et membra nosmet ipsos Deo hostias vivas offerimus, Græci id totum *ἀναμνησκον θύσιαν*, id est, Sacrificium incruentum vocant: ita veteres omnes intrepide Missam Sacrificium vocarunt, quod ibi sit Christus Sacrificium nostrum in Sacramento.

Sic Basiliius, sic Chrysostomus, sic Hieronymus, sic Augustinus eam appellare non dubitavit; Quocirca quid vetat Missam, in qua consecratur Panis in Corpus Christi, et Vinum in Sanguinem ejus, qui vere est Sacrificium nostrum, et hoc fieri in memoriam sui jussit, vocari Sacrificium: alioqui si id negabimus, non parum verendum est, ne cum Sacramentariis quos nunc vocant, qui veritatem Corporis et Sanguinis in Sacramento negant, et cum Anabaptistis consentire videamur, a qua suspicione sicut in animo nostro nos profitemur longe abesse, ita quoq; cupimus calumniantibus adversariis omnem obtreptandi ansem auferri: Atqui cum in Missa tum Sacerdos, tum populos contritus de peccatis se, ut hortatur Paulus, hostiam vivam, sanctam atq; Deo placentem exhibeat, laudes quas Deo canat et in gratiarum actione versetur, quis dubitare potest, ea quoq; ratione, Missam jure Sacrificium nominari, cum Propheta appellat Sacrificium laudis, et Paulus omnes hortetur, ut se hostias vivas exhibeant, id quod fit in Missa. Malachias etiam Propheta inquit, Ab ortu solis usq; ad occasum, magnum est nomen meum in gentibus, et in omni loco Sacrificatur, et offertur nomini meo oblatio munda, quia magnum est nomen meum in gentibus, dicit dominus exercituum. At quæ alia oblatio munda in omni loco inter gentes, nisi solus Christus aut quod aliud Sacrificium Christianorum, nisi Missa, ubi Commemoratio mortis Christi agitur? Nam aut aliquod inter gentes Christianorum oportet esse Sacrificium, aut mentitus est Propheta: quemnam quæso est oblatio munda, nisi solus Christus hostia nostra, qui in Sacramento altaris est sub Panis et Vini speciebus? quippe quantumcunq; nos ipsi nos Deo offeramus, hostiæ mundiæ non meremur nomen, quorum omnis justitia velut pannus est menstruæ: Itaq; constat Missam Sacrificium vocari ex Verbo Dei per Malachiam enunciato, quod cum ita sit, cur Missæ invidemus nomen Sacrificii, quod Propheta prædixit, et in qua Christus in Sacramento præsens est ipse mundi Sacrificium?

De Conjugio Sacerdotum.

Cælibatum Sacerdotum contra Scripturam, contra leges naturæ, contra honestatem, per pontificem Romanum asseritis introductum, cum Scriptura Sacerdotibus, sicut cæteris hominibus, conjugium permittat, nec possint naturam suam mutare, nec absq; singulari dono cælibes vivere: nam non omnes capiunt

verbum hoc, et Paulus inquit, propter fornicationem unamquisq; Uxorem suam habeat.

Hic primum ordiri juvat, ut locum illum Evangelii de tribus Eunuchorum generibus consideremus, quandoquidem Christus alios a natura Eunuchos esse asserit, alios per vim factos, quorum neutrum genus continentiae virtute splendet; quoniam alteros ad generandum natura, alteros violentia reddidit inutiles. Tertium vero genus eorum est, qui quamquam terrena generatione uti possunt, malunt continere, et se castrare propter Regnum Cœlorum; de quo genere Christus statim infert, qui potest capere, capiat, id quod nec de primo, nec de secundo Eunuchorum genere intelligi potest, quibus continentiae palma negata est, cum descendere in certamen nequeunt: tertium vero genus eorum est, qui continentiae student, et a licitis nuptiis abstinere malunt propter Regnum Cœlorum, quo Christum liberius atq; expeditius sequantur, ne terrenis nuptiis implicati, cogitare cogantur, ut inquit Paulus, quæ sunt mundi; ad quod genus Christus virginitatis auctor homines sapientissime invitat, inquit, Qui potest capere, capiat: per hoc quod inquit, capiat, homines adhortans ad capescendum certamen ut palmam arripiant, nempe Regnum Cœlorum, ad quod neminem hortaretur; si nemo carnem posset vincere; per hoc vero quod ait, qui potest capere, posse capi palmam indicans; alioqui si impossibile esset carnem superare, quorsum attineret dicere, Qui potest, si nemo id posset.

Præterea per ea verba Qui potest capere, quosdam etiam esse declarat, qui non facile possunt, nam nisi aliqui non facile possent capere, cur scerneret eos qui possunt; itaq; considerandas animi vires admonet, priusquam certamen aggrediare, ne temere arrepto certamine turpiter succumbas: Nec dixisset quosdam esse, qui se castraverunt propter Regnum Cœlorum, si caro easet insuperabilis, et nemo se castrare posset. Nec dubitandum est quin is qui hortatur ad subeundum certamen, gratiam suam sine qua nihil possent, his non defuturam demonstrat, qui nomina sua in militiam ei dederunt, quorum ille ipse dux futurus est, qui non modo in periculis suos milites invocatus nunquam deserit, sed stat ante januam et pulsat, paratus semper ad succurrendum, si quis ei aperiatur: Nam Paulus tentationes superari posse nos admonet, modo Dei auxilium imploremus inquit, Tentatio vos non apprehendit nisi humana, fidelis autem Deus qui non patietur vos tentari supra id quod potestis, sed faciet etiam cum tentatione proventum ut possitis sustinere. Quamobrem his qui continentiam semel profitentur, et eam postea turpiter deserunt, etiam atq; etiam considerandum est, ne nomen Dei blasphemare videantur, Christum accusantes deserti auxilii, cum sint ipsi desertores militiæ, et primo statim congressu terga dantes hosti: itaq; quod Paulus liberum cuiq; facit, ut propter fornicationem Uxorem suam habeat, id de his intelligi, qui continentiam non sunt professi, Paulus ipse nos docet, inquit, de viduis adolescentioribus, quæ cum luxuriatæ fuerunt in Christo nubere volunt, habentes damnationem quia primam fidem irritam fecerunt. Augustinus Pauli Doctrinam secutus Psal. lxxiii. inquit, alius ex Dei munere majus aliquid vovit, statuit, nec nuptias pati, qui non damnaretur si duxisset Uxorem; post votum quod Deo promissit si duxerit damnabitur: sic virgo quæ si nuberet non peccaret, Sanctimonialis si nupsit Christi adultera reputabitur, respexit enim retro de loco qui accesserat, exemplo Uxoris Loth, et sicut canis reversus ad vomitum reputatur.

Itidem Augustinus, Psal. lxxv. ample asserit votum semel emissum servandum esse. Hieronymus etiam adversus Jovinianum inquit, virgo quæ se Deo dicavit, si nubat, damnationem habet; atq; alio loco

adversus eundem, Virgines tuæ quas prudentissimo consilio (quod nemo unquam legerat, nec audierat de Apostolo) docuisti, melius esse nubere quam uri, occultos adulteros in apertos verterunt maritos; non suavit hoc Apostolus, non Electionis vas Virgilianum consilium est, conjugium vocat, hoc prætexit nomine culpam. Verbum ipsum Dei palam adversatur ubique ne rumpantur vota. Propheta inquit, vovete et reddite Domino Deo Vestro; in Deuteronomio quoq; scribitur, cum votum voveris Domino Deo tuo, non tardabis reddere, quia requirit illud Dominus Deus tuus, et si moratus, fueris, reputabitur tibi in peccatum; si nolueris polliceri absq; peccato eris, quod autem egressum est de labiis tuis, observabis et facies, sicut promisisti Domino Deo tuo et propria voluntate et ore locutus es. Ecclesiastes etiam inquit, si quid vovisti ne moreris reddere, sed quodcumq; voveris redde: Et in Numerorum libro scribitur, si quis virorum votum Domino voverit, aut se constrinxerit juramento, non faciat irritum Verbum suum, sed omne quod promisit implebit. Quocirca Ecclesia a principio sicut conjugatos Sacerdotes et Episcopos, qui sine crimine essent unius Uxoris viri, propter necessitatem admisit, cum tot alii quot possent ad edocendum orbem sufficere tunc non reperiuntur idonei, et tamen Paulus ipse Timotheum cœlibem elegit; ita quoq; si quis ad Sacerdotium cœlebs accersitus, postea Uxorem duxerit, semper a Sacerdotio deponebatur, secundum Canonem Neocesariensis Concilii, quod fuit ante Nicenum. Similiter in Calcedonensi Concilio, in cujus primo capite priora Concilia confirmantur, statuitur ut Diaconissa, si se nuptiis tradat, maneat sub Anathemate, et Virgo Deo dicata et Monachus jungentes se nuptiis, maneat excommunicati.

Hoc quoq; observandum est, quod in Canonibus Apostolorum habetur, tantummodo Lectores cantoresq; non conjugatos posse Uxores ducere, cæteris vero in clerum admissis postea Uxorem ducere nunquam licuit.

Qui vero conjugati ad Sacerdotium admissi erant, Uxores suas prætextu Religionis abicere nequaquam poterant, ut docet Canon Apostolicus; cumque in Niceno Concilio proponeretur de Presbyterorum jam ductis Uxoribus abjiciendis, restitit Paphnutius ne legitimæ Uxores pellerentur, cujus sententiam, cum Canone Apostolorum de non abjiciendis Uxoribus concordantem, omnes sunt secuti.

Cæterum in Niceno Concilio nihil unquam propositum fuit, ut Sacerdotes post Sacerdotium Uxores ducerent, quod jam ante si erit prohibitum, ut si quis contrarium auderet, ducens postea Uxorem, deponeretur a Sacerdotio, ut supra dictum est; itaq; Paphnutius de non abjiciendis jam ductis ante Sacerdotium Uxoribus, non autem de ducendis post Sacerdotium aperte locutus est.

Itaq; neq; Canon aliquis Apostolicus, neq; Concilium Nicenum quicquam habet ejusmodi ut in Sacerdotium admissi, postea Uxores ducant, sicuti vos allegatis.

His concordat sexta Synodus in qua sancitum est, quod si quis à clero vellet Uxorem ducere, ante subdiaconatum id faceret, postea nequaquam liceret, nec ulla usquam libertas Sacerdotibus in sexta Synodo datur post Sacerdotium Uxores ducendi, sicut vos asseritis.

Itaq; a principio nascentis Ecclesiæ, plane compertum est nullo unquam tempore licuisse Sacerdoti post Sacerdotium Uxorem ducere; atq; ubicunq; id fuit attentatum, id non fuit impune, nam tantum nefas ausus deponeretur a Sacerdotio. Paulus Apostolus inquit, de conjugibus loquens, nolite fraudare invicem nisi forte ex consensu ad tempus, ut vacetis orationi. Hieronymus in Apologia ad Pammachium ait, Paulus Apostolus dicit, Quando coimus cum Uxoribus nos orare non posse, si per coitum quod minus

same, and that our people may thereto the better know their duties to us, being their king and sovereign lord.

Thirdly; We straitly charge and command you, that neither in your private communications you shall use any words that may sound to the contrary of this our commandment, ne you shall keep or retain any man of any degree, that shall in his words privately or openly, directly or indirectly, speak in these matters of the ceremonies, contentiously or contemptuously; but we will that in case ye have, or shall have towards you any such person that will not better temper his tongue, you shall as an offender and a seductor of our people, send the same in sure custody to us and our council, to be punished as shall appertain; and sem- blably to do with other strangers whom ye shall hear to be notable offenders in that part.

Fourthly; Our pleasure and commandment is, that you shall on your behalf, give strait commandment upon like pain of deprivation and further punishment, to all parsons, vicars, curates, and governors of religious houses, colleges, and other places ecclesiastical within your diocese, that they and every of them shall, touching the indifferent praise of ceremonies, the avoiding of contentious and contemptuous communication, concerning any of the same, and the distinct and plain reading of our said articles, observe and perform, in their churches, monasteries, and other houses ecclesiastical aforesaid, the very same order that is before to you prescribed. And further, that you permit nor suffer any man, of what degree soever in learning, strangers or other, to preach in any place within your said diocese out of his own church, by virtue of any license by us, or any other of our ministers, granted before the fifteenth day of this month, neither in your presence nor elsewhere, unless he be a man of such honesty, virtue, learning, and judgment as you shall think able for that purpose, and one whom in manner you dare answer for.

Finally; Whereas we be advertised that divers priests have presumed to marry themselves, contrary to the custom of our church of England, our pleasure is, Ye shall make secret enquiry within your diocese, whether there be any such resident within the same or not: and in case ye shall find that there be any priests that have so presumed to marry themselves, and have sithence nevertheless used and exercised in anything the office of priesthood, we charge you, as ye will answer upon the pains aforesaid, not to conceal their doings therein, but rather to signify their demeanour to our council, or to cause them to be apprehended, and so sent up unto us accordingly. Given under our signet at our castle of Windsor, the 19th day of November, in the 28th year of our reign.

X.—*Tonstall's Arguments for the Divine Institution of Auricular Confession; with some Notes written on the Murgent by King Henry's own hand. An Original.*

[Cotton Libr. Cleop. E. 5.]

Quod Confessio Auricularis sit de Jure Divino.

PROBARI videtur ex illo loco Matthæi iii. ubi Joanne Baptista in deserto prædicante penitentiam, exhibat ad eum Hierosolyma et omnis Judæa, et baptizabantur ab eo in Jordane confidentes peccata sua; quem locum Chrysostomus ita exponit, inquit, Confessio peccatorum est testimonium Conscientiæ confitentis Deum, qui enim timet Judicium Dei peccata sua non erubescat confiteri; qui autem erubescit non timet, perfectus enim timor solvit omnem pudorem; illic enim turpitudine confessionis aspicitur, ubi futuri judicii poena non creditur. Nunquid nescimus

quia Confessio peccatorum habet pudorem, et quia hoc ipsum erubescere poena est gravis, sed ideo magis nos jubet Deus confiteri peccata nostra, ut verecundiam patiamur pro poena? nam et hoc ipsum pars est Judicii, O misericordia Dei! quem totiens ad iracundiam excitavimus, sufficit ei! solus pudor pro poena.

Si verecundia pro poena est apud Deum, ea autem non continget ex confessione facta soli Deo, nam nemo rationis compos ignorat etiam absque Confessione. Deum peccata nostra scire, de Confessione facta homini necesse est intelligatur. Præterea ipsa Verba demonstrant quod Joanni Baptiste confessi sunt peccata sua, nam dixit eis, facite ergo fructum dignum pœnitentia, quod apte dicere non poterat, nisi pœnitentes eos ex confessione sibifecta rescivisset.

Beda Marci I.

Et Baptizabantur ab illo in Jordane flumine, confidentes peccata sua. Exemplum confitentium peccata ac meliorem vitam promittendi datur eis, qui Baptisma accipere desiderant, sicut etiam prædicante Paulo in Epheso multi credentium veniebant, confitentes et annunciantes actus suos, quatenus abdicata vita veteri, renovari mererentur in Christo.

Scribitur quoque in Evangelio Joannis xxi. Quorum remisistis peccata, remittuntur eis, et quorum retinueritis, retenta sunt: et Matth. xviii. Quæcunque ligaveritis super terram erunt ligata in Cœlo, et quæcunque solveritis super terram, erunt soluta in Cœlo. Remittere autem et solvere nemo potest id quod ignorat, occulta autem peccata præter peccantem novit nisi solus Deus, quare nisi peccata aperiantur Sacerdoti, nec ea ligare nec solvere posset. Et quemadmodum Sacratissima tua Majestas, si commissionem aliquibus dedisset audiendi et terminandi negotium aliquod, non possent iudices rem ignorantes nisi negotio coram eis patefacto causam finire, viz. propter culpam litigatorum non comparentium coram eis; sic nec Sacerdotes ligare et solvere possunt peccata quæ ignorant. Itaque cum Deus Sacerdotem velut medicum Spiritualem Ecclesiæ dederit, si quis enim sua vulnera celat ipse sua culpa perit, cum tamen de salute sua deberet esse sollicitus, sicut Paulus ad Phil. ii. admonet, inquit, cum metu et tremore Salutem vestram operamini.

Origines in Levit. Homilia 2. loquens de Remissionibus Peccatorum.

Eat adhuc et septima, licet dura et laboriosa, per penitentiam remissio peccatorum, cum lavat peccator lacrimis stratum suum, et fiunt ei lacrimæ suæ panis die et nocte, et cum non erubescit Sacerdoti Domini indicare peccatum suum, et querere medicinam secundum eum qui ait, Dixi pronuntiabo adversum me injustitiam meam Domino, et tu remisisti impietatem cordis mei, in quo impletur et illud quod Jacobus Apostolus dicit, Si quis autem infirmatur, vocet Presbyteros Ecclesiæ, et imponent ei manus, ungentes eum oleo in nomine Domini, et oratio fidei salvabit infirmum, et si in peccatis fuerit remittentur ei.

Origenes Homilia 2. in Psal. 37.

Intellige mihi fidelem quidem hominem sed tamen infirmum, qui etiam vinci ab aliquo peccato potuit, et propter hoc mugientem pro delictis suis et omnimodo curam vulneris sui sanitatemque requirentem,

¹ Nota bene de solo pudore.

² Fallax.

³ Exemplum dicit non præceptum.

⁴ Non præcepto.

⁵ Huic respondendum est. Absolutio datur in remedium peccatorum petentibus tantum, nam si non pettero.

⁶ Exemplum bene declarat rem, sed non perire positum.

⁷ De sua opinione loquens.

⁸ Male sentit qui abutitur Scriptura.

⁹ Nunquam is modus unctiois in Confessione utobatur.

licet praeventus sit et lapsus, volentem tamen medelam ac salutem reparare; si ergo hujusmodi homo memor delicti sui, confiteatur quae commisit, et humana confusione parvi pendat eos, qui exprobrant eum confitentem, et notant vel irrident¹, ille autem intelligens per hoc veniam sibi dari, et in die Resurrectionis pro his quibus nunc confunditur coram hominibus, tunc ante Angelos Dei confusionem atque opprobria evasurum, ut nolit tegere et occultare maculam suam, sed pronunciet delictum suum, nec velit esse Sepulchrum dealbatum, quod deforis quidem appareat hominibus speciosum, id est ut videntibus se quasi justus appareat, intus autem sit repletus omni immunditie et ossibus mortuorum.

Et paulo post, Quoniam iniquitatem meam pronuncio. Pronunciationem iniquitatis, id est confessionem peccati, frequentius diximus, vide ergo quid edocet nos scriptura divina, quia oportet peccatum non celare intrinsecus; fortassis enim sicut ii qui habent intus inclusam escam indigestam, aut humoris, vel flegmatis stomacho graviter et moleste imminentem, si vomuerunt relevantur; ita etiam hi qui peccarunt, si quidem occultant et retinent intra se peccatum intrinsecus urgentur, et propemodum suffocantur a phlegmate vel humore peccati: Si autem ipse sui accusator fiat, dum accusat semetipsum, simul evomit et delictum, atque omnem morbi digerit causam. Tantummodo circumspecte diligentius cui debeas confiteri peccatum tuum, proba prius medicum cui debeas causam languoris exponere, qui sciat infirmari cum infirmante, flere cum flente, qui condolendi et compatiendi noverit disciplinam, ut ita demum si quid ille dixeret, qui se prius et eruditum medicum ostenderit et misericordem, si quid consilii dederit, facias et sequaris, si intellexerit et praeviderit talem esse languorem tuum, qui in conventu totius Ecclesiae exponi debeat et curari, ex quo fortassis et ceteri edificari poterunt, et tu ipse facile sanari, multa hac deliberatione et satis perito medici illius consilio procurandum est.

Cyprianus in Sermones de Lapsis.

Denique², quando et fide majore et timore meliores sunt, qui quamvis nullo Sacrificii aut libelli facinore constricti, quoniam tamen de hoc vel cogitaverunt, hoc ipsum apud Sacerdotes Dei dolenter et simpliciter confitentur, exomologesin conscientiae faciunt, animi sui pondus exponunt, salutarem medelam parvis licet et modicis vulneribus exquirunt, scientes scriptum esse, Deus non deridetur; derideri et circumveniri Deus non potest, nec astutia aliqua fallente deludi: plus imo delinquit qui secundum hominem Deum cogitans evadere se poenam criminis credit si non palam crimen admisit. Christus in praeceptis suis dicit, qui confusus me fuerit, confundet eum filius hominis, et Christianum se putat qui Christianus esse aut confunditur aut veretur: Quomodo potest esse cum Christo, qui ad Christum pertinere aut erubescit aut metuit? minus plane peccaverit non videndo idola, nec sub oculis circumstantis atque insultantis populi sanctitatem fidei profanando, non polluendo manus suas funestis Sacrificiis, nec sceleratis cibis ora maculando; hoc eo proficit ut sit minor culpa, non ut innocens conscientia; facilius potest ad veniam criminis pervenire, non est tamen immunis a crimine, nec cessit in agenda poenitentia, atque in Domini misericordia deprecanda, ne quod minus esse in qualitate delicti videtur, in neglecta satisfactione cumuletur. Confiteantur singuli³, queso vos fratres, delictum suum, dum adhuc qui deliquit in saeculo est, dum admitti confessio ejus potest, dum satisfactio et remissio facta

¹ Non ait necesse est ut confitentur, jam de contemptu loquitur.

² Fateat Cyprianus Confessionem auricularem nobis non plus praecepti quam virginitatem,

per Sacerdotes apud Dominum grata est; convertamur ad Dominum mente tota, et poenitentiam criminis veris doloribus exprimentes Dei misericordiam deprecemur; illi se anima prosternat, illi maestitia satisfaciatur, illi spes omnis incumbat; rogare qualiter debeamus dicit ipse, Revertimini inquit, ad me ex toto corde vestro, simulque et jejunio, et fletu, et planctu, et scindite corda vestra et non vestimenta.

Præterea Esaias peccatorem admonet Cap. 42. secundum 70. inquit, Dic tu prior iniquitates tuas ut justificeris; et Salomon Prov. 18. ait, Justus prior est accusator sui, atque ideo ne Satan nos in judicio coram omnibus accuset, nos illum in hac vita, per priorem confessionem delicti nostri factam aliis prævenire debemus, nam Deum prævenire in nostri accusatione nequimus, qui omnia facta nostra jam novit, immo vero antequam fierent ea præcivit; quare Confessio illa necesse est, intelligatur, de extranea confessione facta Dei ministro qui id ignoravit, nam Deum nihil unquam latuit non modo jam factum, sed ne futurum quidem quicquam.

Circa personas vero ministrorum quibus fieri deberet Confessio, atque circa tempora Ecclesiae nonnunquam aliquid immutarunt, et varie pro regionibus statuerunt.

Et ne tuam sollicitudinem, Sacratissima Majestas, circa publicam Regni tui tranquillitatem stabiliendam sanctissime occupatam, longa multorum lectione, quæ præter i ta afferre possem, remorari videar, plura adjungere supersedebo, illud tantummodo precatus, ut meam hanc scribendi temeritatem boni consulat, quam ego totam perspicacissimo atque eruditissimo Majestatis tuæ judicio considerandam pensitandamque committo. Atque ita felicissime valeat Sacratissima tua Majestas, cujus Regnum et prosperrimum et in saeculum diuturnum nobis fore precamur.

XI.—A Letter of King Henry's to Tostall, Bishop of Durham, against Auricular Confession being of Divine Institution. An Original.

[Cott. Libr. Cleop. E. 5.]

SINCE me thought (my lord of Durham) that both the bishops of York, Winchester, and your reasons and texts were so fully answered this other day, in our house as, to my seeming and supposal, the most of the house was satisfied; I marvelled not a little why afterwards you have sent to me this now your writing, being in a manner few other texts or reasons than there were declared both by the bishop of Canterbury and me, to make small or nothing to your intended purpose: but either I esteem that you do it to prove my simple judgment alone, which indeed doth not much use (though not the wisest) to call in aid the judgments of other learned men, and so by mine ignorant answer, seem to win the field; or else that you be too much blinded in your own fancy and judgment, to think that a truth, which by learning you have not yet proved, nor I fear me cannot by Scriptures, nor any other direct and probable grounds, though I know mine unsufficiency in learning, if the matter were indifferent, and that the balance stood equal, since I take the verity of the cause rather to favour the part I take than yours; it giveth me therefore great boldness, not presuming in learning, but in justness of the cause, seeing by writing you have provoked me to it, to make answer to your arguments: therefore I beginning now to reply to your first allegation, shall essay to prove, if I can, that your own author in place by you alleged, maketh plain against your opinion; for as you allege him, St. Chrysostom saith, *Quod*

¹ Si præceptum haberet non persuaderet,

² Illi omnes suadent, sed non precipiunt.

³ Cum nec cui nec tempus designatur non firmum præceptum datur.

sufficit solus pudor pro pœna, then auricular confession is not by commandment necessary; for if it were, this word (*Solus*) is by your author ill set; therefore your author in this place furthereth you but little. To your Fallax argument, I deny your consequent, founded only upon small reason, which is the ground of your Fallax argument: which reason I need not take away, for your alleged author doth show too plainly, in his 5 Homily, Tom. 5, that you gather wrong sense upon his words; for he saith, with much more touching this matter, these few words, *Non hominibus peccato delegere cogo*; then this other text before rehearsed, is not to be understood as you will by writing it. Further, methinketh, I need not (God thank you) too greatly study for authors to conclude your wrong taking of texts, for those yourself allege serveth me well to purpose: for all your labour is to prove that auricular confession were by God commanded, and both your authorities of Bede and Paul sheweth nothing but that they did confess their sins, and yet do not they affirm that it was by commandment; wherefore they make for mine argument and not for yours. Your other texts, of John 21 and Matthew 10, were so thoroughly answered this other day, and so manifestly declared not to appertain to our grounded argument, that I marvel you be not ashamed eft-soons to put them in writing, and to found your argument now so fondly on them; for what fonder argument can be made to prove thereby a necessity of confession, than to say, If you confess not, I cannot forgive? Would a thief which committeth felony, think himself obliged by the law to disclose his felony, if the law say no more, but if thou confess not I cannot forgive thee? or would theft the sooner therefore to be forgiven? This is matter so apparent, that none can but perceive except he would not see. As touching Origen's places by you alleged; as the first, in Leviticum, sheweth that we be as much bound *lavare stratum lacrimis*, as *dicere sacerdoti*, no man, I think, will affirm that we be bound to do; and yet he affirmeth not that any of them is commanded: the text also whereby ye would approve his so saying, doth not yet speak *quod pronuntiabo justitiam meam sacerdoti*, but *Domino*: the other o. James seemeth better to make for extreme unction, than for confession; for when was ever the use, that folk coming only to confession, were wont to be anointed with oil? therefore this makes nothing to your argument. As touching Origen in Psalm xxxvii. he saith not, *quod obligamur dicere sacerdoti*, but *si confiteantur*; and seemeth rather to persuade men that they should not *parripendere confessionem*, (as all good folk would) than that they were obliged to confess them to a priest. Though *Cyprian de Lapsis* doth praise them which do confess their faults to priests, yet doth he confess that we be not bound to do so; for he saith in the highest of his praise these words, How much be they then higher in faith, and better in fear of God, which though they be not bound by any deed of sacrifice, or book, yet be they content sorrowfully to confess to the priest sins! He knowledgeth no bond in us by neither fact of sacrifice or libel, why allege you (though he praise auricular confession) that we should be bound by God and law thereto? This is no proof thereof, neither by reason nor by Scripture, nor any good authority. And whereas he saith further, *Confiteantur singuli, quæso vos fratres, delictum suum*; this doth not argue a precept: nor yet the saying of Esay, cap. xliii. *secundum Septuaginta*; nor Solomon in the Proverbs x.

for these speak rather of knowledging our offence to God in our heart, than of auricular confession; after David the prophet's saying and teaching, when he said, *Tibi soli peccavi*, that was not to a priest. By the text also which you allege, beginning, *circa personas vero ministrorum*, &c. you do openly confess that the church hath not accepted auricular confession to be by God's commandment; or else by your saying and allegation, they have long erred: for you confess that the church hath divers times changed both to whom confession should be made, and times when; and that also they have changed divers ways for divers regions; if it were by God's commandment they might not do thus; wherefore, my lord, since I hear no other allegations, I pray you blame not me though I be not of your opinion; and of the both, I think that I have more cause to think you obstinate than you me, seeing your authors and allegations make so little to your purpose. And thus fare you well.

XII.—*A Definition of the Church, corrected in the Margent by King Henry's own hand. An Original.*

[Cotton Libr. Cleop. E. 5.]

De Ecclesia.

ECCLESIA præter alias acceptiones in Scripturis duas habet præcipuas: Unam, qua Ecclesia accipitur pro Congregatione Sanctorum et vere fidelium qui Christo capiti vere credunt, et sanctificantur Spiritu ejus; hæc autem una est, et vere Sanctum Corpus Christi sed Soli Deo¹ cognitum, qui hominum corda solus intuetur. Altera acceptio est, qua Ecclesia accipitur pro Congregatione omnium Hominum qui baptizati sunt in Christo, et non palam abnegant Christum, nec sunt² excommunicati³; quæ Ecclesiæ acceptio congruit ejus Statui in hac vita duntaxat, ubi habet malos bonis simul admixtos⁴, et debet esse cognita per Verbum et legitimum usum Sacramentorum ut possit audiri; sicut docet Christus, Qui Ecclesiam non audivit. Porro ad veram unitatem Ecclesiæ, requiritur ut sit consensus in recta Doctrina Fidei et administratione Sacramentorum.

Traditiones vero et ritus atq; Cæremoniæ quæ vel ad decorem, vel ordinem, vel Disciplinam Ecclesiæ ab hominibus sunt institutæ, non omnino necesse est, ut eædam sint ubiq; aut prorsus similes: hæc enim et variæ fuere et variari possunt⁵ pro regionum atq; morum diversitate et commodo⁶, sic tamen ut sint consentientes Verbo Dei: et quamvis in Ecclesia secundum posteriorem acceptionem mali sint bonis admixti, atq; etiam Ministeriis Verbi et Sacramentorum nonnunquam præsent, tamen cum ministrent non suo sed Christi nomine, mandato et autoritate, licet eorum ministerio uti tam in verbo audiendi quam recipiendis Sacramentis, juxta illud, Qui vos audit me audit; nec per eorum malitiam imminuitur effectus aut gratia donorum Christi rite accipientibus, sunt enim efficacia propter promissionem et ordinationem Christi etiam si per malos exhibeantur.

¹ Sponsa Christi cognita.

² Justo.

³ Aut obstinati.

⁴ Et cognitio hujus Ecclesiæ per venit per usum Verbi et Sacramentorum, acceptione, perfecta unitate, ac unanimi consensu acceptata.

⁵ Modo rectoribus placeant quibus semper obtemperandum est, tamen ut eorum institutio atq; lux Verbo Dei non adversetur.

⁶ Ista est Ecclesia nostra Catholica et Apostolica, cum qua nec Pontifex Romanus, nec quivis alius Pælatas aut Pontifex habet quicquid agere præterquam in suis Dioceses.

A COLLECTION OF RECORDS

ORIGINAL PAPERS;

OTHER INSTRUMENTS REFERRED TO IN THE SECOND PART OF THE HISTORY OF
THE REFORMATION OF THE CHURCH OF ENGLAND.

THE JOURNAL OF KING EDWARD'S REIGN,

WRITTEN WITH HIS OWN HAND.

The Original is in the Cotton Library. Nero C. 10.

THE year of our Lord 1537, was a prince born to king Henry VIII., by Jane Seimour then queen, who within few days after the birth of her son died, and was buried at the castle of Windsor. This child was christened by the duke of Norfolk, the duke of Suffolk, and the archbishop of Canterbury. Afterwards was brought up till he came to six years old among the women. At the sixth year of his age he was brought up in learning by master doctor Cox, who was after his almoner, and John Cheeke master of arts, two well-learned men, who sought to bring him up in learning of tongues, of the Scripture, of philosophy, and all liberal sciences. Also John Bellmaine, Frenchman, did teach him the French language. The tenth year not yet ended, it was appointed he should be created prince of Wales, duke of Cornwall, and count Palatine of Chester; at which time, being the year of our Lord 1547, the said king died of a dropsie as it was thought. After whose death incontinent came Edward earl of Hartford, and sir Anthony Brown, master of the horse, to convoy this prince to Enfield, where the earl of Hartford declared to him and his younger sister Elizabeth the death of their father.

Here he begins anew again.

After the death of king Henry VIII., his son Edward, prince of Wales, was come to at Hartford, by the earl of Hartford, and sir Anthony Brown, master of the horse; for whom before was made great preparation that he might be created prince of Wales, and afterward was brought to Enfield, where the death of his father was first shewed him; and the same day the death of his father was shewed in London, where was great lamentation and weeping: and suddenly he proclaimed king. The next day, being the
of he was brought to the Tower of London, where he tarried the space of three weeks; and in the mean season the council sat every day for the performance of the will, and at length thought best that the earl of Hartford should be made duke of Somerset, sir Thomas Seimour lord Sudley, the earl of Essex Marquess of Northampton, and divers knights should be made barons, as the lord Sheffield, with divers others. Also they thought best to chuse the duke of Somerset to be protector of the realm, and governor of the king's person during his minority; to which all the gentlemen and lords did agree, because he was the king's uncle on his mother's side. Also in this time the late king was buried at Windsor with much solemnity, and the officers broke their staves, hurling them into the grave; but they were restored to them again when they came to the Tower. The

lord Lisle was made earl of Warwick, and the lord great-chamberlainship was given to him; and the lord Sudley made admiral of England: all these things were done, the king being in the Tower. Afterwards all things being prepared for the coronation, the king then being but nine years old, passed through the City of London, as heretofore hath been used, and came to the palace of Westminster; and the next day came into Westminster-hall. And it was asked the people, whether they would have him to be their king? Who answered, yea, yea: then he was crowned king of England, France, and Ireland, by the archbishop of Canterbury, and all the rest of the clergy and nobles; and anointed with all such ceremonies as were accustomed, and took his oath, and gave a general pardon, and so was brought to the hall to dinner on Shrove Sunday, where he sat with the crown on his head, with the archbishop of Canterbury, and the lord protector; and all the lords sat at boards in the hall beneath, and the lord marshal's deputy, (for my lord of Somerset was lord marshal) rode about the hall to make room; then came in sir John Dimock, champion, and made his challenge, and so the king drank to him, and he had the cup. At night the king returned to his palace at Westminster, where there was justs and barriers; and afterward order was taken for all his servants being with his father, and being with the prince, and the ordinary and unordinary were appointed. In the mean season sir Andrew Dudley, brother to my lord of Warwick, being in the Paunsie, met with the Lion, a principal ship of Scotland, which thought to take the Paunsie without resistance; but the Paunsie approached her, and she shot, but at length they came very near, and then the Paunsie shooting off all one side, burst all the overlop of the Lion, and all her tackling, and at length boarded her and took her; but in the return, by negligence, she was lost at Harwich-Haven, with almost all her men.

In the month of May* died the French king, called Francis, and his son called Henry was proclaimed king. There came also out of Scotland an ambassador, but brought nothing to pass, and an army was prepared to go into Scotland. Certain injunctions were set forth, which took away divers ceremonies, and commissions sent to take down images, and certain homilies were set forth to be read in the church. Dr. Smith of Oxford recanted at Paul's certain opinions of the mass, and that Christ was not according to the order of Melchisedeck. The lord Seimour of Sudley married the queen, whose name was Katherine, with which marriage the lord protector was much offended.

There was great preparation made to go into Scotland,

* Should be March.

and the lord protector, the earl of Warwick, the lord Dacres, the lord Gray, and Mr. Brian, went with a great number of nobles and gentlemen to Barwick; where the first day after his coming, he mustered all his company, which were to the number of thirteen thousand footmen, and five thousand horsemen. The next day he marched on into Scotland, and so passed the Pease; then he burnt two castles in Scotland, and so passed a stright of a bridg, where three hundred Scots' light-horsemen set upon him behind him, who were discomfited. So he passed to Musselburgh, where the first day after he came, he went up to the hill, and saw the Scots, thinking them, as they were indeed, at least thirty-six thousand men; and my lord of Warwick was almost taken, chasing the earl of Huntley, by an ambush, but he was rescued by one Bertivell, with twelve hagbutters on horseback, and the ambush ran away.

The 10th day of September, the lord protector thought to get the hill, which the Scots seeing, passed the bridge over the river of Musselburgh, and strove for the higher ground, and almost got it; but our horsemen set upon them, who although they stayed them, yet were put to flight, and gathered together again by the duke of Somerset, lord protector, and the earl of Warwick, and were ready to give a new onset. The Scots being amazed with this, fled their ways, some to Edinburgh, some to the sea, and some to Dalkeith; and there were slain ten thousand of them, but of Englishmen fifty-one horsemen, which were almost all gentlemen, and but one footman. Prisoners were taken, the lord Huntley chancellor of Scotland, and divers other gentlemen; and slain of lairds one thousand. And Mr. Brian, Sadler, and Vane, were made bannerets.

After this battel Broughty Crag was given to the Englishmen, and Hume, and Roxburgh, and Heymouth, which were forfeited, and captains were put in them, and the lord of Somerset rewarded with 500*l.* lands. In the mean season, Stephen Gardiner bishop of Winchester, was, for not receiving the injunctions, committed to ward. There was also a parliament called, wherein all chaunteries were granted to the king, and an extream law made for vagabonds, and divers other things. Also the Scots besieged Broughty-Crag, which was defended against them all, by Sir Andrew Dudley Knight, and oftentimes their ordnance was taken and marred.

YEAR II.

A triumph was, where six gentlemen did challenge all comers, at barriers, jousts, and tournay; and also that they would keep a fortress with thirty, with them against an hundred, or under, which was done at Greenwich.

Sir Edward Bellingam being sent into Ireland deputy, and sir Anthony St. Leiger revoked, he took O'Canor, and O'Mor, briuing the lords that rebelled into subjection; and O'Canor and O'Mor leaving their lordships, had a-piece an 100*l.* pension.

The Scots besieged the town of Haddington, where the captain, Mr. Willford, every day made issues upon them, and slew divers of them. The thing was very weak, but for the men, who did very manfully. Oftentimes Mr. Holcroft and Mr. Palmer did victual it by force, passing through the enemies; and at last the Rhinegrave unawares set upon Mr. Palmer, which was there with near a thousand and five hundred horsemen, and discomfited him, taking him, Mr. Bowes warden of the West Marches, and divers other, to the number of four hundred, and slew a few. (Upon St. Peter's day, the bishop of Winchester was committed to the Tower.) Then they made divers brags, and

they had the like made to them. Then went the earl of Shrewsbury general of the army, with twenty-two thousand men, and burnt divers towns and fortresses; which the Frenchmen and Scots hearing, levied their siege in the month of September; in the levying of which there came one to Tiberio, who as then was in Haddington, and setting forth the weakness of the town, told him, that all honour was due to the defenders, and none to the assailers; so the siege being levied, the earl of Shrewsbury entred it, and victualled, and reinforced it. After his departing by night, there came into the outer court at Haddington two thousand men armed, taking the townsmen in their shirts; who yet defended them, with the help of the watch, and at length, with ordnance, issued out upon them, and slew a marvellous number, bearing divers assaults, and at length drove them home, and kept the town safe.

A parliament was called, where an uniform order of prayer was institute, before made by a number of bishops and learned men gathered together in Windsor. There was granted a subsidy, and there was a notable disputation of the sacrament in the parliament house. Also the lord Sudley, admiral of England, was condemned to death, and died in March ensuing. Sir William Sharrington was also condemned for making false coin, which he himself confessed. Divers also were put in the Tower.

YEAR III.

Hume castle was taken by night, and treason, by the Scots. Mr. Willford, in a skirmish, was left of his men, sore hurt and taken. There was a skirmish at Broughty-Craig, wherein Mr. Lutterell, captain after Mr. Dudley, did burn certain villages, and took Monsieur de Toge prisoner. The Frenchmen by night assaulted Boulingsberg, and were manfully repulsed, after they had made faggots with pitch, tar, tallow, rosin, powder, and wildfire, to burn the ships in the haven of Bolein, but they were driven away by the Boloners, and their faggots taken.

In Mr. Bowes place, who was warden of the West Marches, was put the lord Dacres; and in the lord Gray's place, the earl of Rutland; who after his coming entred Scotland, and burnt divers villages, and took much prey. The people began to rise in Wiltshire, where sir William Herbert did put them down, over-run, and slew them. Then they rose in Sussex, Hampshire, Kent, Gloucestershire, Suffolk, Warwickshire, Essex, Hartfordshire, a piece of Leicestershire, Worcestershire, and Rutlandshire, where by fair persuasions, partly of honest men among themselves, partly by gentlemen, they were often appeased; and because certain commissions were sent down to pluck down inclosures, they did rise again. The French king perceiving this, caused war to be proclaimed; and hearing that our ships lay at Jersey, sent a great number of his galleys, and certain ships to surprise our ships; but they being at anchor, beat the French, that they were fain to retire with the loss of one thousand of their men.

At the same time the French king passed by Bolein to New Haven, with his army, and took Blackness by treason, and the Almain camp; which done, New Haven surrendered. There were also in a skirmish, between three hundred English footmen, and three hundred French horsemen, six noblemen slain. Then the French king came with his army to Bolein, which they seeing, razed Boulingsberg; but because of the plague, he was compelled to retire, and Chastilion was left behind, as governor of the army. In the mean season, because there was a rumour that I was dead, I passed through London.

After that they rose in Oxfordshire, Devonshire,

Norfolk, and Yorkshire. To Oxford, the lord Gray of Wilton was sent with fifteen hundred horsemen and footmen ; whose coming, with the assembling of the gentlemen of the country, did so abash the rebels, that more than half of them ran their ways, and other that tarried were some slain, some taken, and some hanged. To Devonshire the lord-privy seal was sent, who, with his band, being but small, lay at Honington, whiles the rebels besieged Exeter, who did use divers pretty feats of war, for after divers skirmishes, when the gates were burnt, they in the city did continue the fire till they had made a rampier within ; also after, when they were undermined, and powder was laid in the mine, they within drowned the powder and the mine with water they cast in ; which the lord privy-seal having thought to have gone to enforce them a by-way, of which the rebels having spial, cut all the trees betwixt St. Mary Outrie and Exeter ; for which cause the lord privy-seal burnt that town, and thought to return home. The rebels kept a bridge behind his back, and so compelled him, with his small band, to set upon them, which he did, and overcame them, killing six hundred of them, and returning home without any loss of men. Then the lord Gray, and Spinola, with their bands, came to him, and afterward Gray, with two hundred of Reading, with which bands he being reinforced, came to raise the siege at Exeter, for because they had scarcity of victual ; and as he passed from Honington, he came to a little town of his own, whither came but only two ways, which they had reinforced with two bulwarks made of earth, and had put to the defence of the same about two thousand men ; and the rest they had laid, some at a bridge called Honington-bridge, partly at a certain hedg in a high-way, and the most part at the siege of Exeter. The reward of the horsemen, of which Travers was captain, set upon the one bulwark, the ward and battail on the other ; Spinola's band kept them occupied at their wall ; at length Travers drove them into the town, which the lord privy-seal burnt. Then they ran to a bridge thereby, from whence being driven, there were in a plain about nine hundred of them slain.

The next day they were met about other two thousand of them, at the entry of a high-way, who first desired to talk, and in the mean season fortified themselves ; which being perceived, they ran their ways, and that same night the city of Exeter was delivered of the siege. After that they gathered at Launston, to whom the lord privy-seal and Sir Will. Herbert went and overthrew them, taking their chief heads and executing them. Nevertheless some sailed to Bridgewater, and went about sedition, but were quickly repressed. Hitherto of Devonshire. At this time the black gally was taken. Now to Norfolk. The people suddenly gathered together in Norfolk, and increased to a great number, against whom the lord marquess of Northampton was sent, with the number of one thousand and sixty horsemen, who winning the town of Norwich, kept it one day and one night ; and the next day in the morning, with the loss of one hundred men, departed out of the town, among whom the lord Sheffield was slain. There were taken divers gentlemen and servingmen, to the number of thirty ; with which victory the rebels were very glad ; but afterward hearing that the earl of Warwick came against them, they began to stay upon a strong plot of ground upon a hill near to the town of Norwich, having the town confederate with them. The earl of Warwick came with the number of six thousand foot, and fifteen hundred horsemen, and entered into the town of Norwich ; which having won it, was so weak that he could scarcely defend it ; and oftentimes the rebels came into the streets, killing divers of his men,

and were repulsed again ; yea, and the townsmen were given to mischief themselves ; so, having endured their assaults three days, and stopped their victuals, the rebels were constrained, for lack of meat, to remove ; whom the earl of Warwick followed with one thousand Almaines, and his horsemen, leaving the English footmen in the town, and overcame them in plain battel, killing two thousand of them, and taking Ket their captain, who in January following was hanged at Norwich, and his head hanged out ; Ket's brother was taken also, and punished alike. In the mean season Chastilion besieged the peer of Bolloin made in the haven, and after long battery, twenty thousand shot or more, gave assault to it, and were manfully repulsed ; nevertheless they continued the siege still, and made often skirmishes, and false assaults, in which they won not much. Therefore seeing they profited little that way, they planted ordnance against the mouth of the haven, that no victual might come to it ; which our men seeing, set upon them by night and slew divers Frenchmen, and dismounted many of their peeces ; nevertheless the French came another time and planted their ordnance toward the sea-side of the sand-hills, and beat divers ships of victualers at the entry of the haven ; but yet the Englishmen, at the king's adventure, came into the haven and refreshed divers times the town. The Frenchmen, seeing they could not that way prevail, continued their battery but small, on which before they had spent fifteen hundred shot in a day, but loaded a galley with stones and gravel, which they let go in the stream to sink it ; but or e're it sunk, it came near to one bank, where the Bulloners took it out, and brought the stones to reinforce the peer. Also at Guines was a certain skirmish, in which there was about an hundred Frenchmen slain, of which some were gentlemen and noblemen. In the mean season in England rose great stirs, like to increase much if it had not been well foreseen. The council, about nineteen of them, were gathered in London, thinking to meet with the lord protector, and to make him amend some of his disorders. He fearing his state, caused the secretary, in my name, to be sent to the lords, to know for what cause they gathered their powers together : and if they meant to talk with him, that they should come in a peaceable manner. The next morning, being the 6th of October and Saturday, he commanded the armour to be brought down out of the armoury of Hampton-court, about five hundred harnesses to arm both his and my men, with all the gates of the house to be rampiered, people to be raised : people came abundantly to the house. That night, with all the people, at nine or ten of the clock of the night, I went to Windsor, and there was watch and ward kept every night. The lords sat in open places of London, calling for gentlemen before them, and declaring the causes of accusation of the lord protector, and caused the same to be proclaimed. After which time few came to Windsor, but only mine own men of the guard, whom the lords willed, fearing the rage of the people so lately quieted. Then began the protector to treat by letters, sending sir Philip Hobbey, lately come from his ambassage in Flanders, to see to his family, who brought in his return a letter to the protector, very gentle, which he delivered to him, another to me, and another to my house, to declare his faults, ambition, vain-glory, entering into rash wars in my youth, negligent looking on Newhaven, enriching of himself of my treasure, following of his own opinion, and doing all by his own authority, &c. Which letters were openly read, and immediately the lords came to Windsor, took him, and brought him through Holborn to the

Tower. Afterward I came to Hampton-court, where they appointed, by my consent, six lords of the council to be attendant on me, at least two and four knights; lords, the marquess of Northampton, the earls of Warwick and Arundel, the lords Russell, St. John, and Wentworth; knights, sir Andr. Dudley, sir Edw. Rogers, sir Tho. Darcy, and sir Tho. Wroth. After I came through London to Westminster. The lord of Warwick made admiral of England; sir Thomas Cheiney sent to the emperor for relief, which he could not obtain; Master Wotton made secretary; the lord protector by his own agreement and submission, lost his protectorship, treasurer, marshalship, all his moveables, and more, 2000*l.* land, by act of parliament. The earl of Arundel committed to his house, for certain crimes of suspicion against him, as plucking down of bolts and locks at Westminster, giving of my stuff away, &c., and put to fine of 12000*l.* to be paid 1000*l.* yearly, of which he was after relieved.

Also Mr. Southwell committed to the Tower for certain bills of sedition, written with his hand, and put to fine of 500*l.* Likewise sir Tho. Arundel, and six, then committed to the Tower for conspiracies in the west places. A parliament, where was made a manner to consecrate, priests, bishops, and deacons. Mr. Paget surrendering his comptrollership, was made lord Paget of Beaudesert, and cited into the higher house by a writ of parliament. Sir Anthony Wingfield, before vice-chamberlain, made comptroller. Sir Thomas Darcy made vice-chamberlain. Guidotti made divers errands from the constable of France to make peace with us; upon which were appointed four commissioners to treat; and they, after long debate, made a treaty as followeth.

Anno 1549. Mart. 24.

Peace concluded between England, France, and Scotland. By our English side, John earl of Bedford, lord privy seal, lord Paget de Beaudesert, sir William Petre secretary, and sir John Mason. On the French side, monsieur de Rochepot, monsieur Chastilion, Guillaud de Mortier, and Boucheral de Sany, upon these conditions, that all titles, tribute, and defences, should remain; that the faults of one man, except he be not punished, should not break the league. That the ships of merchandise shall pass to and fro: that pirates shall be called back, and ships of war. That prisoners shall be delivered of both sides. That we shall not war with Scotland. That Bolein, with the pieces of new conquest, and two basilisks, two demy-cannons, three culverins, two demy-culverins, three sacres, six falcons, ninety-four hagbutts, a crook, with wooden tails, and twenty-one iron pieces; and Lauder, and Dunglas, with all the ordnance save that that came from Haddington, shall, within six months after this peace proclaimed, be delivered; and for that the French to pay 200000 scutes within three days after the delivery of Bolein, and 200000 scutes on our Lady-day in harvest next ensuing; and that if the Scots raze Lauder, and we should raze Roxburg and Heymouth. For the performance of which, on the 7th of April, should be delivered at Guisness and Ardes, these hostages;—marquis de Means, monsieur Trimoville, monsieur D'Anguien, monsieur Monmorancy, monsieur Henandiere, vicedam de Chartres, my lord of Suffolk, my lord of Hartford, my lord Talbot, my lord Fitzwarren, my lord Martavers, my lord Strange.

Also that at the delivery of the town, ours should come home, and at the first payment three of theirs; and that if the Scots raze Lauder and Dunglas, we must raze Roxburg and Heymouth, and none after fortify them, with comprehension of the emperor.

25. This peace, Anno 1550, proclaimed at Calais and Bolein.

29. In London, bonfires.

30. A sermon in thanksgiving for peace, and *Te Deum* sung.

31. My lord Somerset was delivered of his bonds, and came to court.

April.

2. The parliament prorogued to the second day of the term in October ensuing.

3. Nicholas Ridley, before of Rochester, made bishop of London, and received his oath.

Thomas Thirlby, before of Westminster, made bishop of Norwich, and received his oath.

4. The bishop of Chichester, before a vehement affirmer of transubstantiation, did preach against it at Westminster in the preaching place.

Removing to Greenwich from Westminster.

6. Our hostages passed the narrow seas between Dover and Calais.

7. Monsieur de Fermin, gentleman of the king's privy chamber, passed from the French king by England to the Scotch queen, to tell her of the peace.

An ambassador came from Gustave the Swedish king, called Andrew, for a surer amity touching merchandize.

9. The hostages delivered on both the sides, for the ratification of the league with France and Scotland; for because some said to monsieur Rochfort lieutenant, that monsieur de Guise, father to the marquis of Means, was dead, and therefore the delivery was put over a day.

8. My lord Warwick made general-warden of the North, and Mr. Herbert president of Wales; and the one had granted to him 1000 marks land, the other 500; and lord Warwick 100 horsemen at the king's charge.

9. Licences signed for the whole council, and certain of the privy chamber to keep among them 2340 retainers.

10. My lord Somerset taken into the council. Guidotti the beginner of the talk for peace, recompensed with knightdom, 1000 crowns reward, 1000 crowns pension, and his son with 250 crowns pension.

Certain prisoners for light matters dismissed; agreed for delivery of French prisoners taken in the wars. Peter Vane sent ambassador to Venice. Letters directed to certain Irish nobles, to take a blind legate coming from the pope, calling himself bishop of Armagh. Commissions for the delivery of Bulloin, Lauder, and Dunglass.

6. The Flemings men-of-war would have passed our ships without vailing bonet; which they seeing, shot at them, and drove them at length to vail bonet, and so depart.

11. Monsieur Trimaul, monsieur vicedam de Chartres, and monsieur Henaudie, came to Dover, the rest tarried at Calais till they had leave.

13. Order taken, that whosoever had benefices given them, should preach before the king in or out of Lent, and every Sunday there should be a sermon.

16. The three hostages aforesaid came to London, being met at Debtford by the lord Gray of Wilton, lord Bray, with divers other gentlemen, to the number of twenty, and servingmen an hundred, and so brought into the city, and lodged there, and kept houses every man by himself.

18. Mr. Sidney and Mr. Nevel made gentlemen of the privy chamber. Commission given to the lord Cobham deputy of Calais, William Petre chief secretary, and sir John Mason French secretary, to see the French king take his oath, with certain instructions; and that sir John Mason should be ambassador legier.

Commission to sir John Davies and sir William Sharrington, to receive the first payment, and deliver the quittance.

19. Sir John Mason taken into the privy-council, and William Thomas made clerk of the same.

Whereas the emperor's ambassador desired leave, by letters patents, that my lady Mary might have mass; it was denied him. And where he said we broke the league with him, by making peace with Scotland; it was answered, that the French king, and not I, did comprehend them, saying, that I might not invade them without occasion.

10. Lauther being besieged of the Scots, the captain hearing that the peace was proclaimed in England, delivered it, as the peace did will him, taking sureties, that all the bargains of the peace should be kept.

18. Monsieur de Guise died.

20. Order taken for the chamber, that three of the outer privy-chamber gentlemen should always be here, and two lie in the palace, and fill the room of one of the four knights; that the squires should be diligent in their office; and five grooms should be always present, of which one to watch in the bed-chamber.

21. The marquess de Means, the duke de Anguieu, and the constable's son arrived at Dover.

23. Monsieur Trimoville, and the vicemad of Chartres, and monsieur Henaudy, came to the court, and saw the Order of the Garter, and the knights, with their sovereign, receive the communion.

24. Certain articles touching a straighter amity in merchandise, sent to the king of Sweeden, being these:—

First; If the king of Sweeden sent bullion, he should have our commodities, and pay no toll.

Secondly; He should bring bullion to none other price.

Thirdly; If he brought ozymus, and steel, and copper, &c. he should have our commodities, and pay custom as an Englishman.

Fourthly; If he brought any other, he should have free intercourse, paying custom as a stranger, &c.

It was answered, to the duke of Brunswick, that whereas he offered service with ten thousand men of his land, that the war was ended; and for the marriage of my lady Mary to him, there was talk for her marriage with the infant of Portugal, which being determined, he should have answer.

25. Lord Clinton, captain of Bulloin, having sent away before all his men saving eighteen hundred, and all his ordnance, saving that the treaty did reserve, issued out of the town with these eighteen hundred, delivering it to monsieur Chastillon, receiving of him the six hostages English, an acquittance for delivery of the town, and safe conduct to come to Calais; whither when he came, he placed eighteen hundred in the emperor's frontiers.

27. The marquess du Means, count d'Anguieu, and the constable's son, were received at Blackheath by my lord of Rutland, my lord Gray of Wilton, my lord Bray, my lord Lisle, and divers gentlemen, with all the pensionaries, to the number of an hundred, beside a great number of serving-men.

It was granted that my lord of Somerset should have all his moveable goods and leases, except those that be already given.

The king of Sweden's ambassador departed home to his master.

29. The count d'Anguieu, brother to the duke of Vendosme, and next heir to the crown after the king's children; the marquess de Means, brother to the Scotch queen; and monsieur Montmorency, the constable's son, came to the court, where they were received with much musick at dinner.

26. Certain were taken that went about to have an insurrection in Kent, upon May-day following; and the priest, who was the chief worker, ran away into Essex, where he was laid for.

30. Dunglass was delivered as the treaty did require.

May.

2. Joan Bocher, otherwise called Joan of Kent, was burnt, for holding, that Christ was not incarnate of the Virgin Mary, being condemned the year before, but kept in hope of conversion; and the 30th of April, the bishop of London, and the bishop of Ely, were to persunde her, but she withstood them, and reviled the preacher that preached at her death.

The first payment was payed at Calais, and received by sir Thomas Dennis, and Mr. Sharrington.

4. The lord Clinton, before captain of Bollein, came to court, where, after thanks, he was made Admiral of England, upon the surrender of the earl of Warwick's patent: he was also taken into the privy council, and promised further reward. The captain also, and officers of the town, were promised rewards. Monsieur de Brisay passed also by the court to Scotland, where at Greenwich he came to the king, telling him, that the French king would see that if he lacked any commodity that he had, he would give it him; and likewise would the constable of France, who then bore all the swing.

5. The marquess de Means departed to Scotland with monsieur de Brisay, to acquaint the queen of the death of the duke of Guise.

6. The master of Ayrskin, and monsieur Morret's brother, came out of Scotland for the acceptance of the peace, who after had passport to go into France.

7. The council drew a book for every shire, who should be lieutenants in them, and who should tarry with me; but the lieutenants were appointed to tarry till Chastillon's, Sarcy, and Bouchere's coming, and then to depart.

9. Proclamation was made, that the souldiers should return to their mansions; and the mayor of London had charge to look through all the wards, to take them and send them to their countries.

The debt of 30,000*l.* and odd money, was put over an year, and there was bought two thousand five hundred cinquetales of powder.

11. Proclamation was made, that all wool-winders should take an oath that they would make good cloth there, as the lord chancellor would appoint them, according to an act of parliament made by Edward III.

7. The lord Cobham, the secretary Petre, and sir John Mason, came to the French king to Amiens, going on his journey, where they were received of all the nobles, and so brought to their lodgings, which were well dressed.

10. The French king took the oath for the acceptance of the treaty.

12. Our ambassadors departed from the French court, leaving sir John Mason as legier.

14. The duke of Somerset was taken into the privy chamber, and likewise was the lord admiral.

15. It was appointed that all the light-horsemen of Bollein, and the men-of-arms, should be payed their wages, and be led by the lord marquess of Northampton, captain of the pensioners; and all the guard of Bollein under the lord admiral. Also that the chiefest captains should be sent, with six hundred with them, to the strengthening of the frontiers of Scotland.

The comprehension of peace with Scotland was accepted so far as the league went, and sealed.

16. The master of Ayrskin departed into France.

17. Removing from Westminster to Greenwich.

18. The French king came to Bollein to visit the

pieces lately delivered to him, and to appoint an order, and staying things there; which done, he departed.

19. Peter Vane went as ambassador to Venice, and departed from the court with his instructions.

20. The lord Cobham, and sir William Petre, came home from their journey, delivering both the oath and the testimonial of the oath, witnessed by divers noblemen of France; and also the treaty sealed with the great seal of France: and in the oath was confessed, that I was supreme head of the church of England and Ireland, and also king of Ireland.

23. Monsieur Chastilion, and Mortier, and Bouchere, accompanied with the rhinegrave, Dandelot the constable's second son, and Chenault the legier, came to Duresm-place, where in their journey they were met by Mr. Treasurer, and sixty gentlemen, at Woolwich, and also saluted with great peals, at Wollwich, Debtford, and the Tower.

24. The ambassadors came to me presenting the legier; and also delivering letters of credence from the French king.

25. The ambassadors came to the court, where they saw me take the oath for the acceptance of the treaty, and afterwards dined with me; and after dinner saw a pastime of ten against ten at the ring, whereof on the one side were the duke of Suffolk, the vicedam, the lord Lisle, and seven other gentlemen, apparalled in yellow. On the other, the lord Strange, monsieur Henaudy, and the eight other in blue.

26. The ambassadors saw the baiting of the bears and bulls.

27. The ambassadors, after they had hunted, sat with me at supper.

28. The same went to see Hampton-court, where they did hunt, and the same night returned to Duresm-place.

25. One that by way of marriage had thought to assemble the people, and so to make an insurrection in Kent, was taken by the gentlemen of the shire, and afterward punished.

29. The ambassadors had a fair supper made them by the duke of Somerset; and afterward went into the Thames, and saw both the bear hunted in the river, and also wild-fire cast out of boats, and many pretty conceits.

30. The ambassadors took their leave, and the next day departed.

June.

3. The king came to Shein, where was a marriage made between the lord Lisle, the earl of Warwick's son, and the lady Ann, daughter to the duke of Somerset; which done, and a fair dinner made, and dancing finished, the king and the ladies went into two anti-chambers made of boughs, where first he saw six gentlemen of one side, and six of another, run the course of the field twice over. Their names here do follow:—

The lord Edward. Sir John Appleby, &c.

And afterwards came three masters of one side, and two of another, which ran four courses apiece. Their names be, &c.

Last of all came the count of Regunete, with three Italians, who ran with all the gentlemen four courses, and afterwards fought at Tournay; and so after supper he returned to Westminster.

4. Sir Robert Dudley, third son to the earl of Warwick, married sir John Robsart's daughter; after which marriage, there were certain gentlemen that did strive who should first take away a goose's head which was hanged alive on two cross posts.

5. There was tilt and tourney on foot, with as grent staves as they run withal on horseback.

6. Removing to Greenwich.

8. The gasts of my progress were set forth, which were these: from Greenwich to Westminster, from Westminster to Hampton-Court, from Hampton-Court to Windsor, from Windsor to Guilford, from Guilford to Oatland, from Oatland to Richmond, &c.

Also the vicedam made a great supper for the duke of Somerset and the marquess of Northampton, with divers masques and other conceits.

9. The duke of Somerset, marquess of Northampton, lord treasurer, Bedford and the secretary Petre, went to the bishop of Winchester to know to what he would stick. He made answer, that he would obey and set forth all things set forth by me and my parliament; and if he were troubled in conscience, he would reveal it to the council, and not reason openly against it.

The first payment of the Frenchmen, was laid up in the Tower for all chances.

10. The books of my proceedings were sent to the bishop of Winchester, to see whether he would set his hand to it, or promise to set it forth to the people.

11. Order was given for fortifying and victualling Cales for four months; and also sir Henry Palmer and sir — Alce, were sent to the frontiers of Scotland, to take a view of all the forts there, and to report to the council where they thought best to fortify.

12. The marquess de Means came from Scotland in post, and went his way into France.

13. Commissions were signed to sir William Herbert, and thirty other, to intreat of certain matters in Wales; and also instructions to the same, how to behave himself in the presidentship.

14. The surveyor of Calais was sent to Calais, first to raze the walls of Risbank toward the sand-hills, and after to make the wall massy again, and the round bullwark to change to a pointed one, which should run twenty foot into the sea, to beat the sand-hills, and to raze the mount. Secondly, To view Marbridge, to make an high bullwark in the midst, with flankers, to beat through all the streight; and also four sluices to make Calais haven better. Afterwards he was bid to go to Guisnes, where first he should take away the three-cornered bullwark to make the outward wall of the keep, and to fill the space between the keep and the said outward wall with the foresaid bulwark, and to raise the old keep that it might defend the town. Also he was bid to make Parson's bulwark, where it is now, round, without flankers, both pointed, and also with six flankers to bear hard to the keep.

Atwood and Lambert were sent to take view of Allderny, Silly, Jersey, Garnsey, and the Isle of Gitto.

The duke of Somerset, with five others of the council, went to the bishop of Winchester; to whom he made this answer: "I having deliberately seen the book of Common-Prayer, although I would not have made it so myself, yet I find such things in it as satisfieth my conscience, and therefore I will both execute it myself, and also see other my parishioners to do it."

This was subscribed by the foresaid counsellors, that they heard him say these words.

16. The lord marquess, Mr. Herbert, the vicedam, Henaudie, and divers other gentlemen, went to the earl of Warwick's, where they were honourably received; and the next day they ran at the ring a great number of gentlemen.

19. I went to Debtford, being bidden to supper by the lord Clinton: where before supper I saw certain men stand upon the end of a boat, without holding of anything, and ran one at another, till one was cast into the water. At supper monsieur Vicedam and

Henaudie supped with me. After supper was there a fort made upon a great lighter on the Thames which had three walls and a watch-tower; in the midst of which Mr. Winter was captain, with forty or fifty other soldiers in yellow and black. To the fort also appertained a gallery of yellow colour, with men and ammunition in it for defence of the castle: wherefore there came four pinaces with their men in white, handsomely dressed; which intending to give assault to the castle, first drove away the pinace, and after with clods, squibs, canes of fire-darts made for the nonce, and bombards, assaulted the castle; and at length came with their pieces, and burst the outer walls of the castle, beating them off the castle into the second ward, who after issued out and drove away the pinaces, sinking one of them, out of which, all the men in it, being more than twenty, leaped out and swam in the Thames; then came the admiral of the navy, with three other pinaces, and won the castle by assault, and burst the top of it down, and took the captain and under-captain. Then the admiral went forth to take the yellow ship, and at length clasped with her, took her, and assaulted also her top, and won it also by compulsion, and so returned home.

20. The mayor of London caused the watches to be encreased every night, because of the great frays, and also one alderman to see good rule kept every night.

22. There was a privy search made through all Sussex for all vagabonds, gypsies, conspirators, prophesiers, all players, and such like.

24. There were certain in Essex about Rumford went about a conspiracy, which were taken, and the matter stayed.

25. Removing to Greenwich.

23. Sir John Gates, sheriff of Essex, went down with letters to see the bishop of London's injunctions performed, which touched plucking down of superlataries, altars, and such like ceremonies and abuses.

29. It was appointed that the Germans should have the Austin-friars for their church to have their service in, for avoiding of all sects of Anabaptists, and such-like.

17. The French queen was delivered of a third son, called monsieur d'Angoulesme.

13. The emperor departed from Argentin to Augusta.

30. John Poyntet made bishop of Rochester, and received his oath.

July.

5. There was money provided to be sent into Ireland, for payment of the souldiers there; and also orders taken for the dispatch of the strangers in London.

7. The master of Arskin passed into Scotland coming from France. Also the French ambassador did come before me, first after showing the birth of monsieur d'Angoulesme; afterward declaring, that whereas the French king had for my sake let go the prisoners at St. Andrews, who before they were taken had shamefully murdered the cardinal, he desired that all Scots that were prisoners might be delivered. It was answered, that all were delivered. Then he moved for one called the archbishop of Glasgow; who, since the peace, came disguised without passport, and so was taken. It was answered, that we had no peace with Scotland, such, that they might pass our country; and the master of Erskin affirmed the same.

8. It was agreed that the two hundred that were with me, and two hundred that were with Mr. Herbert, should be sent into Ireland; also that the mint should be set a-work that it might coin 24,000*l.* a year, and so bear all my charges in Ireland for this year, and 10,000*l.* for my coffers.

9. The earl of Warwick, the lord treasurer, sir William Herbert, and the secretary Petre, went to the bishop of Winchester with certain articles signed by me and the council, containing the confessing of his fault, the supremacy, the establishing of holy days, the abolishing of six articles, and divers other, whereof the copy is in the council-chest, whereunto he put his hand, saving to the confession.

10. Sir William Herbert and secretary Petre were sent unto him, to tell him, I marvelled that he would not put his hand to the confession. To which he made answer, that he would not put his hand to the confession, for because he was innocent, and also the confession was but the preface of articles.

11. The bishop of London, the secretary Petre, Mr. Cecil, and Godericke, were commanded to make certain articles according to the laws, and to put in the submission.

12. It was appointed, that under the shadow of preparing for the sea-matters, there should be sent 5000*l.* to the protestants to get their good will.

14. The bishop of Winchester did deny the articles that the bishop of London and the other had made.

13. Sir John Yates was sent into Essex to stop the going away of the lady Mary, because it was credibly informed that Scipperus should steal her away to Antwerp; divers of her gentlemen were there, and Scipperus a little before came to see the landing-places.

16. It was appointed that the two hundred with the duke of Somerset, and two hundred with the lord privy-seal, and four hundred with master St. Legier, should be sent to the sea-coast.

17. It was agreed, that on Wednesday next, we should go in one day to Windsor, and dine at Sion.

18. It was thought best that the lord Bowes should tarry in his wardenship still, and the earl of Warwick should tarry here and be recompensed.

19. The bishop of Winchester was sequestred from his fruits for three months.

20. Hooper was made bishop of Gloucester. The merchants were commanded to stay as much as they could their vent into Flanders, because the emperor had made many streight laws against them that professed the gospel.

21. A muster was made of the Boulonois, who were fully payed for all past, and a month to come. Sir John Wallop, Francis Hall, and doctor Coke, were appointed commissioners to appoint the limits between me and the French king.

23. Removing to Windsor.

22. The secretary Petre and the lord chancellor were appointed to go to the lady Mary, to cause her to come to Oking, or to the court.

25. It was appointed, that half the French king's payment should be bestowed on paying 10,000*l.* at Calais, 9000*l.* in Ireland, 10,000*l.* in the north, 2000*l.* in the admiralty, so that every crown might go for one of our nobles.

27. Because the rumour came so much of Scipperus' coming, it was appointed that they of the admiralty should set my ships in readiness.

26. The duke of Somerset went to set order in Oxfordshire, Sussex, Wiltshire, and Hampshire.

28. The lady Mary, after long communication, was content to come to Leez to my lord chancellor, and then to Hunsden: but she utterly denied to come to the court or Oking at that time.

31. The earl of Southampton died.

14. Andrew Dory took the city of — in Africa, from the pirat Dragutte, who in the mean season burnt the country of Genoa.

8. The emperor came to Ausburg.

August.

4. Mr. St. Legier was appointed, by letters patents, to be deputy there; and had his commission, instructions, and letters to the nobles of Ireland for the same purpose.

5. The same deputy departed from the castle of Windsor.

6. The duke of Somerset departed to Redding to take an order there.

7. It was appointed, that of the money delivered to me by the French king, there should be taken 100,000 crowns to pay 10,000*l.* at Calais, 10,000 in the north, and 2000 in the admiralty, and 8000 in Ireland.

8. Monsieur Henaudy took his leave to depart to Calais, and so upon the payment to be delivered home; and Tremoville being sick, went in a horse-litter to Dover.

9. The French ambassador came to Windsor, to sue for a passport for the dowager of Scotland; which being granted, so she came like a friend; he required three hundred horse to pass, with two hundred keepers, which was not wholly granted, but only that two hundred horse, with an hundred keepers in one company, coming into this realm as should be appointed, should, without let, pass into France, and not return this way.

11. The vicedain of Chartres showed his license to tarry here, with a letter written to the same purpose.

10. The ambassador of France departed, not a little contented with his gentle answers.

12. Removing to Guilford.

13. The parliament was prorogued to the 20th of February next following.

Mr. Cook, master of requests, and certain other lawyers, were appointed to make a short table of the laws and acts that were not wholly unprofitable, and present it to the board.

The lord chanceller fell sore sick, with forty more of his house, so that the lady Mary came not thither at that time.

14. There came divers advertisements from Chamberlain, ambassador with the queen of Hungary, that their very intent was to take away the lady Mary, and so to begin an outward war, and an inward conspiracy; insomuch that the queen said Scipperus was but a coward, and for fear of one gentleman that came down, durst not go forth with his enterprise to my lady Mary.

16. The earl of Maxwell came down to the north-border with a good power to overthrow the Gremes, who were a certain family that were yielded to me; but the lord Dacre stood before his face with a good band of men, and so put him from his purpose; and the gentlemen, called Gremes, skirmished with the said earl, slaying certain of his men.

17. The council appointed, among themselves, that none of them should speak in any man's behalf for land to be given, reversion of offices, leases of manors, or extraordinary annuities, except for certain captains who served at Bolein, their answer being deferred till Michaelmas next.

18. A proclamation that till Michaelmas all strangers that sued for pensions should go their way.

20. Removing to Oking.

15. The second payment of the French was paid, and Henaudy and Tremoville delivered.

21. 8000*l.* of the last payment was appointed to be paid to the dispatch of Calais, and 5000 at the north.

24. 10,000*l.* was appointed to be occupied to win money to pay the next year, pay the outward pays; and

it was promised that the money should double every month.

26. Removing to Oatlands.

27. Andrea Doria gave a hot assault to the town of — in Africa kept by the pirat called Drogute, but was repulsed by the townsmen.

29. The pirat gave a hot assault to Andrea Doria by night, and slew the captain of Thames, with divers other notable men.

31. The duke Maurice made answer to the emperor, that if the council were not free, he would not come at it.

September.

2. Maclamore in Ireland, before a rebel, by the means of Mr. Baberson surrendered himself and gave pledges.

6. Mr. Wotton gave up his secretaryship, and Mr. Cecil got it of him.

8. Removing from Nonsuch.

13. Removing from Oatlands.

22. A proclamation was set forth, by the which it was commanded:—1. That no kind of victual, no wax, tallow, candles, nor no such thing, should be carried over, except to Calais, putting in sureties to go thither. 2. That no man should buy or sell the self-same things again, except breakers, who should not have more than ten quarters of grain at once. 3. That all justices should divide themselves into hundreds, rapes, and wapentakes, to look in their quarters what superfluous corn were in every barn, and appoint it to be sold at a reasonable price. Also that one of them must be in every market to see the corn brought. Furthermore, whoever shipped over anything aforesaid to the parts beyond sea, or Scotland, after eight days following the publication of the proclamation, should forfeit his ship, and the ware therein, half to the lord of the franchise, and half to the finder thereof; whoso bought to sell again after the day aforesaid, should forfeit all his goods, farms, and leases, to the use, one half of the finder, the other of the king; whoso brought not in corn to market as he was appointed, should forfeit 10*l.* except the purveyours took it up, or it were sold to his neighbours.

25. Letters sent out to the justices of the peace for the due execution thereof.

18. Andrea Doria had a repulse from the town of * in Africa, and lost many of his men, and the captain of Thames, and nevertheless left not yet the siege.

24. Order was given for the victualing of Calais.

26. The lord Willoughby, deputy of Calais, departed and took his journey thitherward.

28. The lord treasurer sent to London to give order for the preservation of the city, with help of the mayor.

Whereas the emperor required a council, they were content to receive it, so it were free and ordinary, requiring also that every man might be restored to his right, and a general peace proclaimed. They desired also, that in the mean season no man might be restrained to use his fashion of religion.

18. The emperor made answer, that the council should be to the glory of God, and maintenance of the Empire at Trent; he knew no title to any of his territories, peace he desired, and in the mean season would have them observe the interim and last council of Trent; he would also that they of Brema and Ham-burgh, with their associates, should leave their seditions, and obey his decrees.

21. George duke of Mecklenburgh came with eight thousand men-of-war to the city of Magdeburgh, being protestant; against whom went forth the count of

* Afrodissium.

Mansfield, and his brother, with six thousand men, and eight guns, to drive him from pillage; but the other abiding the battel, put the count to flight, took his brother prisoner, and slew three thousand men, as it is reported.

October.

4. Removing to Richmond.

5. The parliament prorogued to the 20th of January.

6. The French king made his entry into Roan.

10. It was agreed that York, master of one of the Mints at the Tower, should make his bargain with me, viz. to take the profit of silver rising of bullion that he himself brought, should pay all my debts, to the sum of 120,000*l.* or above, and remain accountable for the overplus, paying no more but 6*s.* and 6*d.* the ounce, till the exchange were equal in Flanders, and after 6*s.* and 2*d.* Also that he should declare all his bargains to any should be appointed to oversee him, and leave off when I would: for which I should give him 15,000*l.* in prest, and leave to carry 80,000*l.* over-sea to abase the exchange.

16. Removing to Westminster.

19. Prices were set of all kind of grains, butter, cheese, and poultry-ware, by a proclamation.

20. The Frenchmen came to Sandefield and Finswood, to the number of eight hundred, and there on my ground did spoil my subjects that were relieved by the wood.

26. The French ambassador came to excuse the foresaid men, saying, they thought it not meet that that wood should be spoiled of us, being thought and claimed as theirs, and therefore they lay there.

24. There were a thousand men embarqued to go to Calais, and so to Guisnes, and Hammes, Riebank, Newmanbridge, the causie and the bulwarks, with victual for the same.

November.

19. There were letters sent to every bishop to pluck down the altars.

20. There were letters sent down to the gentlemen of every shire, for the observation of the last proclamation touching corn, because there came none to the markets, commanding them to punish the offenders.

29. Upon the letters written back by the same, the second proclamation was abolished.

December.

15. There was letters sent for the taking of certain chaplains of the lady Mary for saying mass, which she denied.

19. Borthwick was sent to the king of Denmark, with privy instructions for the marriage of the lady Elizabeth to his son.

20. There was appointed a band of horsemen divided amongst the nobles.

An hundred to the duke of Somerset.

Fifty to my lord Marquess of Northampton.

Lord Marquess of Dorset. To the earl of Warwick.
Earl of Wiltshire.

Lord Wentworth. Lord privy seal.

Lord Admiral.

Lord Paget. Mr. Herbert.

Mr. Sadler.

Mr. Darcy. Mr. Treasurer.

24. Removing to Greenwich.

26. Peace concluded between the emperor and the Scots.

January.

6. The earl of Arundel remitted of 80,000*l.* which he ought to have payed for certain faults he had committed within twelve years.

7. There was appointed, for because the Frenchmen did go about practice in Ireland, that there should be prepared four ships, four barques, four pinaces, and twelve victuallers, to take three havens; of which two were on the south side toward France, and one in James Cannes the Scottish country, and also send and break the foresaid conspiracies.

10. Three ships being sent forth into the narrow seas, took certain pirates, and brought them into England, where the most part was hanged.

27. Monsieur de Lansac came from the French king by way of request, to ask that Coumils, the fishing of the Tweed, Edrington, the ground debatable, and the Scotch hostages that were put here in the king my father's days, should be delivered to the Scots, that they might be suffered to traffique, as though they were in peace, and that all interest of the foresaid houses should be delivered to the Scots. Also that those prisoners which were bound to pay their ransoms before the peace last concluded, should not enjoy the benefit of the peace.

18. The lord Cobham was appointed to be general lieutenant in Ireland.

19. Letters written to Mr. St. Lieger to repair to the south parts of Ireland with his force.

February.

3. Mr. Croftis appointed to go into Ireland, and there, with Rogers and certain artificers, to take the havens aforesaid, and begin some fortification.

5. Divers merchants of London were spoken withal for provision of corn out of Dansick, about 40,000 quarters.

10. Mountford was commanded to go to provide for certain proportions of victual for the ships that should go into Ireland.

11. Also for provision to be sent to Barwick and the north parts.

16. Whaley was examined, for perswading divers nobles of the realm to make the duke of Somerset protector at the next parliament, and stood to the denial, the earl of Rutland affirming it manifestly.

13. The bishop of Winchester, after a long trial, was deposed of his bishoprick.

20. Sir William Pickering, kt. was dispatched to the French king for answer to monsieur de Lansac, to declare, that although I had right in the foresaid places, yet I was content to surrender them, under conditions to be agreed on by commissioners on both sides; and for the last articles I agreed without condition.

25. The lord marquess Dorset appointed to be warden of the north borders, having three sub-wardens, the lord Ogle, &c. in the east, and the lord Coniers in the west. Also Mr. Auger had the charge for victualing Calais.

28. The learned man Bucerus died at Cambridg; who was two days after buried in St. Mary's church at Cambridg; all the whole university, with the whole town, bringing him to the grave, to the number of three thousand persons. Also there was an oration of Mr. Haddon made very eloquently at his death, and a sermon of *—; after that master Redman made a third sermon; which three sermons made the people wonderfully to lament his death. Last of all, all the learned men of the university made their epitaphs in his praise, laying them on his grave.

March.

3. The lord Wentworth, lord chamberlain, died about ten of the clock at night, leaving behind him sixteen children.

* Dr. Parker.

1. Sir John York made great loss about 2000*l.* weight of silver, by treason of English men which he brought for prision of the Mints. Also Judd 1500, and also Tresham 500; so the whole came to 4000*l.*

February.

20. The Frenchmen came with a navy of one hundred and sixty sail into Scotland, loaden with provision of grain, powder, and ordnance; of which sixteen great ships perished on Ireland coast, two loaden with artillery, and fourteen with corn.

Also in this month the deputy there set at one, certain of the west lords that were at variance.

March.

10. Certain new fortifications were devised to be made at Calais; that at Graveling the water should be let in in my ground, and so should fetch a compass by the six bulwarks to Guisnes, Hammes, and Newnam-bridg; and that there should be a wall of eight foot high, and six broad of earth, to keep out the water, and to make a great marsh about the territories of Calais thirty-seven miles long. Also for flankers at the keep of Guisnes, willed to be made a three-cornered bulwark at the keep to keep it. Furthermore, at Newnam-bridg, a massy wall to the French side there, as was a green. Besides, at the West Gittie there should be another Gittie, which should defend the victuallers of the town always from shot from the sand-hills.

5. Mr. Aucher had 2000*l.* in mony, wherewith he provided out of Flanders for Calais two thousand quarters of barley, five hundred of wheat.

18. The lady Mary, my sister, came to me at Westminster, where, after salutations, she was called, with my council, into a chamber; where was declared how long I had suffered her mass, in hope of her reconciliation, and how now being no hope, which I perceived by her letters, except I saw some short amendment, I could not bear it. She answered, "that her soul was God's, and her faith she would not change, nor dissemble her opinion with contrary doings." It was said, "I constrained not her faith, but willed her not as a king to rule, but as a subject to obey; and that her example might breed too much inconvenience."

19. The emperor's ambassador came with a short message from his master of war, if I would not suffer his cousin, the princess, to use her mass. To this was no answer given at this time.

20. The bishops of Canterbury, London, Rochester, did consider to give license to sin, was sin; to suffer and wink at it for a time might be born, so all haste possible might be used.

23. The council having the bishop's answers, seeing my subjects taking their vent in Flanders, might put the whole realm in danger. The Flemings had cloth enough for a year in their hand, and were kept far under the danger of the papists; the fifteen hundred cinquetales of powder I had in Flanders, the harness they had for preparation of the gendarmory, the goods my merchants had there at the Woolfleet, decreed to send an ambassador to the emperor, Mr. Wotton, to deny the matter wholly, and perwade the emperor in it, thinking, by his going, to win some time for a preparation of a mart, convenience of powder, harness, &c., and for the surety of the realm. In the mean season, to punish the offenders, first of my servants that heard mass, next of hers.

24. Sir Anthony Brown sent to the Fleet for hearing mass with serjeant Morgan, sir Clement Smith, which a year before heard mass, chidden.

25. The ambassador of the emperor came to have his answer, but had none, saving, that one should go to the emperor within a month or two to declare the matter.

22. Sir William Pickering came with great thanks from the French king.

27. Removing to Greenwich.

31. A challenge made by me, that I, with sixteen of my chamber, should run at base, shoot, and run at the ring, with any seventeen of my servants' gentlemen in the court.

Mr. Croftis arrived in Ireland, and came to Waterford to the deputy, consulting for fortification of the town.

April.

1. The first day of the challenge at base, or running, the king won.

3. Monsieur de Lansac came again from the French king to go to Scotland, for appointing his commissioners on the Scotch side, who were the French ambassador in Scotland, the bishop of —, the master of Erskin, &c.

Thomas Darcy made lord Darcy of Chich, and lord chamberlain; for maintenance whereof he had given 100 merks to his heirs generally, and 300 to his heirs males.

6. I lost the challenge at shooting at rounds, and won at rovers.

7. There were appointed Commissioners on my side, either the bishop of Litchfield if he had no impediment, or Norwich, Mr. Bowes, Mr. Bekwith, and sir Thomas Chaloner.

8. Sir John Yates made vice-chamberlain, and captain of the guard, and 120*l.* land.

5. Poinet, bishop of Rochester, received his oath for the bishoprick of Winchester, having 2000 merk land appointed to him for his maintenance.

7. A certain Arrian of the strangers, a Dutchman, being excommunicated by the congregation of his countrymen, was after long disputation condemned to the fire.

9. The earl of Wiltshire had fifty more in my lord marquess Dorset's place, warden in the north; and my lord of Rutland in my lord Wentworth's place other fifty.

10. Mr. Wotton had his instructions made to go withal to the emperor, to be as ambassador legier in Mr. Morison's place, and to declare this resolution, that if the emperor would suffer my ambassador with him, to use his service, then I would him; if he would not suffer mine, I would not suffer his. Likewise, that my sister was my subject, and should use my service appointed by act of parliament.

Also it was appointed to make 20000 pound weight for necessity somewhat baser, to get gains 16,000*l.* clear, by which the debt of the realm might be paid, the country defended from any sudden attempt, and the coin amended.

11. Mr. Pickering had his instructions and dispatch to go into France as ambassador legier there, in Mr. Mason's place, who desired very much to come home; and Mr. Pickering had instructions to tell the French king of the appointing of my commissioners in Scotland aforesaid.

2. They of Magdeburg having in January last past taken in a conflict the duke of Mecklenburg, and three other earls, did give an onset on duke Maurice by boats on the river, when it overflowed the country, and slew divers of his men, and came home safe, receiving a great portion of victual into the town.

15. A conspiracy opened of the Essex-men, who within three days after minded to declare the coming

of strangers, and so to bring people together to Chelmsford, and then to spoil the rich men's houses if they could.

16. Also of Londoners, who thought * Woodcock to rise on May-day against the strangers of the city, and both the parties committed to ward.

23. The French king, and the lord Clinton, chosen into the Order of the Garter; and appointed that the duke of Somerset, the marquess of Northampton, the earl of Wiltshire, and the earl of Warwick should peruse and amend the order.

24. The lords sat at London, and banqueted one another this day, and three days after, for to shew agreement amongst them, whereas discord was bruited, and somewhat to look to the punishment of tale-bearers, and apprehending of evil persons.

25. A bargain made with the Foulcare for about 60,000*l.* that in May and August should be paid for the defraying of it. 1. That the Foulcare should put it off for ten in the hundred. 2. That I should buy 12,000 marks' weight, at 6*s.* the ounce, to be delivered at Antwerp, and so conveyed over. 3. I should pay 100,000 crowns for a very fair jewel of his, four rubies marvelous big, one orient and great diamond, and one great pearl.

27. Mallet, the lady Mary's chaplain, apprehended and sent to the Tower of London.

30. The lord marquess of Northampton appointed to go with the order, and further commission of treaty, and that in post; having joined with him in commission, the bishop of Ely, sir Philip Hobbey, sir William Pickering, and sir John Mason, knights, and two other lawyers, Smith that was secretary, &c.†

May.

2. There was appointed to go with my lord marquess the earls of Rutland, Worcester, and Ormond; the lords Lisle, Fitzwater, and Bray, Barguenny, and divers other gentlemen, to the number of thirty in all.

3. The challenge at running at the ring performed; at the which first came the king, sixteen footmen, and ten horsemen, in black silk coats, pulled out with white taffety; then all the lords, having three men likewise apparelled; and all gentlemen their footmen in white fustian, pulled out with black taffety. The other side came all in yellow taffety; at length the yellow band took it thrice in one hundred and twenty courses, and my band touched often, which was counted as nothing, and took never, which seemed very strange, and so the prize was of my side lost. After that tourney followed between six of my band, and six of theirs.

4. It was appointed that there should be but four men to wait on every earl that went with my lord marquess of Northampton, three on every lord, two on every knight or gentleman: also that my lord marquess should in his diet be allowed for the loss in his exchange.

5. The muster of the gendarmoury appointed to be the first of June if it were possible; if not, the 8th.

6. The testourn cried down from 12*d.* to 9*d.* and the groat from 4*d.* to 3*d.*

9. One Stewart, a Scotchman, meaning to poison the young queen of Scotland, thinking thereby to get favour here, was, after he had been a while in the Tower and Newgate, delivered on my frontiers at Calais to the French, for to have him punished there according to his deserts.

10. Divers lords and knights sent for to furnish the court at the coming of the French ambassador, that brought hither the order of St. Michael.

12. A proclamation proclaimed, to give warning to all those that keep any farms, multitudes of sheep, above the number limited in the law, viz. two thousand; decayed tenements and towns, regratters, forestalling men that sell dear, having plenty enough, and put plough-ground to pasture, and carriers over-sea of victual, that if they leave not these enormities, they shall be streightly punished very shortly, so that they should feel the smart of it; and to command execution of laws made for this purpose before.

14. There mustered before me an hundred archers, two arrows a piece, all of the guard; afterward shot together, and they shot at an inch board, which some pierced quite, and stuck in the other board; divers pierced it quite thorow with the heads of their arrows, the boards being very well-seasoned timber. So it was appointed there should be ordinarily an hundred archers, and a hundred halbertiers, either good wrestlers, or casters of the bar, or leapers, or runners, or tall men of personage.

15. Sir Philip Hobbey departed toward France, with ten gentlemen of his own, in velvet coats and chains of gold.

16. Likewise did the bishop of Ely depart with a band of men well furnished.

20. A proclamation made, that whosoever found a seditious bill, and did not tear and deface it, should be a partaker of the bill, and punished as the maker.

21. My lord marquess of Northampton had commission to deliver the order, and to treat of all things, and chiefly of marriage for me to the lady Elizabeth his daughter. First, to have the dote 12,000 marks a year, and the dowry at least 800,000 crowns. The forfeiture 100,000 crowns at the most if I performed not, and paying that to be delivered; and that this should not impeach the former covenants with Scotland, with many other branches.

22. He departed himself in post.

24. An earthquake was at Croidon and Blechinglee, and in the most part of Surrey, but no harm was done.

30. Whereas before commandment was given that 160,000*l.* should be coined of three ounces in the pound fine, for discharge of debts, and to get some treasure, to be able to alter all, now was it stopped, saving only 80,000*l.* to discharge my debts, and 10,000 mark weight that the Foulcare delivered in the last exchange, at four ounces in the pound.

31. The musters deferred till after Midsummer.

June.

2. It was appointed that I should receive the Frenchmen that came hither at Westminster, where was made preparation for the purpose, and four garnish of new vessels taken out of church stuff, as miters, and golden missals, and primers, and crosses, and reliques of Plessay.

4. Provision made in Flanders for silver and gold plate, and chains to be given to these strangers.

7. A proclamation set forth, that exchange, or re-exchange, should be made under the punishment set forth in king Henry the Seventh's time, duly to be executed.

10. Monsieur Mareschal departed from the court to Bulloigne in post, and so hither by water in his galleys and foists.

In this month, and the month before, was great business for the city of Parma, which duke * Horatio had delivered to the French king, for the pope ascited him, as holding it in *capite* of him, whereby he could not alienate it without the pope's will; but he came

* Here the sense is not perfect.

† Dr. John Olyver was the other lawyer. STYFFE'S COLLECT.

* It should be Octavio.

not at his day, for which cause the pope and imperialists raised eight thousand men, and took a castle on the same river side. Also the French king sent Monsieur de Thermes, who had been his general in Scotland, with a great piece of his gendarmory into Italy, to help duke Horatio. Furthermore the Turks made great preparation for war, which some feared would at length burst out.

12. I was elected of the company of St. Michael in France by the French king and his order.

13. Agreement made with the Scots for the borders, between the commissioners aforesaid, for both the parties.

In this month Dragute, a pirate, escaped (Andrea Doria, who had closed him in a creek) by force of his galley-slaves, that digged another way into the sea, and took two of Andrea's galleys that lay far into the sea.

14. Pardon given to those Irish lords that would come in before a certain day limited by the deputy; with advertisement to the deputy to make sharp war with those that would resist; and also should administer my laws everywhere.

18. Because of my charges in fortifications at Calais and Barwick should be payed, it was agreed, that beside the debt of the realm 80,000*l.* there should be 40,000*l.* coined, three ounces fine, nine of alloy; and 5000 pound weight should be coined in a standard of seven ounces fine at the least.

17. Soperantio came as ambassador from Venice, in Daniel Barbaro's place.

16. I accepted the order of Monseigneur Michael by promise to the French ambassador.

17. My lord marquess of Northampton came to Nants with the commissioners, and all those noblemen and gentlemen that came over-sea with him.

20. Upon advertisement of Scipperus coming, and rigging of certain ships in Holland—also for to show the Frenchmen pleasure at their coming, all the navy that lay in Gillingham Water was appointed to be rigged, and furnished with ordnance, and lay in the river of Thames, to the intent, that if Scipperus came afterward, he might be met with, and at least the Frenchmen should see the force of my navy.

22. The lady Mary sent letters to the council, marvelling at the imprisonment of Dr. Mallet, her chaplain, for saying of mass before her household, seeing it was promised the emperor's ambassador she should not be molested in religion, but that she and her household should have the mass said before them continually.

24. They answered, that because of their duties to king, country, and friends, they were compelled to give her answer, that they would see, not only him, but also all other mass-sayers, and breakers of order, straitly punished. And that as for promise they had, nor would give none, to make her free from the punishment of the law in that behalf.

18. Chastilion came to my lord marquess, and there banqueted him by the way at two times between Nantes and Chasteau Brian, where the king lay.

15. Mendoza, a gentleman of the king's chamber, was sent to him to conduct him to the court.

19. My lord marquess came to Chasteau Brian, where half a mile from the castle there met him—with an hundred gentlemen, and brought him to the court, booted and spur'd, to the French king.

20. The French king was invested with the order of the garter in his bedchamber, where he gave a chain to the garter worth 200*l.* and his gown dressed with aughts worth 25*l.* The bishop of Ely making an oration, and the cardinal of Lorrain making him answer. At afternoon the lord marquess moved the French

king to the marriage of the Scots queen to be consummate, for whose hearing he appointed two commissioners.

21. The cardinal of Lorrain, and of Chastilion, the constable, the duke of Guise, &c. were appointed commissioners on the part of France, who absolutely denied the first motion for the Scotch queen, saying both they had taken too much pains and spent too many lives for her. Also a conclusion was made for her marriage to the dolphin. Then was proponed the marriage of the lady Elizabeth, the French king's eldest daughter; to which they did most cheerfully assent. So after they agreed neither party to be bound in conscience nor honour, till she were twelve years of age and upwards. Then they came to the dote, which was first asked 1500,000 scutes of France, at which they made a mock; after for *donatio propter nuptias*, they agreed that it should be as great as hath been given by the king my father to any wife he had.

22. Our commissioners came to 1,400,000 of crowns, which they refused, then to a million, which they denied; then to 800,000 crowns, which they said they would not agree to.

23. Then our commissioners asked what they would offer? First they offered 100,000 crowns, then 200,000, which they said was the most, and more than ever was given. Then followed great reasonings, and showing of precedents, but no nearer they would come.

24. They went forward unto the penalties of the parties misliked, after that the king's daughter were twelve and upwards, which the French offered 100,000, 50,000 crowns; or promise, that she should be brought, at her father's charge, three months before she were twelve, sufficiently jewelled and stuffed. Then bonds to be delivered alternatively at London, and at Paris, and so forth.

26. The Frenchmen delivered the foresaid answers written to my commissioners.

July.

1. Whereas certain Flemish ships, twelve sail in all, six tall men-of-war, looking for eighteen more men-of-war, went to Diep, as it was thought, to take monsieur le Mareschal by the way; order was given, that six ships being before prepared, with four pinnaces and a brigandine, should go both to conduct him, and also to defend, if anything should be attempted against England, by carrying over the lady Mary.

2. A brigandine sent to Diep, to give knowledg to monsieur le Mareschal of the Flemings coming; to whom all the Flemings vailed their bonnet. Also the French ambassador was advertised; who answered, that he thought him sure enough when he came into our streams, terming it so.

2. There was a proclamation signed for shortening of the fall of the mony to that day; in which it should be proclaimed, and devised, that it should be in all places of the realm within one day proclaimed.

3. The lord Clinton and Cobham was appointed to meet the French at Gravesend, and so to convey him to Duresme-place, where he should lie.

4. I was banqueted by the lord Clinton at Debtford, where I saw the Primrose and the Mary Willoughby launched.

The Frenchmen landed at Rie, as some thought, for fear of the Flemings lying at the Lands-end, chiefly because they saw our ships were let by the wind that they could not come out.

6. Sir Peter Meutas, at Dover, was commanded to come to Rie to meet monsieur le Mareschal, who so did; and after he had delivered his letters, written with mine own hand, and made my recommendations,

he took order for horses and carts, for monsieur le Mareschal, in which he made such provision as was possible to be for the suddain.

7. Monsieur le Mareschal set forth from Rie, and in his journey Mr. Culpepper, and divers other gentlemen, and their men, to the number of one thousand horse, well furnished, met him, and so brought him to Maidston that night.

Removing to Westminster.

8. Monsieur le Mareschal came to Mr. Baker's, where he was very well feasted and banqueted.

9. The same came to my lord Cobham's to dinner, and at night to Gravesend.

Proclamation made that a testourn should go at 9d. and a groat at 3d. in all places of the realm at once.

At this time came the sweat into London, which was more vehement than the old sweat: for if one took cold, he died within three hours; and if he escaped, it held him but nine hours or ten at the most: also, if he slept the first six hours, as he should be very desirous to do, then he roved, and should die roving.

11. It grew so much, for in London the 10th day there died an hundred in the liberties, and this day an hundred and twenty; and also one of my gentlemen, another of my grooms, fell sick and died, that I removed to Hampton Court with very few with me.

The same night came the Mareschal, who was saluted with all my ships being in the Thames, fifty and odd, all with shot well furnished, and so with the ordinance of the Tower. He was met by the lord Clinton, lord admiral, with forty gentlemen, at Gravesend, and so brought to Duresme-place.

13. Because of the infection at London, he came this day to Richmond, where he lay with a great band of gentlemen, at least four hundred, as it was by divers esteemed, where that night he hunted.

14. He came to me at Hampton Court at nine o the clock, being met by the duke of Somerset at the Wall-end, and so conveyed first to me; where after his master's recommendations and letters, he went to his chamber on the queen's side, all hanged with cloth of Arras, and so was the hall, and all my lodging. He dined with me also. After dinner, being brought into an inner chamber, he told me, he was come, not only for delivery of the order, but also for to declare the great friendship the king his master bore me, which he desired I would think to be such to me as a father beareth to a son, or brother to brother. And altho' there were divers persuasions, as he thought, to dissuade me from the king his master's friendship, and witless men made divers rumours, yet he trusted I would not believe them. Furthermore, that as good ministers on the frontiers do great good, so ill much harm. For which cause he desired no innovation should be made on things had been so long in controversy by hand-strokes, but rather by commissioners' talk. I answered him, that I thanked him for his order, and also his love, &c. and I would shew like love in all points. For rumours they were not always to be believed, and that I did some time provide for the worst, but never did any harm upon their hearing. For ministers, I said, I would rather appease these controversies with words, than do anything by force. So after, he was conveyed to Richmond again.

17. He came to present the order of Monsieur Michael; whereafter, with ceremonies accustomed, he had put on the garments, he, and monsieur Gye likewise of the order, came one at my right hand, the other at my left to the chappel, where, after the communion celebrated, each of them kissed my cheek.

After that they dined with me, and talked after dinner, and saw some pastime, and so went home again.

18. A proclamation made against regratters, and forestallers, and the words of the statute recited, with the punishment of the offenders. Also letters were sent to all officers and sheriffs for the executing thereof.

19. Another proclamation made for punishment of them that would blow rumours of abasing and enhaunting of the coin to make things dear withal.

The same night monsieur le Mareschal St. André supped with me; after supper saw a dozen courses, and after I came and made me ready.

20. The next morning he came to me to mine arraying, and saw my bed-chamber, and went a hunting with hounds; and saw me shoot, and saw all my guards shoot together. He dined with me, heard me play on the lute, ride; came to me to my study; supped with me, and so departed to Richmond.

19. The Scots sent an ambassador hither for receiving the treaty, sealed with the great seal of England, which was delivered him. Also I sent sir Thomas Chaloner, clerk of my council, to have the seal of them, for confirmation of the last treaty at Northampton.

17. This day my lord marquess and the commissioners coming to treat of the marriage, offered by later instructions 600,000 crowns, after 400,000. and so departed for an hour. Then seeing they could get no better, came to the French offer of 200,000 crowns, half to be paid at the marriage, half six months after that.

Then the French agreed that her dote should be but 10,000 marks of lawful mony of England.

Thirdly, It was agreed, that if I died, she should not have the dote, saying, they did that for friendship's sake without precedent.

19. The lord marquess having received and delivered again the treaty sealed, took his leave, and so did all the rest.

At this time was there a bickering at Parma between the French and the Papists, for monsieur de Thermes, Petro Strozi, and Pontivello, with divers other gentlemen, to the number of thirty, with fifteen hundred souldiers, entered Parma; Gonzaga, with the emperor's and pope's band, lay near the town. The French made sallies, and overcame, slaying the prince of Macedonia, and the seignieur Baptista the pope's nephew.

22. Mr. Sidney made one of the four chief gentlemen.

23. Monsieur le Mareschal came to me, declaring the king his master's well-taking my readiness to this treaty; and also how much his master was bent that way. He presented monsieur Bois Dolphin to be ambassador here, as my lord marquess the 19th day did present Mr. Pickering.

26. Monsieur le Mareschal dined with me. After dinner saw the strength of the English archers. After he had so done, at his departure I gave him a diamond from my finger, worth, by estimation, 1500. both for pains, and also for my memory. Then he took his leave.

27. He came to a hunting to tell me the news, and shew the letter his master had sent him, and doubtless of monsieur Termes and Mariguan's letters, being ambassador with the emperor.

28. Monsieur le Mareschal came to dinner to Hide Park, where there was a fair house made for him, and he saw the coursing there.

30. He came to the earl of Warwick's, lay there one night, and was well received.

29. He had his reward, being worth 30000. in gold, of currant mony, monsieur de Gye 10000., monsieur Chenault 10000., monsieur Movillier 5000., the secretary 5000., and the bishop Peregneux 5000.

was made to call the earl of Warwick to a banquet, with the marquess of Northampton, and divers others, and to cut off their heads. Also he found a bare company about them by the way to set upon them.

11. He declared also, that Mr. Vane had two thousand men in readiness; sir Thomas Arundel had assured my lord, that the Tower was safe; Mr. Partridge should raise London, and take the great seal with the apprentices of London; Seymour and Hammond should wait upon him, and all the horse of the gendarms should be slain.

13. Removing to Westminster, because it was thought this matter might easilier and surelier be dispatched there, and likewise all other.

14. The duke sent for the secretary Cecil to tell him he suspected some ill. Mr. Cecil answered, that if he were not guilty, he might be of good courage; if he were, he had nothing to say, but to lament him. Whereupon the duke sent him a letter of defiance, and called Palmer, who after denial made of his declaration, was let go.

16. This morning none was at Westminster of the conspirators. The first was the duke, who came later than he was wont of himself. After dinner he was apprehended. Sir Thomas Palmer on the Terras walking there, Hammond passing by Mr. Vice-chamberlain's door, was called in by John Piers to make a match at shooting, and so taken. Nudgates was called for as from my lord his master, and taken; likewise were John Seimour and David Seimour. Arundel also was taken, and the lord Gray coming out of the country. Vane, upon two sendings of my lord in the morning, fled at the first sending; he said, my lord was not stout, and if he could get home, he cared for none of them all, he was so strong. But after he was found by John Piers in a stable of his man's at Lambeth under the straw. These went with the duke to the Tower this night, saving Palmer, Arundel, and Vane, who were kept in chambers here apart.

17. The dutches, Crane and his wife, with the chamber-keeper, were sent to the Tower for devising these treasons. James Wingfield also for casting of bills seditious; also Mr. Partridge was attached, and sir Thomas Holcroft.

18. Mr. Banister and Mr. Vaughan were attached and sent to the Tower, and so was Mr. Stanhope.

19. Sir Thomas Palmer confessed that the gendarms, on the muster-day, should be assaulted by two thousand footmen of Mr. Vane's, and my lord's hundred horse; besides his friends which stood by, and the idle people which took his part. If he were overthrown, he would run through London, and cry Liberty! liberty! to raise the apprentices and rabble; if he could, he would go to the Isle of Wight, or to Pool.

22. The dowager of Scotland was by tempest driven to land at Portsmouth; and so she sent word she would take the benefit of the safe-conduct to go by land, and to see me.

23. She came from Portsmouth to Mr. White's house.

24. The lords sat in the star-chamber, and there declared the matters and accusations laid against the duke, meaning to stay the minds of the people.

25. Certain German princes, in the beginning of this month, desired aid in cause of religion 400,000 dollars, if they should be driven to make shift by necessity; and offered the like also, if I entered into any war for them; whereupon I called the lords, and considered, as appeareth by a scroll in the board at Westminster, and thereupon appointed that the secretary Petre, and sir William Cecil another secretary, should talk with the messenger to know the matter precisely, and the names of those would enter the confederacy.

28. The Dowager came to sir Richard Cotton's house.

29. She came from sir Richard Cotton's to the earl of Arundel to dinner, and brought to Mr. Brown's house, where met her the gentlemen of Sussex.

30. She came and was conveyed by the same gentlemen to Guilford, where the lord William Howard, and the gentlemen of Surrey, met her.

All this month the Frenchmen continued spoiling of the emperor's frontiers, and in a skirmish at Ast they slew one hundred Spaniards.

31. A letter, directed to sir Arthur Darcy, to take the charge of the Tower, and to discharge sir John Markham upon this, that without making any of the council privy, he suffered the duke to walk abroad, and certain letters to be sent and answered between David Seimour and Mrs. Poinings, with other divers suspicions.

17. There were letters sent to all emperors, kings, ambassadors, noblemen, men, and chief men, into countries, of the late conspiracy.

31. She came to Hampton Court, conveyed by the same lords and gentlemen aforesaid; and two miles and an half from thence, in a valley, there met her the lord marquess of Northampton, accompanied with the earl of Wiltshire, son and heir to the lord high treasurer, marquess of Winchester; the lord Fitzwater, son to the earl of Sussex; the lord Evers, the lord Bray, the lord Robert Dudley, the lord Garet, sir Nicholas Throgmorton, sir Edward Rogers, and divers other gentlemen, besides all the gentlemen pensioners, men-of-arms, and ushers, sewers and carvers, to the number of an hundred and twenty gentlemen; and so she was brought to Hampton Court. At the gate thereof met her the lady marquess of Northampton, the countess of Pembroke, and divers other ladies and gentlewomen, to the number of sixty; and so she was brought to her lodging on the Queen's side, which was all hanged with Arras; and so was the hall, and all the other lodgings of mine in the house very finely dressed; and for this night, and the next day, all was spent in dancing and pastime, as though it were a court, and great presence of gentlemen resorted thither.

26. Letters were written, for because of this business, to defer the musters of gendarmory till the — day of December.

November.

1. The Dowager perused the house of Hampton Court, and saw some coursing of deer.

2. She came to the bishop's palace at London, and there she lay, and all her train lodged about her.

3. The duke of Suffolk, the earl of Warwick, Wiltshire, and many other lords and gentlemen, were sent to her to welcome her, and to say, on my behalf, that if she lacked anything she should have it for her better furniture; and, also, I would willingly see her the day following.

The 26th of Octob

Crane confessed the most part, even as Palmer did before, and more also: how that the place where the nobles should have been banqueted, and their heads stricken off, was the lord Paget's house, and how the earl of Arundel knew of the matter as well as he, by Stanhop, who was a messenger between them; also some part, how he went to London to get friends once in August last, feigning himself sick. Hammond also confessed the watch he kept in his chamber at night. Bren also confessed much of this matter. The lord Strange confessed how the duke willed him to stir me to marry his third daughter, the lady Jane, and willed

him to be his spie in all matters of my doings and sayings, and to know when some of my council spoke secretly with me : this he confessed of himself.

November.

4. The duke of Suffolk, the lord Fitzwater, the lord Bray, and divers other lords and gentlemen, accompanied with his wife the lady Francis, the lady Margaret, the dutchesses of Richmond and of Northumberland, the lady Jane daughter to the duke of Suffolk ; the marquess of Northampton and Winchester ; the countesses of Arundel, Bedford, Huntington, and Rutland, with one hundred other ladies and gentlewomen, went to her, and brought her through London to Westminster. At the gate there received her the duke of Northumberland, great master, and the treasurer and comptroller, and the earl of Pembroke, with all the sewers, and carvers, and cupbearers, to the number of thirty. In the hall I met her, with all the rest of the lords of my council, as the lord treasurer, the marquess of Northampton, &c. ; and from the outer gate up to the presence-chamber, on both sides stood the guard. The court, the hall, and the stairs, were full of serving-men ; the presence-chamber, great chamber, and her presence-chamber, of gentlemen. And so having brought her to her chamber, I retired to mine. I went to her to dinner ; she dined under the same cloth of state at my left hand : at her reeward dined my cousin Francis and my cousin Margaret ; at mine sat the French ambassador. We were served by two services, two sewers, cupbearers, carvers, and gentlemen. Her master hostell came before her service, and my officers before mine. There were two cupboards, one of gold four stages high, another of massy silver six stages : in her great chamber, dined at three boards, the ladies only. After dinner, when she had heard some music I brought her to the hall, and so she went away.

5. The duke of Northumberland, the lord treasurer, the lord marquess of Northampton, the lord privy-seal, and divers others went to see her, and to deliver a ring with a diamond, and two nags, as a token from me.

6. The duke of Northumberland, with his band of an hundred, of which forty were in black velvet, white and black sleeves, sixty in cloth ; the earl of Pembroke with his band, and fifty more ; the earl of Wiltshire, with fifty-eight of his father's band, all the pensioners, men-of-arms, and the country, with divers ladies, as my cousin Margaret, the duchesses of Richmond and Northumberland, brought the queen to Shoreditch, through Cheapside and Cornhill ; and there met her gentlemen of Middlesex an hundred horse, and so she was conveyed out of the realm, met in every shire with gentlemen.

The earl of Arundel committed to the Tower, with Mr. Stroudly, and St. Alban his men, because Crane did more and more confess of him.

7. A Frenchman was sent again into France, to be delivered again to the eight Frenchmen at the borders, because of a murder he did at Diep, and thereupon he fled hither.

14. Answer was given to the Germans, which did require 400,000 dollars, if need so required, for maintenance of religion.

First, that I was very well inclined to make peace, amity, or bargain with them I knew to be of mine religion ; for because this messenger was sent only to know my inclination and will to enter, and not with full resolution of any matters.

Secondly, I would know whether they could get unto them any such strength of other princes as were able to maintain the war, and to do the reciproque to me if

need should require ; and therefore willed those three princes, duke Maurice of Saxon, the duke of Mecklenburgh, and the marquess John of Brandenburg, from which he was sent, to open the matter to the duke of Prussia, and to all princes about them, and somewhat to get the good will of Hamburg, Lubeck, Bremen, &c. showing them an inkling of the matter.

Thirdly, I would have the matter of religion made more plain, lest when war should be made for other quarrels, they should say it were religion.

Fourthly, he should come with more ample commission from the same states to talk of the sum of money and other appurtenances. This answer was given, lest if I assented wholly at the first, they would declare mine intent to the states and whole senates, and so to come abroad, whereby I should run into danger of breaking the league with the emperor.

16. The lord admiral took his leave, to go into France for christening of the French king's son.

18. Fossey, secretary to the duke Maurice, who was here for matter above specified.

20. A proclamation appointed to go forth, for that there went one before this time, that set prices of beef, oxen, and muttons, which was meant to continue but to November ; whereas the parliament should have been to abrogate that, and to appoint certain commissioners to cause the grassiers to bring to the market, and to sell at prices reasonable. And that certain overseers should be besides to certify of the justices doings.

23. The lord treasurer appointed high steward for the arraignment of the duke of Somerset.

At this time duke Maurice began to show himself a friend to the Protestants, who before that time had appeared their enemy.

21. The foresaid proclamation proclaimed.

17. The earl of Warwick, sir Henry Sidney, sir Henry Nevil, and sir Henry Gates, did challenge all commers at tilt the 3d of January, and at tournay the 6th of January ; and this challenge was proclaimed.

28. News came that Maximilian was coming out of Spain, nine of his galleys with his stuff, and 120 gennets, and his treasure was taken by the French.

24. The lord admiral entered France and came to Buloign.

26. The captain of Portsmouth had word and commandment to bring the model of the castle and place, to the intent it might be fortified, because baron de la Gard had seen it, having an engineer with him, and as it was thought had the plot of it.

30. 22 peers and nobles, besides the council, heard sir Thomas Palmer, Mr. Hammond, Mr. Crane, and Nudigate, swear that their confessions were true : and they did say, that that was said without any kind of compulsion, force, envy, or displeasure, but as favourably to the duke as they could swear to with safe consciences.

24. The lord admiral came to Paris.

December.

1. The duke of Somerset came to his trial at Westminster-hall ; the lord treasurer sat as high steward of England, under the cloth of state, on a bench between two posts, three degrees high. All the lords to the number of twenty-six, viz. The dukes of Suffolk, Northumberland ; marquess of Northampton ; earls of Derby, Bedford, Huntington, Rutland, Bath, Sussex, Worcester, Pembroke ; vis. Hereford ; barons Burgavenny, Audley, Wharton, Evers, Latimer, Bourough, Souch, Stafford, Wentworth, Darcy, Sturton, Windsor, Cromwell, Cobham, Bray.

These sat a degree under and heard the matter debated.

First, after the indictments were read, five in number, the learned counsel laid to my lord of Somerset Palmer's confession. To which he answered, that he never minded to raise the North, and declared all the ill he could devise of Palmer, but he was afraid for bruits, and that moved him to send to sir William Herbert. Replied it was again, that the worse Palmer was, the more he served his purpose. For the banquet, he swore it was untrue, and required more witnesses. Whence Crane's confession was read, he would have had him come face to face. For London, he meant nothing for hurt of any lord but for his own defence. For the gendarmoury, it were but a mad matter for him to enterprise with his one hundred against nine hundred. For having men in his chamber at Greenwich, confessed by Partridge, it seemed he meant no harm, because when he could have done harm he did it not. My lord Strange's confession, he swore it was untrue; and the lord Strange took his oath it was true. Nudigate's, Hammond's, and Alexander Seimour's confessions he denied, because they were his men.

The lawyers rehearsed, how to raise men at his house for an ill intent, as to kill the duke of Northumberland, was treason, by an act, anno tertio of my reign, against unlawful assemblies, for to devise the death of the lords was felony. To mind resisting his attachment was felony; to raise London was treason, and to assault the lords was felony. He answered, he did not intend to raise London, and swore that the witnesses were not there. His assembling of men was but for his own defence. He did not determine to kill the duke of Northumberland, the marquess, &c. but spoke of it, and determined after the contrary, and yet seemed to confess he went about their death.

The lords went together. The duke of Northumberland would not agree that any searching of his death should be treason. So the lords acquitted him of high treason, and condemned him of treason felonious, and so he was adjudged to be hanged.

He gave thanks to the lords for their open trial, and cried mercy of the duke of Northumberland, the marquess of Northampton, and the earl of Pembroke, for his ill meaning against them, and made suit for his life, wife, children, servants, and debts, and so departed without the ax of the Tower. The people not knowing the matter, shouted half a dozen of times so loud, that from the hall-door it was heard at Charing Cross plainly, and rumours went that he was quit of all.

2. The peace concluded by the lord marquess, was ratified by me before the ambassador, and delivered to him signed and sealed.

3. The duke told certain lords that were in the Tower, that he had hired Bertivill to kill them; which thing Bertivill examined on, confessed, and so did Hammond that he knew of it.

4. I saw the musters of the new bandmen of arms: one hundred of my lord treasurer's; one hundred of Northumberland, one hundred Northampton, fifty Huntingtown, fifty Rutland, one hundred and twenty of Pembroke, fifty Darcy, fifty Cobham, one hundred sir Thomas Cheyney, and one hundred and eighty of the pensioners and their bands, with the old men-of-arms, all well-armed men; some with feathers, staves, and pensils of their colours; some with sleeves and half-coats; some with bards and staves, &c. The horses all fair and great, the worst would not have been given for less than 20*l*.; there was none under fourteen hand-ful and an half the most part, and almost all horses with their guider going before them. They passed twice about St. James's Field, and compassed it round, and so departed.

15. Then were certain devices for laws delivered to

my learned council to pen, as by a schedule appeareth.

18. It was appointed I should have six chaplains ordinary, of which two ever to be present, and four always absent in preaching: one year two in Wales, two in Lancashire and Darby; next year two in the marches of Scotland, two in Yorkshire; the third year, two in Devonshire, two in Hampshire; fourth year, two in Norfolk and Essex, and two in Kent and Sussex, &c. These six to be Bill, Harle, Perne, Grindall, Bradford, and Knox.

20. The bishop of Duresme was for concealment of treason written to him, and not disclosed at all till the party did open him, committed to the Tower.

21. Richard lord Rich, chancellor of England, considering his sickness, did deliver his seal to the lord treasurer, the lord great master, and the lord chamberlain, sent to him for that purpose during the time of his sickness, and chiefly of the parliament.

5. The lord admiral came to the French king, and after was sent to the queen, and so conveyed to his chamber.

6. The lord admiral christened the French king's child, and called him, by the king's commandment, Edward Alexander. All that day there was musick, dancing, and playing with triumph in the court; but the lord admiral was sick of a double quartane, yet he presented Barnabe to the French king, who took him to his chamber.

7. The treaty was delivered to the lord admiral, and the French king read it in open audience at mass, with ratification of it. The lord admiral took his leave of the French king, and returned to Paris very sick.

The same day the French king shewed the lord admiral letters that came from Parma, how the Frenchmen had gotten two castles of the imperialists; and in the defence of the one, the prince of Macedonia was slain on the walls, and was buried with triumph at Parma.

22. The great seal of England delivered to the bishop of Ely, to be keeper thereof during the lord Rich's sickness.

The band of an hundred men-of-arms, which my lord of Somerset of late had, appointed to the duke of Suffolk.

23. Removing to Greenwich.

24. I began to keep holy this Christmass, and continued till Twelve-tide.

26. Sir Anthony St. Legier, for matters laid against him by the bishop of Dublin, was banished my chamber till he had made answer and had the articles delivered him.

28. The lord admiral came to Greenwich.

30. Commission was made out to the bishop of Ely, the lord privy-seal, sir John Gates, sir William Petre, sir Robert Bowes, and sir Walter Mildmay, for calling in my debts.

January.

1. Orders were taken with the chandlers of London, for selling their tallow-candles, which before some denied to do; and some were punished with imprisonment.

3. The challenge that was made in the last month was fulfilled.

The challengers were:—Sir Henry Sidney. Sir Henry Nevel. Sir Henry Gatas.

Defendants:—The lord Williams. The lord Fitzwater. The lord Ambrose. The lord Roberts. The lord Fitzwarren. Sir George Howard. Sir William Stafford. Sir John Parrat. Mr. Norice. Mr. Digby. Mr. Warcop. Mr. Courtney. Mr. Knolls. The lord Bray. Mr. Paston. Mr. Cary. Sir Anthony Brown. Mr. Drury.

These in all ran six courses apiece at tilt against the challengers, and accomplished their courses right well, and so departed again.

5. There were sent to Guisnes sir Richard Cotton, and Mr. Bray, to take view of Calais, Guisnes, and the marches; and with the advice of the captain and engineers, to devise some amendment, and thereupon to make me certificate, and upon mine answer to go further to the matter.

4. It was appointed, that if Mr. Stanhop left Hull, then that I should no more be charged therewith, but that the town should take it, and should have 40*l.* a year for the repairing of the castle.

2. I received letters out of Ireland, which appear in the secretary's hand; and thereupon the earldom of Thowmount was by me given from O'Brian's heirs, whose father was dead, and had it for term of life, to Donnas baron of Ebrean, and his heirs males.

3. Also letters were written of thanks to the earls of Desmond and Clanrikard, and to the baron of Dunganan.

3. The emperor's ambassador moved me several times that my sister Mary might have mass, which with no little reasoning with him was denied him.

6. The foresaid challengers came into the tournay, and the foresaid defendants entered in after, with two more with them, Mr. Terill, and Mr. Robert Hopton, and fought right well, and so the challenge was accomplished.

The same night was first of a play, after a talk between one that was called Riches, and the other Youth, whether of them was better. After some pretty reasoning, there came in six champions of either side.

On YOUTH's side came:—My lord Fitzwater. My lord Ambrose. Sir Anthony Brown. Sir William Cobham. Mr. Cary. Mr. Warcop. On RICHES' side:—My lord Fitzwarren. Sir Robert Stafford. Mr. Courtney. Mr. Digby. Mr. Hopton. Mr. Hungerford.

All these fought two to two at barriers in the hall. Then came in two apparelled like Almains, the earl of Ormond and Jaques Granado; and two came in like friars, but the Almains would not suffer them to pass till they had fought: the friars were Mr. Drury and Thomas Cobham. After this followed two masques, one of men, another of women. Then a banquet of one hundred and twenty dishes. This day was the end of Christmass.

7. I went to Debtford to dine there, and broke up the hall.

8. Upon a certain contention between the lord Willowby, and sir Andrew Dudley, captain of Guisnes, for their jurisdiction, the lord Willowby was sent for to come over, to the intent the controversy might cease, and order might be taken.

12. There was a commission granted to the earl of Bedford, to Mr. Vice-chamberlain, and certain others, to call in my debts that were owing me, and the days past; and also to call in these that be past when the days be come.

17. There was a match run between six gentlemen of a side at tilt.

Of one side:—The earl of Warwick. The lord Roberts. Mr. Sidney. Mr. Novel. Henry Gates. Anthony Digby. These wan by four taintes.

Of the other side:—The lord Ambrose. The lord Fitzwater. Sir Francis Knollis. Sir Anthony Brown. Sir John Parrat. Mr. Courtney.

18. The French ambassador moved, that we should destroy the Scotch part of the debatable ground as they

had done ours. It was answered:—1. The lord Coniers that made the agreement, made it none otherwise but as it should stand with his superior's pleasure: whereupon the same agreement being misliked, because the Scotch part was much harder to overcome, word was sent to stay the matter. Nevertheless the lord Maxwell did, upon malice to the English debatable, overrun them; whereupon was concluded, that if the Scots will agree it, the ground should be divided; if not, then shall the Scots waste their debatable, and we ours, commanding them by proclamation to depart.

This day the Stillard put in their answer to a certain complaint that the merchant-adventurers laid against them.

19. The bishop of Ely, custos sigilli, was made chahcellor, because as custos sigilli he could execute nothing in the parliament that should be done, but only to seal ordinary things.

21. Removing to Westminster.

22. The duke of Somerset had his head cut off upon Tower Hill, between eight and nine a clock in the morning.

16. Sir William Pickering delivered a token to the lady Elizabeth, a fair diamond.

18. The duke of Northumberland, having under him an hundred men-of-arms, and an hundred light-horse, gave up the keeping of fifty men-at-arms to his son the earl of Warwick.

23. The sessions of parliament began.

24. John Gresham was sent over into Flanders, to shew to the Foulcare, to whom I owed money, that I would defer it; or if I paid it, pay it in English, to make them keep up their French crowns with which I minded to pay them.

25. The answer of the Stillard was delivered to certain of my learned counsel to look on and oversee.

27. Sir Ralph Vane was condemned of felony in treason, answering like a ruffian.

Paris arrived with horses, and shewed how the French king had sent me six Cortals, two Turks, a Barbary, two Gennets, a stirring horse, and two little mules, and shewed them to me.

29. Sir Thomas Arundel was likewise cast of felony in treason, after long controversie, for the matter was brought in trial by seven of the clock in the morning.

28. At noon the inquest went together; they sat shut up in a house together, without meat or drink, because they could not agree all that day and all that night.

29. This day in the morning they did cast him.

February.

2. There was a king-of-arms made for Ireland, whose name was Ulster, and his province was all Ireland; and he was the fourth king-of-arms, and the first herald of Ireland.

The emperor took, the last month and this, a million of pounds in Flanders.

6. It was appointed that sir Philip Hobbey should go to the regent, upon pretence of ordering of quarrels of merchants, bringing with him 63,000*l.* in French crowns to be paid in Flanders at Antwerp, to the Schortz and their family, of debts I owed them, to the intent he might dispatch them both under one.

5. Sir Miles Partridge was condemned of felony for the duke of Somerset's matter, for he was one of the conspirators.

8. Fifty men-at-arms appointed to Mr. Sadler.

9. John Beaumont, master of the rolls, was put in prison for forging a false deed from Charles Brandon duke of Suffolk, to the lady Ann Powis, of certain lands and leases.

10. Commission was granted out to thirty-two persons, to examine, correct, and set forth the ecclesiastical laws.

The persons' names were these:—The bishops—Canterbury, Ely, London, Winchester, Exeter, Bath, Gloucester, Rochester.

The divines:—Taylor, of Lincoln; Tylor, of Hadlee; Mr. Cox, almoner; sir John Cheek; sir Anthony Cook; Petrus Martyr; Joannes Alasco; Parker, of Cambridge.

Civilians:—Mr. Secretary Petre; Mr. Secretary Cecil; Mr. Traherne; Mr. Red; Mr. Coke; May, dean of Paul's; Skinner.

Lawyers:—Justice Broomley; Justice Hales, Gosnald, Goodrick, Stamford, Carel, Lucas, Gawdy.

10. Sir Philip Hobbey departed with somewhat more crowns than came to 53,500 and odd piers, and had authority to borrow, in my name, of Lazarus Taker 10,000*l.* Flemish, at seven per cent. for six months, to make up the pay, and to employ that that was in bullion, to bring over with him; also to carry 3000 merks' weight upon a license the emperor granted the Scheitz which they did give me. After that to depart to Bruges, where the regent lay, and there to declare to her the griefs of my subjects.

11. There was delivered of armour, by John Gresham, merchant, eleven hundred pair of corslets and horsemen-harnesses, very fair.

14. It was appointed that the Jesus of Lubeck, a ship of eight hundred tun, and the Mary Gouston of six hundred tun, should be let out for a voyage to merchantmen for 1000*l.* they at the voyage to Levant end to answer the tackling, the ship, the ordnance, munition, and to leave it in that case they took it. Certain others of the worst of my ships were appointed to be sold.

9. Proclamation was made at Paris, that the bands of the dolphine, the duke of Vendosme, the count d'Anguien, the constable of France, the duke de Guise, and d'Aumale, the count de Sancerres, the mareschal St. Andrew, monsieur de Jarnac and Tavannes, should, the 15th day of March, assemble at Troyes in Champaign to resist the emperor. Also that the French king would go thither in prison, with two hundred gentlemen of his household, and four hundred archers of his guard.

16. The French king sent his secretary de Lausespine to declare this voyage to him,* and to desire him to take pains to have Mr. Pickering with him, and to be a witness of his doings.

19. Whereupon it was appointed, that he should have 2000 crowns for his furnishment, besides his diet, and Barnabe eight hundred.

20. The countess of Pembroke died.

18. The merchant-adventurers put in their replication to the Stiliard's answer.

23. A decree was made by the board, that upon knowledge and information of their charters, they had found: first, that they were no sufficient corporation. Second. That their number, names, and nation was unknown. Third. That when they had forfeited their liberties, king Edward IV. did restore them on this condition,—that they should colour no stranger's goods, which they had done. Also that whereas in the beginning they shipped not past eight clothes, after one hundred, after one thousand, after that six thousand; now in their name was shipped forty-four thousand clothes in one year, and but eleven hundred of all other strangers. For these consi-

derations sentence was given, that they had forfeited their liberties, and were in like case with other strangers.

28. There came ambassadors from Haniburg, and Lubeck, to speak on the behalf of the Stiliard merchants.

29. A Fleming would have searched the Falcon for Frenchmen; the Falcon turned, shot off, boarded the Fleming, and took him.

Paiment was made of 63,500*l.* Flemish to the Foulcare, all saving 6,000*l.* which he borrowed in French crowns by sir Philip Hobbey.

March.

2. The lord of Burgavenny was committed to ward for striking the earl of Oxford in the chamber of presence.

The answer for the ambassadors of the Stiliard was committed to the lord chancellor, the two secretaries, sir Robert Bowes, sir John Baker, judge Montague, Griffith solicitor, Gosnald, Goodrick, and Brooks.

3. It was agreed, for better dispatch of things, certain of the council, with others joined with them, should overlook the penal laws, and put certain of them in execution. Others should answer suitors; others should oversee my revenues, and the order of them; also the superfluous paiments heretofore made. Others should have commission for taking away superfluous bulwarks.

First, order was given for defence of the merchants, to send four barques and two pinaces to the sea.

4. The earl of Westmoreland, the lord Wharton, the lord Coniers, sir Tho. Palmer, and sir Tho. Chaloner, were appointed in commission to meet with the Scotch ambassadors, for equal division of the ground that was called the debatable.

6. The French ambassador declared to the duke of Northumberland, how the French king had sent him a letter of credit for his embassy. After delivery made of the letter, he declared how duke Maurice of Saxony, the duke of Mecklenburgh, the marquess of Brandenburg, the count of Mansfield, and divers other princes of Germany, made a league with his master offensive and defensive; the French to go to Strasburg with thirty thousand footmen, and eight thousand horsemen; the Almain to meet with them there the 25th of this month, with fifteen thousand footmen, and five thousand horsemen. Also the city of Strasburg had promised them victual, and declared how the French would send me ambassadors to have me into the same league. Also, that the marquess of Brandenburg, and count of Mansfield, had been privately conveyed to the French king's presence, and were again departed to levy men, and he thought by this time they were in the field.

10. He declared the same thing to me in the same manner.

9. It was consulted touching the marts, and it was agreed that it was most necessary to have a mart in England for the enriching of the same to make it the more famous, and to be less in other men's danger, and to make all things better cheap, and more plentiful. The time was thought good to have it now, because of the wars between the French king and the emperor. The places were the meetest; Hull for the east parts, Southampton for the south parts of England, as appeareth by two bills in my study. London also was thought no ill place, but it was appointed to begin with the other two.

11. The bills put up to the parliament were overseen, and certain of them were for this time thought meet to pass and to be read, other of them for avoiding tediousness to be omitted, and no more bills to be taken.

* This is imperfect.

15. Those that were appointed commissioners for the requests, or for the execution of penal laws, or for overseeing of the courts, received their commissions at my hand.

18. It was appointed, that for the payment of 14,000*l.* in the end of April, there should be made an anticipation of the subsidy of London, and of the lords of my council, which should go near to pay the same with good provision.

20. The French ambassador brought me a letter of credit from his master, and thereupon delivered me the articles of the league betwixt the Germans and him, desiring me to take part of the same league: which articles I have also in my study.

23. The merchants of England having been long staid, departed, in all about sixty sail, the wool-fleet, and all to Antwerp. They were countermanded because of the mart, but it was too late.

24. Forsomuch as the exchange was staid by the emperor to Lions, the merchants of Antwerp were sore afraid; and that the mart could not be without exchange, liberty was given to the merchants to exchange and rechange money for money.

26. Henry Dudley was sent to the sea with four ships and two barks, for defence of the merchants, which were daily before robbed; who, as soon as he came to the sea, took two pirats ships, and brought them to Dover.

28. I did deny, after a sort, the request to enter into war, as appeareth by the copy of my answer in the study.

29. To the intent the ambassador might more plainly understand my meaning, I sent Mr. Hobbey and Mr. Mason to him, to declare him mine intent more amply.

31. The commissioners for the debatable of the Scotch side did deny to meet, except a certain castle, or pile, might be first razed; whereupon letters were sent to stay our commissioners from the meeting till they had further word.

10. Duke Maurice mustered at Artznst at Saxony all his own men, and left duke August, the duke of Anhalt, and the count of Mansfield, for defence of his country, chiefly for fear of the Bohemians. The young Lantsgrave, Reiffenberg, and others, mustered in Hassen.

14. The marquess Albert of Brandenburg mustered his men two leagues from Erfordt, and after entered the same, receiving of the citizens a gift of 20,000 florins; and he borrowed of them 60,000 florins, and so came to Steinfurt, where duke Maurice and all the German princes were assembled.

April.

2. I fell sick of the measles and small-pox.

4. Duke Maurice, with his army, came to Augusta; which town was at the first yielded to him, and delivered into his hands, where he did charge certain officers, restored their preachers, and made the town more free.

5. The constable, with the French army, came to Metz, which was within two days yielded to him; where he found great provision of victuals, and that he determined to make the staple of victual for his journey.

8. He came to a fort wherein was an abbey called Gocoza, and that fort abide eighty cannon-shot; at length came to a parley, where the Frenchmen got in and won it by assault, slew all, saving one hundred and fifteen, with the captain, whom he hanged.

9. He took a fort called Maranges, and razed it.

12. The French king came to Nancy to go to the army, and there found the dutchess and the young duke of Lorrain.

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13. The mareschal St. Andrew, with two hundred men-of-arms and two thousand footmen, carried away the young duke, accompanied with few of his old men, toward France, to the Dolphin, which lay at Rhemes; to the no little discontentation of his mother the dutchess. He fortified also divers towns in Lorrain, and put in French garisons.

14. He departed from Nancy to the army, which lay at Metz.

7. Monsieur Senarpon gave an overthrow to the captain of St. Omer's, having with him six hundred footmen and two hundred horsemen.

15. The parliament broke up; and because I was sick, and not able to go well abroad as then, I signed a bill containing the names of the acts which I would have pass; which bill was read in the house. Also I gave commission to the lord chancellor, two archbishops, two bishops, two dukes, two marquesses, two earls, and two barons, to dissolve wholly this parliament.

18. The earl of Pembroke surrendered his mastership of the horse, which I bestowed on the earl of Warwick.

19. Also he left fifty of his men of arms; of which twenty-five were given to Sir Philip Hobbey, and twenty-five to Sir John Gates.

21. It was agreed that commissions should go out for to take certificate of the superfluous church plate to mine use, and to see how it hath been embezzled.

The French ambassador desired, that forasmuch as it was dangerous carrying of victual from Boleign to Ard by land, that I would give license to carry by sea to Calais, and from Calais to Ard, in my ground.

22. The lord Paget was degraded from the order of the Garter for divers his offences; and chiefly because he was no gentleman of blood, neither of father-side nor mother-side.

Sir Anthony St. Leiger, which was accused by the bishop of Dublin for divers brawling matters, was taken again into the privy-chamber, and sat among the knights of the order.

23. Answer was given to the French ambassador, that I could not accomplish his desire, because it was against my league with the emperor.

24. The order of the Garter was wholly altered, as appeareth by the new statutes. There were elected Sir Andrew Dudley and the earl of Westmoreland.

26. Monsieur de Couriers came from the regent, to desire that her fleet might safely, upon occasion, take harbour in my havens. Also, he said, he was come to give order for redressing all complaints of our merchants.

25. Whereas it was appointed that the 14,000*l.* that I owed in the last of April should be paid by the anticipation of the subsidy of London and of the lords, because to change the same over sea was loss of the sixth part of the money I did so send over. Stay was made thereof, and the payment appointed to be made over of 20,000*l.* Flemish, which I took up there fourteen per cent., and so remained 6000*l.* to be paid there the last of May.

30. Removing to Greenwich.

28. The charges of the mints were diminished 400*l.*, and there was left 600*l.*

18. King Ferdinando, Maximilian his son, and the duke of Bavaria, came to Linx, to treat with duke Maurice for a peace; where Maurice declared his griefs.

16. Duke Maurice's men received an overthrow at Ulms; marquess Albert spoiled the country, and gave them a day to answer.

31. A debt of 14,000*l.* was paid to the Foulcare.

May.

2. The stiliard-men received their answer; which was, to confirm the former judgment of my council.

7. A letter was sent to the Foulcare from my council, to this effect: that I have paid 63,000*l.* Flemish in February, and 14,000*l.* in April, which came to 77,000*l.* Flemish, which was a fair sum of money to be paid in one year, chiefly in this busy world; whereas it is most necessary to be had for princes. Besides this, that it was thought money should not now do him so much pleasure as at another time, peradventure. Upon these considerations, they had advised me to pay but 5000*l.* of the 45,000*l.* I now owe, and so put over therest according to the old interest, fourteen per cent., with which they desired him to take patience.

4. Monsieur de Couriers received his answer, which was, that I had long ago given order that the Flemish ships should not be molested in my havens, as it appeareth, because Frenchmen chasing Flemings into my havens, could not get them because of the rescue they had; but that I thought it not convenient to have more ships to come into my havens than I could well rule and govern. Also, a note of divers complaints of my subjects was delivered to him.

10. Letters were sent to my ambassadors, that they should move to the princes of Germany, to the emperor, and to the French king, that if this treaty came to any effect or end, I might be comprehended in the same.

Commission was given to sir John Gates, sir Robert Bowes, the chancellor of the augmentation, sir Walter Mildmay, sir Richard Cotton, to sell some part of the chauntry lands, and of the houses, for the payment of my debts, which was 251,000*l.* sterling at the least.

Taylor, dean of Lincoln, was made bishop of Lincoln.

Hooper, bishop of Gloucester, was made bishop of Worcester and Gloucester.

Story, bishop of Rochester, was made bishop of Chichester.

Sir Robert Bowes was appointed to be made master of the rolls.

Commandment was given to the treasurer, that nothing of the subsidy should be disbursed, but by warrant from the board; and likewise for our Lady-day revenues.

14. The baron of the exchequer, upon the surrender made by Justice Lister, was made chief justice; the attorney, chief baron; the solicitor-general, attorney; and the solicitor of the augmentation, Gosnold, general solicitor; and no more solicitor to be in the augmentation court. Also, there were appointed eight sergeants of the law against Michaelmas next coming; Gaudy, Stamford, Carell, &c.

16. The muster was made of all the men-at-arms, saving fifty of Mr. Sadler's, twenty-five of Mr. Vice-chamberlain's, and twenty-five of sir Philip Hobbey's; and also of all the pensioners.

17. The progress was appointed to be by Dorchester to Pool in Dorsetshire, and so through Salisbury homeward to Windsor.

18. It was appointed money should be cried down in Ireland after a pay, which was of money, at Midsummer next; in the mean season, the thing to be kept secret and close. Also, that Pirry, the mint-master, taking with him Mr. Brabazon, chief treasurer of the realm, should go to the mines, and see what profit may be taken of the ore the Almaines had digged in a mine of silver; and if it would quit cost, or more, to go forward withal; if not, to leave off, and discharge all the Almaines.

Also, that of five hundred of the two thousand soul-

diers there being, should be cut off, and as many more as would go and serve the French king or the emperor, leaving sufficient at home; no fortifications to be made also yet for a time, in no place unfortified; and many other articles were concluded for Ireland.

20. Sir Richard Wingfield, Rogers, and —, were appointed to view the state of Portsmouth, and to bring again their opinions concerning the fortifying thereof.

4. The French king having passed the straits of Lorrain, came to Savern, four miles from Strasburg, and was victualled by the country, but denied passage through their town.

21. Answer came from the Foulcare, that for the deferring of 30,000*l.*, parcel of forty-five troas, he was content; and likewise August Py, so he might have paid him 20,000*l.* as soon as might be.

22. It was appointed, that forasmuch as there was much disorder on the marches on Scotland-side, both in my fortifications of some places, and negligent looking to other forts, the duke of Northumberland, general warden thereof, should go down and view it, and take order for it, and return home with speed. Also, a pay of 10,000*l.* to go before him.

23. It was appointed that these bands of men-of-arms should go with me this progress:—Lord treasurer, thirty; lord great-master, twenty-five; lord privy-seal, thirty; duke of Suffolk, twenty-five; earl of Warwick, twenty-five; earl of Rutland, fifteen; earl of Huntingdon, twenty-five; earl of Pembroke, fifty; lord admiral, fifteen; lord Darcy, thirty; lord Cobham, twenty; lord Warden, twenty; Mr. Vice-chamberlain, fifteen; Mr. Sadler, ten; Mr. Sidney, ten.

29. It was appointed that Thomas Gresham should have paid him, out of the money that came of my debts, 7000*l.*, for to pay 6800*l.* the last of the month, which he received the same night.

28. The same Thomas Gresham had 9000*l.* paid him toward the payment of 20,000*l.*, which the Foulcare required to be paid at the passmart; for he had taken by exchange from hence 5000*l.* and odds; and 10,000*l.* he borrowed of the Scheits, and ten of Lazarus Tukkar. So there was in the whole twenty-five, of which was paid the last of April fourteen; so there remained 11,000, and 9000*l.*, which I now made over by exchange; which made 20,000*l.* to pay the Foulcare with.

30. I received advertisement from Mr. Pickering, that the French king went from Savern to Aroumashes, which was yielded to him; from this to Leimsberg, and so towards Spire; his army to be about twenty thousand footmen and eight thousand horsemen, well appointed, besides rascals. He had with him fifty pieces of artillery, of which were twenty-six cannons, and six organs, and great number of boote. From Leimsberg, partly doubting Duke Maurice's meaning, partly for lack of victual; and also because he had word that the regent's army, of which were guides the count de Egmont, Monsieur de Rie, Martin Vanrouse, and the duke of Holest, to the number of sixteen thousand footmen and six thousand horsemen, had invaded Champaign and fortified Aschenay; he retired homeward till he came to Striolph, and there commanded all unprofitable carriage and men should depart to Chalons; and sent to the admiral to come to him with six thousand Swissers, four thousand Frenchmen, fifteen hundred horsemen, and thirty pieces of ordnance, meaning, as it was thought, to do some enterprise about Luxemburg, or to recover Aschenay, which the regent had fortified. There died in this journey two thousand men for lack of good victual; for eight days they had but bread and water, and they had marched sixty Dutch miles at the least, and past many a streight, very painfully and labourously.

19. Duke Maurice coming from Auspurg in great hast, came this day to the first passage called the Clowse, which the emperor had caused to be strongly fortified and victualled; a passage through an hill, cut out artificially in the way to Inspurg, and there was a strong bulwark made hard by it, which he wan, after a long fight, within an hour and an half by assault, and took and slew all that were within. And that night he marched through that hill into a plain, where he looked for to see twelve ensigns of lansknights of his enemies, but they retired to the second streight, and yet divers of them were both slain and taken; and so that night he lodged in the plain, at the entry of the second passage, where there were five forts and one castle, which with ordnance slew some of duke Maurice's men.

20. This morning the duke of Mecklenburg, with three thousand footmen, cast a bridge over a river five miles beneath the sluice, and came and gave assault behind the sluice; and duke Maurice gave assault in the face, and the country men of Tirol, for hate of the Spaniards, helped duke Maurice; so that five forts were won by assault, and the castle yielded upon condition to depart, not to serve in three months after the emperor. In this enterprise he slew and took three thousand and five hundred persons, and twenty-three pieces of artillery, and 240,000 S.

The emperor hearing of this, departed by night from Inspruck, forty miles that night in post; he killed two of his gennets, and rode continually every night, first to Brixinium; and after, for doubt of the cardinal of Ferrara's army, turned to Villucho in Carinthia. The 30th of May, tarrying for the duke d'Alva, who should come to him with two thousand Spaniards, and three thousand Italians that came from Parma. Also, the emperor delivered duke Frederic from captivity, and sent him through Bohemia into Saxony, to raise a power against duke Maurice's nephew.

22. Duke Maurice, after that Hala and divers other towns about Inshpruck in Tirol had yielded, came to Inshpruck, and there caused all the stuff to be brought to the market-place, and took all that pertained to imperialists as confiscate; the rest he suffered the townsmen to enjoy. He took there fifty pieces of ordnance, which he conveyed to Ausburg; for that town he fortified, and made it his staple of provision.

Certain things which the commissioners for the requests shall not meddle withal.

First, suits for lands.

Secondly, suits for forfeits, amounting to more than 40*l.* value.

Thirdly, suits for pensions.

Fourthly, reversions of farms, which have more than one year to come.

Fifthly, leases of manours.

Sixthly, leases for more than twenty-one years.

Seventhly, no offices of special trust in reckonings of money, as customers, comptrollers, surveyors, receivers, auditors, treasurers, and chancellors, &c., to be given otherwise than *durante bene placito*. Also all mint-masters, and others that have a doing in the mint, and such like. The bishops, judges, and other officers of judgment, *quamdiu se bene gesserit*. Balilwicks, stewardships, keeping of parks and houses, &c. to be granted during life.

Eighthly, suits for forgiveness of debts.

Ninthly, releasing of debts to be paid.

Tenthly, suits for money, to the intent to pay debts they owe elsewhere.

Eleven, suits to buy land.

Twelve, suits for licenses, to carry over gold, silver,

ead, leather, corn, wood, &c., that be things unlaw.

Thirteen, unresidence upon benefices.

They shall meddle with baliewicks and stewardships during leases for twenty-one years; forfeits under 40*l.*, receiverships, woodwards, surveyorships, &c. during pleasure. Instalments of days for debts. To those gentlemen that have well served, fee-farms to them and their heirs males of their body, paying their rent, and discharging the annuities due to all officers touching the same. Keeping of houses and parks, ordinary offices, as yeomen of the crown, the household offices, &c.

June.

2. Sir John Williams, who was committed to the Fleet for disobeying a commandment given to him for not paying any pensions, without not making my council privy, upon his submission was delivered out of prison.

4. Beamont, master of the rolls, did confess his offences, who in his office of wards had bought land with my mony, had lent it, and kept it from me, to the value of 9000*l.* and above, more than this twelvemonth, and 11,000 in obligations; how he, being judge in the Chancery between the duke of Suffolk and the lady Powis, took her title, and went about to get it into his hands, paying a sum of mony, and letting her have a farm of a manour of his, and caused an indenture to be made falsly, with the old duke's counterfeit hand to it; by which he gave these lands to the lady Powis, and went about to make twelve men perjured. Also, how he had concealed the felony of his man to the sum of 200*l.*, which he stole from him, taking the mony into his own hand again. For these considerations, he surrendered into my hands all his offices, lands, and goods, moveable and unmoveable, toward the payment of this debt, and of the fines due to these particular faults by him done.

6. The lord Paget, chancellor of the dutchy, confessed how he, without commission, did sell away my lands and great timber-woods; how he had taken great fines of my lands, to his said particular profit and advantage, never turning any to my use or commodity; how he made leases in reversion for more than twenty-one years. For these crimes, and other-like recited before, he surrendered his office, and submitted himself to those fines that I or my council would appoint to be levied of his goods and lands.

7. Whaley, receiver of Yorkshire, confessed how he lent my mony upon gain and lucre; how he paid one years revenue over, with the arrearages of the last; how he bought mine own land with my own mony; how in his accompts he had made many false suggestions; how, at the time of the fall of mony, he borrowed divers sums of mony, and had allowance for it after, by which he gained 500*l.* at one crying-down; the whole sum being 2000*l.* and above. For these and such-like considerations he surrendered his office, and submitted to fines which I or my council should assign him, to be levied of his goods and lands.

8. The lords of the council sat at Guildhall in London, where, in the presence of a thousand people, they declared to the mayor and brethren their slothfulness in suffering unreasonable prices of things, and to craftsmen their willfulness, &c.; telling them, that if upon this admonition they did not amend, I was wholly determined to call in their liberties as confiscate, and to appoint officers that should look to them.

10. It was appointed that the Lord Gray of Wilton should be pardoned of his offences, and delivered out of the Tower.

Whereas sir Philip Hobbey should have gone to Calais with sir Richard Cotton and William Barnes,

auditor, it was appointed sir Anthony St. Legier, sir Richard Cotton, and sir Thomas Mildmay, should go thither, carrying with them 10,000*l.*, to be received out of the Exchequer.

Whereas it was agreed that there should be a pay now made to Ireland of 5000*l.*, and then the money to be cried down, it was appointed that three thousand weight which I had in the Tower should be carried thither, and coined at three denar. fine; and that incontinent the coin should be cried down.

12. Because Pirry tarried here for the bullion, William Williams, essay-master, was put in his place, to view the mines with Mr. Brabazon, or him whom the deputy should appoint.

13. Baunester and Crane, the one for his large confession, the other because little matter appeared against him, were delivered out of the Tower.

16. The lord Paget was brought into Star-chamber, and there declared effectuously his submission by word of mouth, and delivered it in writing.

Beaumont, who had before made his confession in writing, began to deny it again; but after being called before my council, he did confess it again, and there acknowledged a fine of his land, and signed an obligation in surrender of all his goods.

17. Monsieur de Couriers took his leave.

2. The French king won the castle of Robdemac. Certain horsemen of the regent's came and set upon the French king's baggage, and slew divers of the carriers; but at length, with some loss of the Frenchmen, they were compelled to retire. The French king won Mount St. Ann.

4. The French king came to Deuvillars, which was a strong town, and besieged it, making three breaches.

12. The town was yielded to him with the captain. He found in it two thousand five hundred footmen, two hundred horsemen, sixty-three great brass pieces, three hundred hagbuts of croke, much victual, and much ammunition, as he did write to his ambassador.

19. It was appointed that the bishop of Durham's matter should stay till the end of the progress.

20. Beaumont in the Star-chamber confessed, after a little sticking upon the matter, his faults, to which he had put to his hand.

22. It was agreed that the bands of men-of-arms appointed to Mr. Sidney, Mr. Vice-chamberlain, Mr. Hobbey, and Mr. Sadler, should not be furnished, but left off.

25. It was agreed that none of my council should move me in any suit of land for forfeits above 20*l.*, for reversion of leases, or other extraordinary suits, till the state of my revenues were further known.

15. The French king came to a town standing upon the river of Mosa, called Yvoire, which gave him many hot skirmishes.

18. The French king began his battery to the walls.

14. The townsmen of Mountmedy gave a hot skirmish to the French, and slew Monsieur de Toge's brother, and many other gentlemen of the camp.

12. The prince of Salerno who had been with the French king, to treat with him touching the matter of Naples, was dispatched in post with this answer, that the French king would aid him with thirteen thousand footmen and fifteen hundred horsemen, in the French wages, to recover and conquer the kingdom of Naples; and he should marry, as some said, the French king's sister, madam Margaret. The cause why this prince rebelled against the emperor was, partly the uncourteous handling of the viceroy of Naples, partly ambition.

The Flemings made an invasion into Champaign, in so much that the Dolphin had almost been taken;

and the queen lying at Chalons, sent some of her stuff towards Paris.

Also another company took the town of Guise, and spoiled the country.

22. Monsieur de Tallie was sent to raise the arrier-bands and legionars of Picardy and Champaign, to recover Guise and invade Flanders.

27. Removing to Hampton Court.

30. It was appointed that the statds should have this answer, that those clothes which they had bought to carry over, to the sum of two thousand clothes and odd, should be carried at their old custom, so they were carried within six weeks; and likewise all commodities they brought in till our Lady-day in term next; in all other points the old decree to stand, till by a further communication the matter should be ended and concluded.

The lord Paget was licensed to tarry at London and thereabouts, till Michaelmas, because he had no provision in his country.

26. Certain of the heralds, Lancaster and Portcullis, were committed to ward, for counterfeiting Clarencieux' seal, to get money by giving of arms.

23. The French king having received divers skirmishes of the townsmen, and chiefly two; in the one, they slew the French light-horse lying in a village by the town; in the other, they entered into the camp, and pulled down tents; which two skirmishes were given by the count of Mansfield, governor of the town. And the duke of Luxemburg and his three hundred light-horse, understanding, by the treason of four priests, the weakest part of the town, so affrighted the townsmen and the Flemish souldiers, that they by threatnings compelled the captain, the count, that he yielded himself and the gentlemen prisoners; the common souldiers to depart with white wands in their hands. The town was well fortified, victualled, and furnished.

24. The town of Mountmedy yielded to the French king, which before had given a hot skirmish.

July.

4. Sir John Gates, vice-chamberlain, was made chancellor of the dutchy.

7. Removing to Oatlands.

5. The emperor's ambassador delivered the regent's letter, being of this effect; that whereas I was bound by a treaty with the emperor, made Anno Dom. 1542, at Dotrecht, that if any man did invade the two counties, I should help him with five thousand footmen, or 700 crowns a-day during four months, and make war with him within a month after the request made; and now the French king had invaded Luxemburg, desiring my men to follow the effect of the treaty.

7. The names of the commissioners was added, and made more, both in the debts, the surveying of the courts, the penal laws, &c.; and because my lord chamberlain, my lord privy seal, Mr. Vice-chamberlain, and Mr. Secretary Petre, went with me this progress.

8. It was appointed that fifty pound weight of gold should be coined after the new standard, to carry about this progress, which maketh 150*l.* sterling.

9. The chancellor of the augmentation was willed to surcease his commission, given him the third year of our reign.

3. Monsieur de Bossy, grand escuer to the emperor, was made general of the army in the Low Countries; and Monsieur de Prat over the horsemen.

10. It was appointed here, that if the emperor's ambassador did move any more for help or aid, this answer should be sent him by two of my council, that this progress-time my council was dispersed, I would move by

their advice, and he must tarry till the matter were concluded, and their opinions heard. Also, I had committed the treaty to be considered by divers learned men, &c. And if another time he would press me, then answer to be made, that I trusted the emperor would not wish me, in these young years, having felt them so long, to enter into them. How I had amity sworn with the French king, which I could not well break; and therefore, if the emperor thought it so meet, I would be a mean for a peace between them, but not otherwise. And if he did press the treaty, lastly to conclude, that the treaty did not bind me which my father had made, being against the profit of my realm and country; and to desire a new treaty to be made between me and the emperor in the last wars. He answered, that he marvelled what we meant, for we are bound, quoth the emperor, and not you. Also, the emperor had refused to fulfil it divers times, both in not letting pass horses, armour, ammunition, &c., which were provided by me for the wars. As also in not sending aid upon the forraging of the low country of Calais.

12. A letter was written to sir Peter Meutas, captain of the isle of Jersey, both to command him that divine service may there be used as in England; and also that he take heed to the church-plate, that it be not stollen away, but kept safe till further order be taken.

9. The French king came to the town Aveins in Hainault, where after he had viewed the town he left it, and besieged a pile called Tirlokbout. The bailiff of the town, perceiving his departure, gave the onset on his rereward with two thousand footmen and five hundred horsemen, and slew five hundred Frenchmen. After this, and the winning of certain holds of little force, the French king returned into France, and divided his army into divers good towns to rest them, because divers were sick of the flux and such other diseases; meaning shortly to increase his power, and so to go forward with his enterprise.

12. Frederick, duke of Saxony, was released from his imprisonment, and sent by the emperor into his own country, to the great rejoicing of all the protestants.

5. The emperor declared, that he would none of these articles to which duke Maurice agreed, and the king of the Romans also. The copy of them remaineth with the secretary Cecil.

Marquess Albert of Brandenburg did great harm in the country of Franconia; burnt all towns and villages about Norimberg, and compelled them to pay to the princes of his league 200,000 dollars, ten of the fairest pieces of ordnance, and one hundred and fifty kintals of powder. After that he went to Frankfort, to distress certain souldiers gathered there for the emperor.

15. Removing to Guilford.

20. Removing to Petworth.

23. The answer was made to the emperor's ambassador, touching the aid he required, by Mr. Wotton and Mr. Hobbey, according to the first article *supra*.

24. Because the number of bands that went with me this progress made the train great, it was thought good they should be sent home, save only one hundred and fifty, which were pickt out of all the bands. This was because the train was thought to be near four thousand horse, which were enough to eat up the country; for there was little meadow nor hay all the way as I went.

25. Removing to Londre, sir Anthony Brown's house.

27. Removing to Halvenaker.

30. Whereas it had been before devised, that the new fort of Barwick should be made with four bulwarks; and for making of two of them, the wall of the town should be left open on the enemies' side a great way together (which thing had been both dangerous

and chargeable), it was agreed the wall should stand, and two slaughter-houses to be made upon it, to scour the outer courtain; a great rampier to be made within the wall, a great ditch within that, another wall within that, with two other slaughter-houses, and a rampier within that again.

26. The Flemings entred in great numbers into the country of Terovenne; whercupon five hundred men-of-arms arose of Frenchmen, and gave the onset on the Flemings, overthrew them, and slew of them fourteen hundred and thirty-five, whereof were one hundred and fifty horsemen.

31. It was appointed, on my lord of Northumberland's request, that he should give half his fee to the lord Wharton, and make him his deputy-warden there.

August.

2. Removing to Warblington.

3. The duke of Guise was sent into Lorrain, to be the French king's lieutenant there.

4. Removing to Waltham.

8. Removing to Portsmouth.

9. In the morning I went to Chaterton's bulwark, and viewed also the town; at afternoon went to see the store-house, and there took a boat, and went to the wooden tower, and so to Haselford. Upon viewing of which things, it there was devised two forts to be made upon the entry of the haven; one where Ridley's tower standeth, upon the neck that maketh the chamber; the other upon a like neck standing on the other side the haven, where stood an old bulwark of wood. This was devised for the strength of the haven. It was meant that that to the town-side should be both stronger and larger.

10. Henry Dudley, who lay at Portsmouth, with a warlike company of one hundred and forty good souldiers, was sent to Guisnes with his men, because the Frenchmen assembled in these frontiers in great numbers.

Removing to Tichfield, the earl of Southampton's house.

14. Removing to Southampton.

16. The French ambassador came to declare how the French king meant to send one that was his lieutenant in the civil law, to declare which of our merchants' matters have been adjudged on their side, and which against them, and for what consideration.

16. Removing to Beuleu.

The French ambassador brought news how the city of Siena had been taken by the French side on St. James's day, by one that was called the count Perigliano, and other Italian souldiers, by treason of some within the town; and all the garison of the town, being Spaniards, were either taken or slain. Also how the mareschal Brisac had recovered Saluzzo, and taken Verucca. Also how Villebone had taken Turnaham and Mountreville in the Low Country.

18. Removing to Christ-church.

21. Removing to Woodlands.

In this month, after long business, duke Maurice and the emperor agreed on a peace; but marquess Albert of Brandenburg would not consent thereto, but went away with his army to Spirens and Worms, Colen and Treves, taking large sums of money of all cities which he passed, but chiefly of the clergy. Duke Maurice's souldiers perceiving marquess Albert would enter into no peace, went almost all to the marquess's service; among which were principal the count of Mansfelt, baron Haydecke, and a colonel of three thousand footmen and one thousand horsemen, called Reiffenberg; so that of seven thousand which should have been sent into Hungary against the Turks, there remained not three thousand. Also the duke of Wit-

tenberg did secretly let go two thousand eight hundred of the best souldiers in Germany to the service of marquess Albert; so that his power was now very great.

Also in this month the emperor, departing from Villachia, came to Insbruck; and so to Monaco and to Augusta, accompanied with eight thousand Spaniards and Italians, and a little band of a few ragged Almains. Also in this month did the Turks win the city of Tamesino in Transilvania, and gave a battel to the Christians, in which was slain count Pallavicino, and seven thousand Italians and Spaniards. Also in this month did the Turk's navy take the cardinal of Trent's two brethren, and seven gallies, and had in chase thirty-nine other. Also in this month did the Turk's navy land at Terracina, in the kingdom of Naples; and the Prince of Salerno set forward with four thousand Gascoigns and six thousand Italians; and the count Perigliano brought to his aid five thousand men of those that were at the enterprise of Siena. Also the mareschal Brisac won a town in Piedmont, called Russac.

24. Removing to Salisbury.

26. Upon my lord of Northumberland's return out of the North, it was appointed, for the better strengthening of the marches, that no one man should have two offices; and that Mr. Sturley, captain of Barwick, should leave the wardenship of the east marches to the lord Evers; and upon the lord Coniers' resignation, the captainship of the castle of Carlisle was appointed to sir — Gray, and the wardenship of the west marches to sir Richard Musgrave.

27. Sir Richard Cotton made comptroller of the household.

28. Removing to Wilton.

30. Sir Anthony Aucher was appointed to be marshal of Calais, and sir Edward Grimston comptroller of Calais.

22. The emperor being at August, did banish two preachers protestants out of Augusta, under pretence that they preached seditiously; and left Mecardus, the chief preacher, and six other protestant preachers, in the town, giving the magistrates leave to chuse others in their place that were banished.

29. The emperor caused eight protestant citizens of the town to be banished, of them that went to the fair at Lintz, under pretence that they, taking marquess Albert's part, would not abide his presence.

September.

2. Removing to Wotisfunt, my lord Sandes' house.

5. Removing to Winchester.

7. From thence to Basing, my lord treasurer's house.

10. And so to Dennington-castle, besides the town of Newbery.

12. And so to Reading.

15. To Windsor.

16. Stuckley being lately arrived out of France, declared how that the French king, being wholly persuaded that he would never return again into England, because he came away without leave, upon the apprehension of the duke of Somerset, his old master, declared to him his intent, that upon a peace made with the emperor, he meant to besiege Calais, and thought surely to win it by the way of Sandhills; for having Ricebank both to furnish the town, and also to beat the market-place; and asked Stuckley's opinion. When Stuckley had answered, he thought it impossible, then he told him that he meant to land in England, in an angle thereof about Falmouth, and said, the bulwarks might easily be won, and the people were papistical; also that Monsieur de Guise at the same

time should enter into England by Scotland-side, with the aid of the Scots.

19. After long reasoning it was determined, and a letter was sent in all haste to Mr. Morison, willing him to declare to the emperor, that I having pity, as all other Christian princes should have, on the invasion of Christendom by the Turk, would willingly join with the emperor, and other states of the empire, if the emperor could bring it to pass, in some league against the Turk and his confederates, but not to be known of the French king, only to say, that he hath no more commission; but if the emperor would send a man into England, he should know more. This was done on intent to get some friends. The reasonings be in my desk.

21. A letter was sent only to try Stuckley's truth to Mr. Pickering, to know whether Stuckley did declare any piece of this matter to him.

Barnabe was sent for home.

23. The lord Gray was chosen deputy of Calais, in the lord Willowby's place, who was thought unmeet for it.

24. Sir Nicholas Wentworth was discharged of the portership of Calais, and one — Cotton was put into it. In consideration of his age, the said Sir Nicholas Wentworth had 100*l.* pension.

26. Letters were sent for the discharge of the men-of-arms at Michaelmas next following.

27. The young lord's table was taken away, and the masters of requests, and the serjeants of arms, and divers other extraordinary allowances.

26. The duke of Northumberland, the marquess of Northampton, the lord chancellor, Mr. Secretary Petre, and Mr. Secretary Cecil, ended a matter at Eaton College, between the master and the fellows; and also took order for the amendment of certain superfluous statutes.

28. Removing to Hampton Court.

29. Two lawyers came from the French king, to declare what things had passed with the Englishmen in the king's privy-council; what and why against them, and what was now in doing, and with what diligence. Which when they had eloquently declared, they were referred to London, where there should speak with them Mr. Secretary Petre, Mr. Wotton, and sir Thomas Smith; whereby then was declared the griefs of our merchants, which came to the sum of 50,000*l.* and upwards; to which they gave little answer, but that they would make report when they came home, because they had yet no commission, but only to declare us the causes of things done.

The first day of this month the emperor departed from Augusta towards Ulmes; and thanking the citizens for their stedfast sticking to him in these perilous times, he passed by them to Strasburgh, accompanied only with four thousand Spaniards, five thousand Italians, twelve thousand Almains, and two thousand horsemen; and thanking also them of Strasburgh for their good-will they bore him, that they would not let the French king come into their town; he went to Weysenberg, and so to Spire, and came thither the 23d of this month. Of which the French king being advertised, summoned an army at Metz, and went thitherward himself; sent a pay of three months to marquess Albert, and the rhinegrave and his band; also willing him to stop the emperor's passage into these Low-countries, and to fight with him.

27. The matter of the debatable was agreed upon, according to the last instructions.

26. Duke Maurice, with four thousand footmen and one thousand horsemen, arrived at Vienna against the Turks.

21. Marquess Hans, of Brandenburg, came with an

army of thirteen thousand footmen and fifteen hundred horsemen, to the emperor's army; and many Almain soulders encreased his army wonderfully, for he refused none.

October.

3. Because I had a pay of 48,000*l.* to be paid in December, and had as yet but 14,000 beyond seas to pay it withal, the merchants did give me a loan of 40,000*l.* to be paid by them the last of December, and to be repaid again by me the last of March. The manner of levying this loan was of the clothes, after the rate of 20*s.* a cloth, for they carried out at this shipping forty thousand broad-clothes. This grant was confirmed the 4th day of this month, by a company assembled of three hundred merchant-adventurers.

2. The bulwarks of earth and boards in Essex, which had a continual allowance of souldiers in them, were discharged; by which was saved prescutly 500*l.*, and hereafter 700 or more.

4. The duke d'Alva, and the marquess of Marigna, set forth with a great part of the emperor's army, having all the Italians and Spaniards with them, towards Treves, where the marquess Albert had set ten ensigns of lance-knights to defend it, and tarried himself with the rest of his army at Landaw, besides Spires.

6. Because sir Andrew Dudley, captain of Guisnes, had indebted himself very much by his service at Guisnes; also because it should seem injurious to the lord Willowby, that for the contention between him and sir Andrew Dudley, he should be put out of his office; therefore it was agreed, that the lord William Howard should be deputy of Calais, and the lord Gray captain of Guisnes.

* Also it was determined that sir Nicholas Strelly should be captain of the new fort at Barwick, and that Alex. Brett should be porter, and one Rokshy should be marshal.

7. Upon report of letters written by Mr. Pickering, how that Stuckley had not declared to him, all the while of his being in France, no one word touching the communication afore-specified; and declared also how Mr. Pickering thought, and certainly advertised, that Stuckley never heard the French king speak no such word, nor never was in credit with him, or the constable, save once, when he became an interpreter between the constable and certain English pioneers, he was committed to the Tower of London.

Also the French ambassador was advertised how he had committed him to prison, for that he untruly slandered the king our good brother, as other such runnagates do daily the same. This was told him to make him suspect the English runnagates that be there. A like letter was sent again to Mr. Pickering.

8. Le seigneur de Villandry came in post from the French king with this message. First, that although Mr. Sidney's and Mr. Winter's matters were justly condemned, yet the French king, because they both were my servants, and one of them about me, was content *gratuito* to give Mr. Sidney his ship, and all the goods in her; and Mr. Winter his ship, and all his own goods. Which offer was refused, saying, we required nothing *gratuito*, but only justice and expedition. Also Villandry declared, that the king his master wished that an agreement were made between the ordinances and customs of England and France in marine affairs. To which was answered, that our ordinances were nothing but the civil law, and certain very old additions of the realm; that we thought it reason not to be bound to any other law than their old laws, which had been of long time continued, and no fault found with them. Also Villandry brought forth two

new proclamations, which for things to come were very profitable for England; for which he had a letter of thanks to the king his master. He required also pardon and releasement of imprisonment for certain Frenchmen taken on the sea-coast. It was shewed him they were pirates: now, some of them should by justice be punished, some by clemency pardoned; and with this dispatch he departed.

11. Horne, dean of Durham, declared a secret conspiracy of the earl of Westmoreland, the year of the apprehension of the duke of Somerset, how he would have taken out treasure at Middleham, and would have robbed his mother, and sold 200*l.* land; and to please the people, would have made a proclamation for the bringing up of the coin, because he saw them grudge at the fall. He was commanded to keep this matter close.

6. Mr. Morison, ambassador with the emperor, declared to the emperor the matter of the Turks before specified: whose answer was, he thanked us for our gentle offer, and would cause the regent to send a man for the same purpose, to know our further meaning in that behalf.

11. Mr. Pickering declared to the French king, being then at Rhemes, Stuckley's matter of confession, and the cause of his imprisonment: who after protestation made of his own good meaning in the amity, and of Stuckley's ingratitude toward him, his lewdness and ill-demeanour, thanked us much for this so gentle an uttering of the matter, that we would not be held with false bruits and tales.

The bishop Tonstal of Durham was deprived of his bishoprick.

In this month Monsieur de Rue, Martin Rossin, and an army of Flemings, while the French had assembled his men of war in Lorraine, had sent the constable to the army, which lay four leagues from Verdun, the duke de Guise with seven thousand men to Metz, and the mareschal St. Andrew at Verdun, razed and spoiled, between the river of Some and Osse, many towns, as Noyon, Roy, Chamy; and villages, Nelle, Follambray, a new-built house of the king's, &c., insomuch that the French king sent the admiral of France to help the duke of Vendosme against that army.

There was at this time a great plague that reigned in sundry parts of France, of which many men died.

20. A man of the earl of Tyrone's was committed to the Tower, because he had made an untrue suggestion and complaint against the deputy and the whole council of Ireland. Also he had bruited certain ill bruits in Ireland, how the duke of Northumberland and the earl of Pembroke were fallen out, and one against another in the field.

17. The Flemings, and the Englishmen that took their parts, assaulted by night Hamletue; the Englishmen were on the walls, and some of the Flemings also; but by the cowardice of a great part of the Flemings, the enterprise was lost, and many men slain. The number of the Flemings were four thousand, the number of the men within Hamletue four hundred. The captain of this enterprise was Monsieur Vandeville, captain of Gravelin.

6. Monsieur de Boissey entred Treves with a Flemish army, to the number of twelve thousand footmen and two thousand five hundred horsemen, Burgunions, without any resistance, because the ensigns there left by marquess Albert were departed; and thereupon the duke d'Alva, and the marquess of Marion, marched toward Metz; the emperor himself, and the marquess Haus of Brandenburg, having with him the rest of his army, the ninth day of this month departed from Landaw towards Metz. Monsieur de Boissey's army

also joined with him at a place called Swayburg, or Deuxpont.

23. It was agreed, that because the state of Ireland could not be known without the deputy's presence, that he should, in this dead time of the year, leave the governance of the realm to the council there for the time, and bring with him the whole state of the realm, whereby such order might be taken, as the superfluous charge might be avoided, and also the realm kept in quietness, and the revenue of the realm better and more profitably gathered.

25. Whereas one George Paris, an Irishman, who had bin a practiser between the earl of Desmond and other Irish lords and the French king, did now, being weary of that matter, practise means to come home, and to have his old lands in Ireland again; his pardon was granted him, and a letter written to him from my council, in which he was promised to be considered and holpen.

There fell in this month a great contention among the Scots, for the Kers slew the lord of Balcleugh, in a fray in Edinburgh; and as soon as they had done, they associated to them the lord Home and all his kin: but the governour thereupon summoned an army to go against them; but at length, because the dowager of Scotland favoured the Kers and Homes, and so did all the French faction, the French king having also sent for five thousand Scotch footmen and five hundred horsemen, for his aid in these wars, the governour agreed the five thousand footmen under the leading of the earl of Cassils; and five hundred light-horsemen, of which the Kers and the Homes should be captains, and go with such haste into France, that they might be in such place as the French king would appoint them to serve in, by Christmass, or Candlemass at the furthest. And thus he trusted to be well rid of his most mortal enemies.

27. The Scots hearing that George Paris practised for pardon, committed him to ward in Striveling Castle.

25. Monsieur de Rue having burnt in France eighteen leagues in length, and three leagues in breadth; having pillaged, and sacked, and razed the fair towns of Noyon, Roy, Nelle, and Chamy, the king's new house of Follambray, and infinite other villages, bulwarks, and gentlemen's houses in Champaign and Picardy, returned into Flanders.

23. The emperor in his person came to the town of Metz with his army, which was reckoned forty-five thousand footmen, as the bruit went, and seven thousand horsemen. The duke d'Alva, with a good band, went to view the town; upon whom issued out the souldiers of the town, and slew of his men about two thousand, and kept him play till the main force of the camp came down, which caused them to retire with loss. On the French party was the duke of Nemours hurt on the thigh. There was in the town, as captain, the duke of Guise; and there were many other great lords with him, as the prince of Rochsurion, the duke de Nemours, the vicedam of Chartres, Pierro Stozzy, Monsieur Castillon, and many other gentlemen.

November.

5. Monsieur de Villandry returned to declare, how the king his master did again offer to deliver four ships against which judgment had passed. He said, the king would appoint men to hear our merchants at Paris, which should be men of the best sort. He said likewise, how the king his master meant to mend the ordinance; of which amendment he brought articles.

7. These articles were delivered to be considered by the secretaries.

9. Certain were thought to be sought out by several

commissions: viz. Whether I were justly answered of the plate, lead, iron, &c. that belonged to abbeyes? Whether I were justly answered the profit of alome, copper, fustians, &c. which were appointed to be sold? and of such land as the king my father sold, and such like articles.

12. Monsieur Villandry received answer for the first article, as he did before, how I meant not by taking freely so few, to prejudice the rest. For hearing of our merchants' matters at Paris by an inferior council, we thought both too dilatory after these long suits, and also unreasonable, because the inferior council would undoe nothing (though cause appeared) which had been before judged by the higher council. And as for the new ordinances, we liked them in effect as ill as their old, and desired none other but the old accustomed ones which have been used in France of late time, and to be yet continued between England and the Low-country. Finally, we desire no more words, but deeds.

4. The duke d'Aumale being left in Lorraine, both to stop the emperor's provision, to annoy his camp, and to take up the straglers of the army, with a band of four hundred men-of-arms, which is twelve hundred horse, and eight hundred light-horse, hearing how marquess Albert began to take the emperor's part, sent first certain light-horse to view what they intended. Those avan-couriers lighted on a troop of five hundred horsemen, who drove them back till they came to the duke's person; whereupon the skirmish grew so great, that the marquess, with twelve thousand footmen and one thousand horsemen, came to his men's succours, so the duke's party was discomfited, the duke himself taken and hurt in many places; monsieur de Roan was also slain, and many other gentlemen slain and taken. This fight was before Toul, into which fort escaped a great part of the light-horse.

6. Heading town and castle was taken by the Monsieur de Reux. The castle was reckoned too well stored of all things, and rendered either by cowardice or treason. The battery was very small, and not suitable. The most was, that the captain, Monsieur Jeulis, was, with one of the first shots of the caannon, slain, and his lieutenant with him.

In this month Ferdinando Gonzaga besieged St. Martin's in Piedmont.

18. There was a commission granted out to sir Richard Cotton, sir John Gates, sir Robert Bowes, and sir Walter Mildmay, to examine the account of the fall of mony, by the two proclamations.

20. The lord Ogle leaving the wardenship of the Middle Marches, because my lord Evers' land lay there, he was made deputy warden there, with the fee of 600 merks; and sir Thomas Dacres of the East Marches, with the fee of 500 merks.

24. Thomas Gresham came from Antwerp hither, to declare how Monsieur de Langie, treasurer to the emperor of Flanders, was sent to him from the regent with a certain packet of letters which the Burgonions had taken in Bullonois, coming from the dowager of Scotland: the effect whereof was, how she had committed George Paris, the Irishman, to prison, because she had heard of his meaning to return into England; how she had found the pardon he had, and divers other writings; and how she had sent O-Coniers's son into Ireland, to comfort the lords of Ireland. Also he shewed certain instructions, anno 1548, upon the admiral's fall, given to a gentleman that came hither, that if there were any here of the admiral's faction, he should do his uttermost to raise an uproar.

29. Henry Knowls was sent in post into Ireland with a letter, to stay the deputy, if he met him, in

Ireland, because of the business ; and that he should seem to stay for his own affairs, and prolong his going from week to week, lest it be perceived. Also he had with him certain articles concerning the whole state of the realm, which the deputy was willed to answer.

30. There was a letter of thanks written to the regent, and sent to Mr. Chamberlain, to deliver her for the gentle overture made to Thomas Gresham by the treasurer Langie. He was also willed to use gentle words in the delivery of the letters, wishing a further amity : and for recompence of her overture, to tell her of the French king's practice, for five thousand Scotch footmen and five hundred horsemen. And also how he taketh up by exchange at Lubeck 100,000*l.*, whereby appeareth some meaning that way the next spring.

28. The lord Paget was put to his fine of 6000*l.* and 2000*l.* diminished, to pay it within the space of — years, at days limited.

Here the Journal ends ; or if more was written by the king, it is lost.

Some other Papers written with King Edward the Sixth's own Hand.

UMBER 1.

[In Trin. Coll. Libr. Cambridg.]

A Collection of Passages of Scripture against Idolatry, in French, dedicated to the Protector.

Le fervent zèle que je vous apercey avoir en la réformation de idolatrie, tres-cher et bien-aimé oncle, m'a incité comme par manière de passe-temps, en lisant la Sainct Escriture, de noter plusieurs lieux en icelle qui défendent de n'adorer ny faire aucuns images, non seulement de dieux estranges, mais aussi de ne former chose pensant la faire semblable à la majesté de Dieu le Créateur si très bahy ; veu que lui-mesme et son St. Esprit, par la bouche de ses prophètes, l'a si souvent défendu, que tant de gens ont osé et osent commettre idolatrie en faisant et adorant les images. Mais je croy que c'estoit pourtant qu'ils n'avoient ou n'entendoit par ses paroles. Car comme il dit, il ne peut estre veu en choses qui soient matérielles ; mais veut estre veu par ses ouvres, ni plus ni moins que quand on voit quelle excellente pièce d'ouvrage sans voir ouvrier qui l'a fait, on peut imaginer son excellence : ainsi regardant et considérant l'excellence du firmament et les choses tant parfaites et merveilleuses, que y sont comprises, nous pouvons imaginer quelle è le Créateur qui les a formées seulement par sa parole, et en telle manière nostre Oeil Spirituel pourroit beaucoup mieux voir quelle chose c'est que de Dieu, que nostre oeil corporel ne le pourroit voir en chose que créature humaine ait fait et formé. Pourtant, cher oncle, après avoir noté en ma Bible en Anglois plusieurs sentences qui contredisent à toute idolatrie, à cette fin de m'apprendre et exercer en l'Escriture Française, je me suis amusé à le translater en la dite langue Française : puis les ay fait rescire en ce petit livret, lequell de tres-bon cuer je vous offre : priant Dieu le Créateur de vous donner grace de continuer en vostre labeur spirituel au salut de vostre ame et à l'honneur et gloire d'iceluy.

Then follow seventy-two passages out of the Old Testament, against worshipping strange gods or images, with little paraphrases of his own : he concludes,

Il y a autres places en la Sainte Escriture, tant Apocryphes que autres, desquelles je ne fais nulle mention pour le présent, qui toutesfois sont correspondentes à celles dont est fait mention par cy-devant. Mais pour tant que quasi tous les prophètes et autres

saints, desquels la Sainte Escriture parle, défendent de ne commettre idolatrie, je désire et exhorte toute la congrégation des Chrestiens qu'un chascun d'eux vueille délaissier cet abominable vice.

II.—*A Discourse about the Reformation of many Abuses.*

[Cotton. Libr. Nero C. 10.]

The Government of this Realm is divided into two Parts, one Ecclesiastical, and the other Temporal.

THE ecclesiastical consisteth in setting forth the word of God, continuing the people in prayer, and the discipline. The setting forth of the word of God consisteth in the good discreet doctrine and example of the teachers and spiritual officers ; for as the good husbandman maketh his ground good and plentiful, so doth the true preacher, with doctrine and example, print and graft in the people's mind the word of God, that they at length become plentiful. Prayers also to God must be made continually, of the people and officers of the church, to assist them with his grace. And those prayers must first, with good consideration, be set forth, and faults therein be amended. Next, being set forth, the people must continually be allured to hear them. For discipline, it were very good that it went forth, and that those that did notably offend in swearing, rioting, neglecting of God's word, or such the like vices, were duly punished, so that those that should be the executors of this discipline were men of tried honesty, wisdom, and judgment. But because those bishops who should execute it, some for papistry, some for ignorance, some for age, some for their ill name, some for all these, are men unable to execute discipline, it is therefore a thing unmeet for these men : wherefore it were necessary that those that were appointed to be bishops or preachers were honest in life, and learned in their doctrine ; that by rewarding of such men, others might be allured to follow their good life.

As for the prayers and divine service, it were meet the faults were drawn out (as it was appointed) by learned men, and so the book to be established, and all men willed to come thereunto to hear the service, as I have put in remembrances in articles touching the statutes of this parliament. But as for discipline, I would wish no authority given generally to all bishops, but that commission be given to those that be of the best sort of them to exercise it in their diocesses.

Thus much generally for religion.

Temporal Regiment.

The temporal regiment consisteth in well-ordering, enriching, and defending the whole body politick of the common-wealth, and every part of the whole, to one part, not the other. The example whereof may be best taken of a man's body ; for even as the arm defendeth, helpeth, and aideth the whole body, chiefly the head, so ought serving-men, and gentlemen chiefly, and such-like kind of people, be always ready to the defence of their country, and chiefly of their superior and governor ; and ought in all things to be vigilant and painful for the encreasing and aiding of their country. And forasmuch as they, in serving their king and country, have divers great and manifold charges, even as the arm doth many times bear great stresses for defence of the head and body, having no kind of way to enrich themselves, neither by merchandise, neither by handicraft, neither by husbandry ; as the arm doth decoct no meat itself, nor engendereth no blood ; therefore, even as the stomach, liver, and lights, which parts engender the blood, doth send

nourishment to the arms and legs sufficient to strengthen the part, even so must the artificers so use their gain in working, and so truly and justly make that that they work: the merchants must so sell their ware, and so labour to bring in strange commodities: the husbandmen must pay such rents, and so sell things that come of the increase of the ground, that the hands and the legs, that is to say, the states of gentlemen and of serving-men, may well do the common-wealth that service they ought to do. And as the gentlemen and serving-men ought to be provided for, so ought not they neither to have so much as they have in France, where the peasantry is of no value, neither yet meddle in other occupations; for the arms and legs doth never draw the whole blood from the liver, but leaveth it sufficient to work on; neither doth meddle in any kind of engendering of blood. No, nor no one part of the body doth serve for two occupations; even so neither the gentleman ought to be a farmer, nor the merchant an artificer, but to have his art particularly. Furthermore, no member in a well-fashioned and whole body is too big for the proportion of the body; so must there be, in a well-ordered common-wealth, no person that shall have more than the proportion of the country will bear; so it is hurtful immoderately to enrich any one part. I think this country can bear no merchant to have more land than 100*l.*; no husbandman nor farmer worth above 100 or 200*l.*; no artificer above 100 merks; no labourer much more than he spendeth. I speak now generally, and in such cases may fail in one particular; but this is sure, this common-wealth may not bear one man to have more than two farms, than one benefice, than two thousand sheep, and one kind of art to live by. Wherefore, as in the body no part hath too much nor too little, so in a common-wealth ought every part to have *ad victum et non ad saturitatem*. And there is no part admitted in the body that doth not work and take pains; so ought there no part of the common-wealth to be but labourous in his vocation. The gentleman ought to labour in service in his country; the serving-man ought to wait diligently on his master; the artificer ought to labour in his work; the husbandman in tilling the ground; the merchant in passing the tempests; but the vagabonds ought clearly to be banished, as is the superfluous humour of the body, that is to say, the spittle and filth; which because it is for no use, it is put out by the strength of nature. This is the true ordering of the state of a well-fashioned common-wealth, that every part do obey one head, one governor, one law, as all parts of the body obey the head, agree among themselves, and one not to eat another up, through greediness; but that we see that order, moderation, and reason, bridle the affections. But this is most of all to be had in a common-wealth well ordered, that the laws and ordinances be well executed, duly obeyed, and ministred without corruption. Now having seen how things ought to be, let us first see how now they be ordered, and in what state they stand now, and then go forward to seek a remedy.

The first point in ordering the common-wealth we touched, was, that the gentlemen, noblemen, and serving-men should stand stoutly to the defence of their superior and governor, and should be painful in ordering their country; which thing, although in some part, and the most part, be well (thanks be to God), yet in some parts is not absolutely, which I shall shew hereafter particularly.

But the second point, for maintenance of the state of landed-men, is ill looked to; for that state of gentlemen and noblemen, which is truly to be termed the state of nobles, hath alone not exercised the gain of living: for merchants have enhaunced their ware;

farmers have enhaunced their corn and cattel; labourers their wages; artificers the price of their workmanship; and mariners and boatmen their hire for service, whereby they recompense the loss of things they buy; but the most part of true gentlemen (I mean not these farming gentlemen, nor clarking knights,) have little or nothing increased their rents; yet their house-keeping is dearer, their meat is dearer, their liveries dearer, their wages greater; which thing at length, if speedy remedy be not had, will bring that state into utter ruin, *quod absit*.

The artificers work falsly; the clothiers use deceit in cloth; the masons in building; the clockmakers in their clocks; the joiner in his working of timber; and so forth all other almost, to the intent they would have men often come to them for amending their things, and so have more gain, although at the beginning they take out of measure. The merchants adventure not to bring in strange commodities, but loiter at home, send forth small hoys with two or three mariners, occupy exchange of money, buy and sell victual; steal out bullion, corn, victual, wood, and such-like things, out of the realm, and sell their ware unreasonably. The husbandmen and farmers take their ground at a small rent, and dwell not on it, but let it to poor men for triple the rent they take it for; and sell their flesh, corn, milk, butter, &c. at unreasonable prices. The gentleman, constrained by necessity and poverty, becometh a farmer, a grasier, or a sheep-master. The grasier, the farmer, the merchants, become landed-men, and call themselves gentlemen, though they be churls; yea, the farmer will have ten farms, some twenty, and will be a pedlar-merchant. The artificer will leave the town, and for his more pastimes will live in the country; yea, and more than that, will be a justice of the peace, and will think scorn to have it denied him; so lordly they be now-a-days: for now they are not content with two thousand sheep, but they must have twenty thousand, or else they think themselves not well; they must have twenty mile square their own land, or full of their farms, and four or five crafts to live by is too little, such hell-hounds be they. For idle persons, there were never, I think, more than be now; the wars, men think, is the cause thereof; such persons can do nothing but rob and steal: but slack execution of the laws hath been the chiefest sore of all; the laws have been manifestly broken, the offenders banished, and, either by bribery or foolish pity, escaped punishment. The dissention and disagreement, both for private matters and also in matters of religion, hath been no little cause; but the principal hath been the disobedient and contentious talking and doing of the foolish and fond people, which for lack of teaching have wandered, and broken wilfully and disobediently the laws of this realm. The lawyers also, and judges, have much offended in corruption and bribery.

Furthermore, they do now-a-days much use to forestall, not only private markets of corn and victual, whereby they enhaunce the price thereof, but also send to the sea too, aboard ships, and take the wine, sugar, dates, or any other ware, and bring it to London, where they sell at double the price. What shall I say of those that buy and sell offices of trust, that inappropriate benefices, that destroy timber; that, not considering the sustaining of men of their corn, turn till ground to pasture; that use excess in apparel, in diet, and in building of inclosures of wastes and commons; of those that cast false and seditious bills? but that the thing is so tedious, long, and lamentable to entreat of the particulars, that I am weary to go any further in the particulars; wherefore I will cease, having told the worst, because the best will save itself.

Now I will begin to entreat of a remedy. The ill in this common-wealth, as I have before said, standeth in deceitful working of artificers, using of exchange and usury, making vent with hoys only into Flanders; conveying of bullion, lead, bell-mettle, copper, wood, iron, fish, corn, and cattel, beyond sea; inhauncing of rents; using no arts to live by; keeping of many sheep and many farms; idleness of people; disobedience of the lower sort; buying and selling of offices, impropriations, benefices; turning till-ground to pasture; exceeding in apparel, diet, and building; enclosing of commons; casting of ill and seditious bills.

These sores must be cured with these medicines or plaisters: 1. Good education. 2. Devising of good laws. 3. Executing the laws justly, without respect of persons. 4. Example of rulers. 5. Punishing of vagabonds and idle persons. 6. Encouraging the good. 7. Ordering well the customers. 8. Engendering friendship in all parts of the common-wealth. These be the chief points that tend to order well the whole common-wealth.

And for the first, as it is in order first, so it seemeth to be in dignity and degree; for Horace saith very wisely,

Quo est inibuta recens servabit odorem
Testa diu—

With whatsoever thing the new vessel is embued, it will long keep the savour, saith Horace; meaning, that for the most part men be as they be brought up, and men keep longest the savour of their first bringing up. Wherefore, seeing that it seemeth so necessary a thing, we will shew our device herein. Youth must be brought up, some in husbandry, some in working, graving, gilding, joining, printing, making of clothes, even from their tenderest age, to the intent they may not, when they come to man's estate, loiter as they do now-a-days, and neglect, but think their travail sweet and honest. And for this purpose would I wish that artificers and others were either commanded to bring up their sons in like trade, or else had some places appointed them in every good town, where they should be apprentices, and bound to certain kind of conditions. Also that those vagabonds that take children and teach them to beg, should, according to their demerits, be worthily punished. This shall well ease and remedy the deceitful working of things, disobedience of the lower sort, casting of seditious bills, and will clearly take away the idleness of people.

2. Devising of good laws. I have shewed my opinion heretofore what statutes I think most necessary to be enacted this sessions: nevertheless I would wish that beside them hereafter, when time shall serve, the superfluous and tedious statutes were brought into one sum together, and made more plain and short, to the intent that men might the better understand them, which thing shall much help to advance the profit of the common-wealth.

3. Nevertheless, when all these laws be made, established, and enacted, they serve to no purpose, except they be fully and duly executed. By whom? By those that have authority to execute; that is to say, the noblemen and the justices of peace. Wherefore I would wish that, after this parliament were ended, those noblemen (except a few that should be with me) went to their countries, and there should see the statutes fully and duly executed; and that those men should be put from being justices of peace, that be touched or blotted with those vices that be against these new laws to be established; for no man that is in fault himself can punish another for the same offence.

Turpe est doctore cum culpa redarguit ipsum.

And these justices being put out, there is no doubt for execution of the laws.

Desunt cetera.

II.—*A Reformation of the Order of the Garter; translated out of English into Latin by King Edward.*

[Cotton. Libr. Nero C. 10.]

EDWARDUS sextus Dei Gratia Angliæ, Franciæ, et Hiberniæ, Rex, &c. Omnibus qui præsentem videbunt Literas Salutem. Serenissimi Majores nostri Reges Angliæ deliberantes et secumipsis cogitantes, de eo officio quo uti debeant erga Deum, Patriam, et eos qui suæ ditioni erant subjecti, satis facile invenerunt nihil tam ad suum officium pertinere quam ut bonos, fortes, magnanimos, prudentes et claros viros (pro singularibus eorum meritis) honore gloriæque afficerent, et amicitiam, societatem, consensionem quandam in bonis rebus inter omnes, præcipue vero inter pares foverent. Honorem enim (ut certe est) præmium virtutis iudicabant; concordiam vero fundamentum et auctricem rerumpublicarum existimabant. Hæc igitur illis perpendentibus, optimum visum est constituere societatem, cœtum aut conventum aliquem eorum, qui in domesticis pacis negotiis optime se gesserant, et in militariibus pugnis fortiter et prudenter se exercuerant. Hosque voluerunt in signum concordie et unitatis Tibias fascia quadam circumligare, quasi eo facto divulgantes sese non dubitare Patriæ, Religionis et Domini causa vitam et bona profunderè, eamque ob causam Ordinem Garterii nominaverunt. Quem quidem Ordinem omnium voce celebratum, serpens ille humano generi infestus Satanas conspiciens, tantopere ad virtutem homines incitare, conatus est pœnitentius delere. In quo tantum elaboravit, tam diligenter prædam quæsit, tam ingeniose et callide homines decipit, ut tandem repleverit decreta hujus Societatis multis ambiguis, superstitionibus, Papisticis et inter se contrariis sententiis. Putandum enim erit, quod si Evangelii lux non apparuisset, de isto Ordine penitus actum fuisset, saltem de his rebus in Ordine in quo bonorum nomen meruissent. Indies enim crevit malum; Nos autem summopere commoti, antiquitate, magnificentia et pulchritudine hujus Ordinis, omnibus viribus elaboravimus ad eum reducendum ad statum pristinum. Quapropter in cœtu quodam celebrato

die Anno Dom. 1551 Regni vero nostri

Ubi permulti Milites ejusdem Ordinis aderant, constitutum erat a nobis, Autoritate eorundem Militum, quod hi articuli infrascripti firmissime observantur, ut hujus Ordinis Decreta.

1. Primum Conclusum Statutumque existit, quod hic ordo posthac appellabitur Ordo Garterii; non Ordo Sancti Georgii: nec idem Georgius amplius posthac appellabitur; nec nominabitur Patronus Ordinis, ne ille honor qui soli Deo debeatur, cuidam creaturæ attribuat.

2. Item Milites circumligabunt Tibias Garteriis (ut vulgo dicunt) quibus inscribunt hæc verba. *Veni sicut qui mal' vi pñs;* in collis autem catenarum more gerent equitem sculptum, altera manu tenentem gladium penetrantem librum, in quem gladium scribebatur *Protectio*, in Librum vero *Verbum Dei*, altera autem Clipeum, in quem inscribatur *Fides*, hæc re significantes se concordare protectores Verbi Divini et Fideles existere. Cum enim ab Georgio eodem auferetur honor ille, quod Patronus amplius Ordinis non erit, Milites non amplius gestabunt eundem divum, post Festum Michaelis proxime sequentis.

3. Arma tamen Ordinis maneant in eodem Statu quo antea manere sunt solita, viz. Crux rubra in Campo Argenteo.

4. Numerus militum erunt 24 præter præfectum, si enim plures existant tum minori in honore habebitur Collegam esse Ordinis, hi autem Milites jam existunt.

5. Quod Rex Angliæ, Hæredes et Successores ejus,

erunt hujus Ordinis Præfecti quemadmodum et solitum est antehac. Et quia sæpe oriuntur ambiguitates, contentiones et mutationes temporum; propter quas aut tolli, aut definiri, aut adjungi debent aliqua decreta hujus Ordinis, sæpe etiam in mortuorum Militum locum alii substituantur necesse est: Idcirco conclusum est, quod licet eidem Regi Angliæ, aliqua tali re mota, Advocatus sex ex Sociis Ordinis, cum eorum consensu, celebrato in loco aliquo, mutare, definire, addere, aut detrudere ab hoc Ordine; ut illis bonum videbitur, et etiam eligere, in numerum Militum, alios omnes, qui sunt generosi, insignia gestantes, a parte Patrum et Matrum per tres progenies sive generationes quoscunque arbitrabuntur maxime idoneos.

6. Omnes hi qui rei sunt inventi Capitalium Criminum, aut ignave a prælio anfugetur, aut Notabili Crimine sunt contaminati, quamquam mors illis non infligatur, tamen Milites Ordines esse desinent. Equum enim qui esse potest, eum qui insigni et fædo aliquo vitio sit contaminatus, in bonorum Societate aut cœtu manere. Capitalia vero sint Crimina, pro quibus leges judicant debere mortis pœnam subire.

7. Si autem idem Ordinis præfectus intelligat locum aliquem vacuum existere, tum mittet ad Milites vicinos et propinquos ut certo quodam die adsint, hasque litteras mittet triduum ante diem celebrandi cœtus; nisi forte adsint plus quam sex Milites.

8. Qui Milites Congregati in cœtu quodam vestibus Ordinis induti, si locus aliquis sit vacuus, scribent unusquisque nomina trium Principum: viz. Imperatorum, Regum, Archiducum, Ducum, Marchionum, Comitum, aut Vicecomitum, nomina tria Baronum, sive Dominorum, et nomina trium Militum Aureatorum quos Baccalaureos Milites vulgo dicunt.

9. Cum nomina sunt scripta, tum Rex Angliæ Ordinis præfectus ex eorum numero eligit quem maxime idoneum arbitrabitur ex antiqua illustriq; familia natum, aut qui suis gestis præclaris nomen, famam et honorem summum acquisiverit, nam in electione Militum divitias respicere nullo modo oportet, sed virtutem et generis Nobilitatem, primo autem in loco virtutem.

10. Miles electus, cum proxime adsit, adducetur in Domum ubi cœtus celebratur per duos Collegas Ordinis, Præfectus induet eum cathena sive Collario Rosarum circumligatarum fasciis cum sculpta equitis imagine, ut prædixi, appendente; duo vero Collegæ fascia, sive ut vulgo dicunt, Garterio tibiam circumligabunt: Tradetur etiam electo Militi liber horum decretorum.

11. Miles vero electus ibit Windesore, et Præfectus Ordinis mittet ad illum substitutum suum et duos coadjutores, qui collocabunt eum, si fieri possit, sine aliorum Militum detrimento in sede, ejus gradui Nobilitatis apta et accomoda, et secundum veterem modum vestes recipiet (quos vulgo dicunt Anglice, *the Mantel, the Cirtel, and the Hood*), et his vestibus indutus audiet preces divinas in sede illi constituta, simul cum substituto et coadjutoribus Communionem recipiens.

12. Post preces absolutas recipiet hoc iurandum; se pro viribus velle sustinere et defendere omnes honores, titulos, querelas et Domina Regis Angliæ Ordinis Præfecti; velle etiam (quantum in se est) protegere, amare et colere Divini Verbi studiosos; velle deponere humanas Traditiones et augere Gloriam et Honorem Dei.

13. Ille ordo qui institutus fuit olim de insignibus, gladiis, galæis et armis reponendis in cellis aut sedibus, maneat in priori forma.

14. Adhæc cum Dedicatio Ordinis auferatur a divo Georgio, et si tempus anni non sit idoneum ad multos homines cogendos, et ex patria accersendos, præsertim vero ne ipsani dedicationem Verbis auferentes re videatur retinere, idcirco statutum est cœtum celebratum

fore, ut olim in Anglia die Divi Georgii; sic nunc primo Die Sabbati, et primo Die Dominico in mense Decembris, nisi forte primus dies mensis Decembris sit dies Dominicus; tunc autem celebrabitur primo Die Sabbati, et secundo die Dominico.

15. Primo vero Die Sabbati Milites qui adsunt (omnes autem adesse debent nisi forte habeant licitam excusationem) audient preces Vespertinas institutas Autoritate Parliamenti vestibus Ordinis induti, sedentes quisque in sede constituta. Miles autem electus non collocatus in sede stabit directe versus eum locum ubi collocabitur.

16. Die Dominico sequenti in aurora audient supradicti Milites preces, et qui se paratos facere possint, Communionem recipient, vesperi etiam audient preces vespertinas.

17. Milites autem absentes tenebuntur eadem facere in suis ædibus toto hoc tempore vestibus Ordinis induti.

18. Præterea Milites qui adsunt vestibus Ordinis induti prandebunt omnes, ab uno latere sedentes in eodem gradu quo collocantur Windesore, in cellis in cœtum etiam intrabunt hoc die, ut si, quid faciendum sit, perficiant.

19. Cantatores et Præbendarii fruuntur suis possessionibus durante Vita, post mortem autem eorum conferentur in Concionatores in castro Windesore.

20. Pauperes autem qui in eodem Collegio manent, habebunt omnia sua pristino more, loci autem conferentur in Milites vulneratos aut admodum senes viros, solum privabuntur superstitionis et vanis Ceremoniis quibus uti sunt soliti, ut Oratione pro defunctis, &c. Quemadmodum vero soliti sunt missæ adesse sic jam adsint in precibus constituti.

21. Sunt autem certe summæ Argenti quæ solent impendi cum moriantur Milites Ordinis.

	£	s.	d.		£	s.	d.
A Rege Angliæ	8	6	8	A Comite	2	10	0
A Rege Peregrino	6	13	4	A Vice Counte	2	1	8
A Principe	5	16	8	A Barone	1	13	4
A Duce	5	0	0	A Milite Baccalaureo	0	16	8
A Marchione	3	13	0				

Adhæc cum Milites eligantur solvendæ sunt hæ summæ Pecuniæ.

	£	s.	d.		£	s.	d.
A Rege Angliæ	30	0	0	A Comite	6	13	8
A Rege Peregrino	20	0	0	A Vice Comite	5	16	8
A Principe	13	6	8	A Barone	5	0	0
A Duce	10	0	0	A Milite	3	6	8
A Marchione	8	6					

Hæ prædictæ summæ Argenti colligantur et quotannis pauperibus distribuantur ut interdum solitum est fieri.

22. Rex Angliæ exsolvat Pecuniam quam peregrini Principes debebunt propter articulum supradictum.

23. Sed quia difficile est omnia hæc sine Ministris idoneis fieri, igitur constitutum est fore quatuor Ordinis hujus Ministros. Cancellarius, Annotator sive Register, Præcessor qui nigram virgam gestabit, et præcipuus Rex armorum qui ab Ordine nomen obtinebit Garter.

24. Sigillum Ordinis habebit ex uno latere Arma Angliæ et Franciæ simul cum Armis Ordinis circumligata hac circumscriptione, *Verbum Domini manet in æternum*, ex altera parte equitem sculptum, ut Milites gestabant circumligatum fascia sive Garterio.

25. Hoc sigillo Cancellarius sigillabit omnia decreta, licentias, constitutiones, litteras et reliqua omnia quæ ad ordinem prædictum pertinent aut ullo modo debent pertinere.

26. Annotator in magno Libro Annotabit Latine quibus temporibus quisque miles fuerit electus, quibus mortuus, quænam sancita erant decreta, quænam dis-

soluta, et si quæ erunt alia pertinentia ad Ordinem supradictum, hunc autem librum relinquet in Castro Windesoræ suo successori in eodem officio.

27. Rex Heroaldorum et insignium Garter servabit nomina et cognomina, arma et insignia cuiusq; Militis electi, eundem librum relinquens suo successori, et si quæ sit ambiguitas de armis, ipse dijudicabit.

28. Præcessor Ordinis gestans virgam nigram præbuit ordinem et ostium custodiet, et eandem auctoritatem habebit, qua antehac usus est. Quod si quis Militum contumeliose et graviter offenderit, et ejus criminis in cœtu fuerit convictus, Præcessor Ordinis cum Rege Heroaldorum cum excent catena et Garterio.

29. Adhæc cum aliquis peregrinus Rex in Militum numerum substituat et eligatur, Cæremoniis hujus Ordinis non detinebitur, sed prout placuerit.

30. Post electionem vero præfectus Ordinis mittet duos Milites ejusdem Ordinis, qui post preces in ejus patria vulgares induent eum vestibus illis quæ solent gestari, viz. Anglice, *the Mantel, the Cirtel, and the Hood*. In collum etiam imponent catenam rosarium cum equite sculpto appendente et fascia vulgo dicto Garterio.

31. Postea per procuratorem in sede collocabitur, nullum omnino juramentum recipiens, nec preces unquam alias quam solitus audiens.

32. Quod Rex Angliæ possit dispensare et veniam dare omittendi ulla Cæremonias, si causa postulet.

33. Quod hi articuli ut monumenta, decreta et Leges Ordinis reponentur in Collegio Windesoræ, omnes autem his contrariæ penitus abrogabuntur.

IV.—*A Paper concerning a Free Mart in England.*

The Reasons and Causes why it is now most necessary to have a Mart in England.

1. BECAUSE our vent of clothes might be open in all wars.

2. Because our merchants' goods might be out of danger of strangers, without fear of arresting for every light cause.

3. Because it would much enrich the realm; for as a market enricheth a town, so doth a mart enrich a realm.

4. Because for, at a need, round sums of money might be of them borrowed that haunt the mart.

5. Because we should have a great multitude of ships strangers to serve in the wars.

6. Because all strangers' goods, when war is made, should be in our danger.

7. Because we should buy all things at the first hand of strangers; whereas now the Spaniards sell to the Flemings their wares, and the Flemings to us.

8. Because the towns toward the sea-side should be much more populous.

9. Because whereas now they bring tapestry, points, glasses, and laces, they would then bring in bullion, and other substantial merchandice, to the intent to have our cloth and our tin.

10. Because we should take from our enemies their power, and make that they should borrow no money of merchants but when we list; at least, no great sum of money.

The Causes why this Time is most Commodious to erect a Mart in.

1. The wars between the French king and the emperor, and the ships of either side, maketh the Italians, Genoa's, Portugals, and Spaniards, to forbear their

trade to Antwerp. 2. The Frenchmen, the Stadts, the Sprusses, and ships of Eastland, being against the emperor, will not come neither. 3. The French king invading Lorrain, and fearing Flanders. 4. And the Almains lying on the river of Rhene, stoppeth the course of merchants out of Italy to Antwerp, and also Frankfort. 5. The putting of men of war in the town, maketh the merchants to forbear their traffique, and to look to their lives. 6. The breach of the last tempest is like, they say, to make the channel uncertain, and the haven naught. 7. The stop of the exchange to Lions, will make many Flemings bankrupts. These things will decay the marts of Antwerp and Frankfort. But these nations cannot live without a vent, therefore they will now most willingly come hither if they had a free mart.

2. It were an easier matter to come to Southampton for the Spaniards, Britanes, Vascoins, Lombards, Geneoese, Normands, and Italians, than to go to Antwerp.

3. It were easier for the merchants of the Eastland, the Sprusses, the Dunes, Swedens, and Norvegians, to come to Hull than to Antwerp.

4. Southampton is a better port than Antwerp.

5. The Flemings have allured men to make a mart there with their privileges, having but very little commodities; much easier shall we do it, having cloth, tin, sea-coal, lead, bell-mettal, and such other commodities, as few realms Christian have the like; nor they when they began had no such opportunity,

How the Mart will be brought to pass.

1. Our merchants are to be staid from a mart or two, under pretence that they abstain because of the imposition.

2. Then proclamation must be made in divers places of the realm where merchants resort, that there shall be a free mart kept at Southampton, with these liberties and customs.

1. The time of the mart to begin after Whitsontide, and to hold on five weeks; by which means it shall not let St. James's fair at Bristol, nor Bartholomew fair at

2. All men coming to the mart shall have free going and free coming, without arresting, except in cases of treason, murder, or felony.

3. For the time of the mart, all sorts of men shall pay but half the custom they do in other places of the realm.

4. No shipping shall be from any other place from South Wales to Essex during that time.

5. In the shires of Hampshire, Wiltshire, Sussex, Surrey, Kent, Dorsetshire, that no bargain shall be made of wares during that time but in the mart town.

6. A court to correct offenders, with liberties thereto.

7. Some one commodity must be assigned to the mart, or some one kind of cloth.

8. The merchants of the staple must be bargained withal, and contented with some honest offer, to the intent by their liberties they may not let the mart.

9. Some more liberties must be given to the inhabitants of Southampton; and if mony may be spared, some must be lent them to begin their trade withal.

10. Our ships on the sea must look as well as they may, observing the treaties, to the safeguard of the merchants when they come.

11. If this prove well, then may another be made at Hull, to begin after Stowrbridg fair, to the intent they may return before the great ices come to their seas.

The Discommodities and Letts to the Mart to be kept in England.

1. Because strangers lack access hither by land, which they have at Antwerp.
2. The ill-working of our clothes, which maketh them less esteemed.
3. The abundance of our clothes in Flanders will make them less sought for here.
4. The merchants have established their dwelling-places at Antwerp.
5. That other nations will stay their coming hither for a while by the emperor's commandment.
6. The denial of the request of the merchants of the Stiliard will somewhat let the mart, if it be not looked to.
7. The poverty and littleness of the town of Southampton.
8. The goodness of the Rhine.

The Remedies and Answers thereunto.

To the first Point.

1. At this time when the mart should begin at Southampton, the French king and the Almains shall stop the entercourse by land, so that nothing shall come that way but in great danger.
2. When war shall be made against us, then our navy may defend them.
3. As the town of Southampton lacketh the commodity of the access of merchandise by land, so it hath this commodity, that there can be no access of enemies by land, which may be at Antwerp, and men think will be this year, which is a great safety to the merchants.
4. The traffique that cometh by land will not much diminish the mart, for it is only almost the Venetian's traffique, who shall much easilier come hither by sea than to Antwerp, and with less danger of the seas.

To the second Point.

1. The ill-making of our clothes will be meet to be looked on this parliament, and order thereupon to be given. The matter is come to some ripeness already; the upper house hath one bill, and the nether house hath another in good forwardness.
2. As ill as they be made, the Flemings do at this time desire them wonderfully, offering rather to pay the imposition of the emperor than to lack them.

To the third Point.

1. It were very necessary that the ships that shall be hereafter going, were staid till the mart were come to some ripeness.
2. The clothes hereafter might be bought up with our money here, and conveyed to Southampton, to be there uttered at the mart time, and so it should help the mart very well.

To the fourth Point.

1. The danger of their lives, which they now fear very much, will make them seek another harbour to rest in more safely.
2. They came from Bruges to Antwerp only for the English commodities, although they were settled at Bruges.
3. They have a great commodity to come to Southampton, and a great fear of spoiling to drive them from Antwerp.
4. The merchants never assign to themselves such a mansion, but for more gain they will leave that, and take another.

To the fifth Point.

1. The emperor is at this time so driven to his shifts, that neither he shall be able to attend the stay

of money from coming to the mart; neither if he were able to attend, could, I think, do it, now the Flemings being put in such fear as they be of the loss of all they have.

2. The Flemings and the Spaniards which be under him, can hardlier be without us than we without them, and therefore they would hardly be brought to forbear our traffique.

To the sixth Point.

1. It were good the Stiliard-men were for this time gently answered, and that it were seen, whether by any gentle offer of some part of their liberties, again they might be brought to ship their wares to the mart. The Frenchmen also I think would easily be brought to come hither, having now none other traffique but hither; these two nations would suffice to begin a mart for the first part.

To the seventh Point.

1. It is not the ability of the English merchants only that maketh the mart, but it is the resort of other nations to some one place when they do exchange their commodities one with another, for the bargaining will be as well amongst the strangers themselves; the Spaniards with the Almains, the Italians with Flemings, the Venetians with the Danes, &c., as other nations will bargain with us.
2. The merchants of London, of Bristol, and other places, will come hither for the mart time, and traffique.
3. The merchants will make shift enough for their lodging.
4. There may be some of these clothes that shall go hereafter, be bought with my money, and so carried to Southampton to be there uttered.

To the eighth Point.

1. Bruges, where the mart was before, stood not on the river of Rhine, nor Antwerp doth not neither stand on that river.
2. Frankfort mart may well stand for a fair in Almain, although Southampton serve for all nations that lie on the sea-side; for few of those come to Frankfort mart.

V.—The Method in which the Council represented Matters of State to the King. An Original. Written by Sir William Cecil, Secretary of State.

[Windsor, Sept. 23. Sexto Edwardi Sexti. 1552.]

Questions.

1. Whether the king's majesty shall enter into the aid of the emperor?

Answer.—He shall.

1. The king is bound by the treaty; and if he will be helped by that treaty, he must do the reciproque.

2. If he do not aid, the emperor is like to ruin, and consequently the house of Burgundy come to the French possession, which is perilous to England; and herein the greatness of the French king is dreadful.

3. The French king bringeth the Turk into Christendom, and therefore that exploit to be staid.

4. If the emperor, for extremity, should agree now with the French, then our peril were double greater. 1. The emperor's offence for lack of aid. 2. The French king's enterprises towards us; and in this peace, the bishop of Rome's devotion towards us.

Pro Repub. et Patria. 5. Merchants be so evil used, that both for the loss of goods and honour, some remedy must be sought.

Pericula consequentia. 6. The French king's proceedings be suspicious to the realm, by breaking and burning of our ships, which be the old strength of this isle.

Declaration of Stuckley's tale.

Answer.—He shall not.

Difficile quasi impossibile. 1. The aid is to be chargeable for the cost, and almost to be executed is impossible.

Solitudo in periculis. 2. If the emperor should die in this confederacy, we should be left alone in the war.

Amicorum suspitio vitanda. 3. It may be the German protestants might be more offended with this conjunction with the emperor, doubting their own causes.

Sperandum bene ab amicis. 4. The amity with France is to be hoped will amend and continue; and the commissioners coming may perchance restore.

Corrolarium of a mean way.

Judicium.

1. So to help the emperor, as we may also join with other Christian princes, and conspire against the French king, as a common enemy to Christendom.

Reasons for the Common Conjunction.

Auxilia communia. 1. The cause is common, and therefore there will be more parties to it.

Sumptus vitandi. 2. It shall avoid the chargeable entry into aid with the emperor, according to the treaties.

Amicorum copia. 3. If the emperor should die or break off, yet it is most likely some of the other princes and parties will remain, so as the king's majesty shall not be alone.

Dignitas causæ. 4. The friendship shall much advance the king's other causes in Christendom.

ProFide etReligione. 5. It shall be most honourable to break with the French king for this common quarrel of Christendom.

Reasons against this Conjunction.

Inter multos nihil secretum. 1. The treaty must be so with so many parties, that it can neither be speedily or secretly concluded.

Amicitie irritate. 2. If the matter be revealed, and nothing concluded, then consider the French king's offence, and so may he at his leisure be provoked to practise the like conjunction against England with all the papists.

Conclusion.

[In the king's own hand.]

1. The treaty to be made with the emperor, and by the emperor's means with other princes.

2. The emperor's acceptance to be understood, before we treat anything against the French king.

VI.—*A Method for the Proceedings in the Council, written with King Edward's hand.*

The Names of the whole Council.

The bishop of Canterbury, the bishop of Ely lord chancellor, the lord treasurer, the duke of Northumberland, the lord Privy Seal, the duke of Suffolk, the marquis of Northampton, the earl of Shrewsbury, the earl of Westmoreland, the earl of Huntingdon, the

earl of Pembroke, the viscount Hereford, the lord admiral, the lord chamberlain, the lord Cobham, the lord Rich, Mr. Comptroller, Mr. Treasurer, Mr. Vice-chamberlain, Mr. Secretary Petre, Mr. Secretary Cecil, sir Philip Hobbey, sir Robert Bowes, sir John Gage, sir John Mason, Mr. Ralph Sadler, sir John Baker, Judg Broomley, Judg Montague, Mr. Wotton, Mr. North. Those that be now called in commission:—The bishop of London, the bishop of Norwich, sir Thomas Wroth, sir Richard Cotton, sir Walter Mildmay, Mr. Solicitor, Mr. Gosnold, Mr. Cook, Mr. Lucas.

The councillors above-named to be thus divided into several commissions and charges:—

First, for hearing of those suits which were wont to be brought to the whole board—

The lord privy-seal, the lord chamberlain, the bishop of London, the lord Cobham, Mr. Hobbey, sir John Mason, sir Ralph Sadler, Mr. Wotton; Mr. Cook, Mr. Lucas, masters of requests.

Those persons to hear the suits, to answer the parties, to make certificate what suits they think meet to be granted; and upon answer received of their certificate received, to dispatch the parties: also to give full answer of denial to those suits that be not reasonable nor convenient: also to dispatch all matters of justice, and to send to the common courts those suits that be for them.

The calling of forfeits done against the laws, for punishing the offenders and breakers of proclamations that now stand in force:

The lord privy-seal, the earl of Pembroke, the lord chamberlain, sir Thomas Wroth, sir Robert Bowes, Mr. Secretary Petre, Mr. Hobbey, Mr. Wotton, Mr. John Baker, Mr. Solicitor, Mr. Gosnold.

These shall first see what laws penal, and what proclamations, standing now in force, are most meet to be executed, and shall bring a certificate thereof. Then they shall enquire in the countries how they are disobeyed, and first, shall begin with the greatest offenders, and so afterward punish the rest, according to the pains set forth. They shall receive also the letters out of the shires, of disorders there done, and punish the offenders.

For the state—

The bishop of Canterbury, the lord chancellor, the lord treasurer, the duke of Northumberland, the duke of Suffolk, the lord privy-seal, the marquess of Northampton, the earl of Shrewsbury, the earl of Pembroke, the earl of Westmoreland, the lord admiral, the viscount Hereford, the lord chamberlain, Mr. Vice-chamberlain, Mr. Treasurer and Comptroller, Mr. Cecil, Mr. Petre, Mr. Wotton, sir Philip Hobbey, sir Robert Bowes.

These to attend the matters of the state. I will sit with them once a week, to hear the debating of things of most importance.

These persons under-written shall look to the state of all the courts, especially of the new-erected courts, as the Augmentation, the First Fruits and Tythes, the Wards; and shall see the revenues answered at the half-year's end, and shall consider with what superfluous charges they be burdened, and thereof shall make a certificate which they shall deliver.

The lord chamberlain, the bishop of Norwich, sir Thomas Wroth, sir Robert Bowes, sir Richard Cotton, sir Walter Mildmay, Mr. Gosnold.

I understand it is a member of the commission that followeth, but yet those shall do well to do it for the present, because the other shall have no leasure till they have called in the debts; after which done, they may sit with them.

Those that now be in commission for the debts, to take accompts of all payments since the thirty-fifth of

the king that dead is, after that they have done this commission they are now in hand with.

Likewise for the bullwarks, the lord chamberlain, Mr. Treasurer, and Mr. Comptroller, to be in commission in their several jurisdictions.

The rest of the council, some go home to their countries straight after the parliament; some be sore sick that they shall not be able to attend any thing, which when they come, they shall be admitted of the council. Also that these councils sit apart. Also that those of the council that have these several commissions.

Desunt quædam.

15 Jan. 1552.

[This seems not to be the king's hand, but is interlined in many places by him.]

[Cotton. Libr. Nero C. 10.]

Certain Articles devised and delivered by the King's Majesty, for quicker, better, and more orderly Dispatch of Causes by his Majesty's Privy Council.

1. His majesty willeth, that all suits, petitions, and common warrants, delivered to his privy council, be considered by them on the Mondays in the morning, and answered also on the Saturdays at afternoon; and that that day, and none others, be assigned to that purpose.

2. That in answering these suits and bills of petition, heed be taken that so many of them as pertain to any court of his majesty's laws be as much as may be referred to those courts where by order they are triable; such as cannot be ended without them, be with expedition determined.

3. That in making of those warrants for money that pass by them, it be foreseen that those warrants be not such as may already be dispatcht by warrant dormant, lest, by means of such warrants, the accompts should be uncertain.

4. His majesty's pleasure is, that on the Sundays* they intend the public affairs of this realm; they dispatch answers to letters for the good order of the realm, and make full dispatches of all things concluded the week before.

5. That, on the Sunday night, the secretaries, or one of them, shall deliver to his majesty a memorial of such things as are to be debated by his privy council; and then his majesty to appoint certain of them to be debated on several days, viz. Munday afternoon, Tuesday, Wednesday, Thursday, Friday, morning.

6. That on Friday, at afternoon, they shall make a collection of such things as have been done the four days past; how many of those articles they have concluded; how many they debated, but not ended; how many the time suffered not to peruse; and also the principal reasons that moved them to conclude on such matters as seemeth doubtful.

* Provided that on Sundays they be present at common prayer.

7. That on Saturday morning they shall present this collection to his majesty, and know his pleasure upon such things as they have concluded, and also upon all the private suits.

8. That on Sunday night, again, his majesty having received of the secretaries such new matters as hath arisen upon new occasion, with such matters as his council have left, some not determined, and some not debated, shall appoint what matters, and on which days shall be determined, the next week following.

9. That none of them departed his court for longer than two days, without there be left here at the least eight of the council; and that not without giving notice thereof to the king's majesty.

10. That they shall make no manner of assembly or meeting in council, without there be to the number of four at the least.

11. Furthermore, if they be assembled to the number of four, and under the number of six, then they shall reason and debate things, examine all inconveniences and dangers, and also commodities on each side; make those things plain which seem diffuse at the first opening; and if they agree amongst themselves, then at the next full assembly of six they shall make a perfect conclusion and end with them.

12. Also if there rise such matter of weight as it shall please the king's majesty himself to be at the debating of, then warning shall be given, whereby the more may be at the debating of it.

13. If such matter shall happen to rise as shall require long debating or reasoning, or ere it come to a full conclusion or end, then his majesty's council shall not intermeddle other causes, nor fall to other matters for that day, until they have brought it to some end.

14. When matters for lack of time be only debated, and yet brought to no end, then it shall be noted how far, and to what point the matter is brought, and which have been the principal reasons on each side, to the intent, when the matter is treated or spoken of again, it may the sooner and easilier come to conclusion.

15. In matters that be long, tedious, and busy, there may be pointed or chosen two or three, more or less, as the case shall seem to require, to prepare, set forth, and make plain the matters, and to bring report thereof, whereby the things, being less cumbrous and diffuse, may the easilier be dispatcht.

Finally; if upon advertisements, letters, or other occasion whatsoever, there arise matters of great importance that require haste, his majesty's meaning is not but that such matters be waved, considered, and determined, notwithstanding the articles pointed to several days; so that, nevertheless, this order be not generally or commonly broken.

17. That all warrants for reward above 40*l.*, and for his business or affairs above 100*l.*, pass not but under his signature.

18. That no private suit be intermeddled with the great affairs, but heard on the Munday before.

19. If there be under four, and a matter of expedition arise, they shall declare it to the king's majesty, and before him debate it, but not send answer without it require wonderful haste.

A COLLECTION OF RECORDS, &c.

NUMBER I.

The Character of Edward the Sixth, as it is given by Cardanus, lib. 12. de Genituris, de Genitura Edwardi Sexti.

ADERANT enim illi gratiæ; Linguas enim multas adhuc Puer callebat: Latinam, Anglicam patriam, Gallicam; non expers, ut audio, Græcæ, Italiæ, et Hispanicæ, et forsitan aliarum: Non illi dialectica deerat, non Naturalis Philosophiæ principia, non Musica: Mortalitatis nostræ imago, gravitas Majestatis, indoles tanto Principe digna; In universum magno miraculo humanarum rerum, tanti ingenii et tantæ expectationis, Puer educabatur. Non hæc Rhetoricæ exornata veritatem excedunt, sed sunt minora.

And afterwards.

Fuit in hoc monstrosus puellus: hic linguas jam septem, ut audio, perdidicerat; propriam, Gallicam et Latinam exacte tenebat. Dialecticæ non expers, et ad omnia docilis. Cum illo congressus, decimum quintum adhuc agebat annum, interrogavit, (Latine non minus quam ego polite et prompte loquebatur) quid contineant libri tui de rerum varietate rari? Hos enim nomini M. S. dedicaveram. Tum ego, Cometarum primum causam, diu frustra quesitam, in primo capite ostendo. Quænam, inquit ille? Concursus, ego aio, luminis, erraticorum syderum. At Rex, Quomodo cum diversis motibus astra moveantur, non statim dissipatur aut movetur illorum motu? At ego, Movetur equidem, sed longe celerius illis, ob diversitatem aspectus, velut in Christallo et sole cum iris in pariete relucet. Parva enim mutatio magnam facit loci differentiam. At Rex, Et quonam pacto absque subjecto illud fieri potest, iridi enim paries subjectum? Tum ego, Velut in lactea via, et luminum reflectione, cum plures candelæ prope accensæ medium quoddam lucidum et candidum efficiunt. Itaq; ex ungue leonem, ut dici solet. Fuit hic in maxima omnium aut bonorum aut eruditorum expectatione ob ingenuitatem atq; suavitatem morum. Prius ceperat favere artibus quam nosceret, et noscere antequam uti posset. Conatus quidam humanæ conditionis quem non solum Anglia, sed orbis, ereptum immature deslere debet. Plurimum educationi debueramus, plus ereptum est hominum dolo, fraude. O quam bene dixerat ille,

Inmodicis brevis est ætas et rara senectus.

Specimen virtutis exhibere potuit, non exemplum.

Flete nefas magnum, sed toto flebitis orbe

Mortales, vester corrui omnis honor;

Nam regum decus, et juvenum flos, spesq; bonorum,

Dolice sæcli, et gloria gentis erat.

VOL. I.

Dignus Apollineis Lachrymis, doctæq; Minervæ
Flosculus, heu misere concidis ante diem!
Te tumulo dabimus Musæ, supremæq; fientes
Munera, Melpomene tristia fata cavet.

Ubi gravitas Regia requirebatur, senem vidisses, ut blandus erat et comis ætatem referebat. Cheli pulsabat, publicis negotiis admovebatur, liberalis animo, atq; in his patrem æmulabatur. Qui dum nimium bonus esse studuit, malus videri poterat: sed a filio aberat suspicio criminis, indoles Philosophiæ studii exculta fuit.

NUMBER II.

The Commission which the Archbishop of Canterbury took out for his Archbishopric.

[Regist. Cran. Fol. 28.]

EDWARDUS sextus, Dei Gratia, Angliæ, Franciæ, et Hiberniæ Rex, Fidei Defensor, ac in terra Ecclesiæ Anglicanæ et Hiberniæ Supremum Caput, Reverendissimo in Christo Patri, ac prædicto Consiliario nostro, Thomæ Cant. Archiep. salutem. Quandoquidem omnis juris dicendi Autoritas, atq; etiam jurisdictio omnimodo; tum illa quæ Ecclesiastica dicitur, quam secularis, a regia Potestate velut a supremo Capite, ac omnium Magistratuum infra Regnum nostrum, fonte et scaturigine primitus emanaverit; sane illos qui jurisdictionem hujusmodi antehac non nisi præcario fungebantur beneficium hujusmodi sic eis ex liberalitate Regia indultum gratis animis agnoscere, idque Regiæ munificentiae solummodo acceptum referre, eique, quoties ejus Majestati videbitur, cedere convenit. Nos tuis in hac parte supplicationibus humilibus inclinatis, et nostrorum subditorum commodis consulere cupientes. Tibi vices nostras sub modo et forma inferius descriptis committend. fore; teque licentiand. esse decernimus ad Ordinand. igitur quoscunque infra Dioces. tuam Cant. ubicunque Oriundos, quos, moribus et literatura prævio diligenti et rigoroso examine idoneos fore compereris, ac ad omnes etiam sacros et Presbyteratus Ordines promovend. ordinand. presentatosque ad beneficia Ecclesiastica quæcunque infra Dioc. tuam Cant. constituta, si ad curam Beneficiorum hujusmodi imminenter sustinend. habiles reperti fuerint et idonei, ac non aliter admittend. ac in et de eisdem instituend. et investiend. ac etiam si res ita exigat, destituend. Beneficiaq; Ecclesiastica quæcunque ad tuam collationem sive dispositionem spectantia et pertinentia Personis idoneis conferend. atque approband. testamenta et ultimas voluntates. Necnon administrationes committend. bonorum quorumcunque; subditorum nostrorum

ab intestat decedend. quorum bona jura sive credita in diversis Dioc. sive jurisdictionibus, aut alibi juxta consuetudinem Curie Prærogative Cant. vitæ et mortis suarum tempore habentium calculumque et rationum, et alia in ea parte expediend. testamentaque et administrationes, quorumcunque tue Dioc. ut prius approband. et committend. causasque lites et negotia coram te aut tuis deputatis pendend. Indecisas, necnon alias sive alia quascunque sive quæcunque; ad forum Ecclesiasticum pertinend. ad te aut tuos deputatos sive deputandos per vestram querelæ, aut appellationis devolvend. sive deducend. quæ citra legum nostrarum et Statutorum Regni nostri offensionem coram te aut tuis deputatis agitari, aut ad tuam sive alienjus Commissariorū per te vigore hujus Commissionis jure deputandorum cognitione devolvi aut deduci valeant, et possunt examinand. et decidend. Ceteraque omnia et singula in Præmissis, seu circa ea necessaria, seu quomodolibet opportuna, per et ultra ea quæ tibi ex Sacris Literis divinitus Commissa esse dignoscuntur, vice, nomine et Autoritate nostris exequend. Tibi de cuius sana Doctrina, Conscientiæ puritate, vitæque et morum integritate, ac in rebus gerendis fide et industria plurimum confidimus, vices nostras cum potestate alium vel alios, Commissarium vel Commissarios, ad præmissa vel eorum aliqua surrogand. et substituend. eosdemque ad placitum revocand. tenore præsentium Committimus, ac liberam facultatem concedimus, teque licentiamus per præsentem ad nostrum beneplacitum duntaxat duraturas cum cujuslibet congrue et Ecclesiasticæ coercitionis potestate, quæcumque inhibitione ante dat. præsentium emanant in aliquo non obstante, tuam Conscientiam coram Deo strictissime onerantes, et ut summo omnium judicii aliquando rationem reddere, et coram nobis tuo sub periculo corporali, respondere intendis te admonentes, ut interini tuum officium juxta Evangelii normam pie et sancte exercere studeas, et ne quem ullo tempore unquam ad sacros Ordines promoveas; vel ad curam animarum gerendam quovismodo admittas; nisi eos duntaxat quos et tanti et tam venerabilis officii functionem, vitæ et morum Integritas notissimis testimoniis approbata, literarum scientia et aliæ qualitates requisitæ ad hoc habiles et idoneos clare et luculenter ostenderit et declaraverint. Nam ut maxime compertum cognitumque habemus morum omnium et maxime Christianæ Religionis corruptelam, a malis pastoribus in populum emanasse, sic et veram Christi Religionem vitæque et morum emendationem a bonis pastoribus iterum delectis et assumptis in integrum restitutum iri haud dubie speramus. In cujus rei testimonium præsentem Literas nostras inde fieri, et sigilli nostri quo ad causas Ecclesiasticas utimur appensione jussimus communire. Datum septimo die mensis Februarii, Anno Dom. millesimo quingentesimo quadragesimo sexto et Regni nostri Anno primo.

NUMBER III.

The Council's Letter to the Justices of Peace.
An Original.

[Cotton, Libr. Titus B. 2.]

AFTER our right hearty commendations: where the most noble king, of famous memory, our late sovereign lord and master king Henry the eighth (whom God pardon), upon the great trust which his majesty had in your virtuous wisdoms and good dispositions to the commonwealth of this realm, did specially name and appoint you, among others, by his commissions under his great seal of England, to be conservatores and justices of his peace, within that his county of Norfolk.

Forasmuch as the same commissions were dissolved by his decease, it hath pleased the king's majesty, our sovereign lord that now is, by the advice and consent of us, the lord protector and others, executors to our said late sovereign lord, whose names be under-written; to whom, with others, the government of his most royal person, and the order of his affairs, is by his last will and testament committed, till he shall be of full age of eighteen years, to cause new commissions again to be made for the conservation of his peace throughout this realm, whereof you shall by this bearer receive one for that county. And for that the good and diligent execution of the charge committed to you and others by the same, shall be a notable surety to the king, our sovereign lord's person that now is, to whom God give increase of virtue, honour, and many years, a most certain stay to the commonwealth; which must needs prosper where justice hath place and reigneth. We shall desire you, and in his majesty's name charge and command you, upon the receipt hereof, with all diligence, to assemble yourselves together; and calling unto you all such others as be named in the said commission. You shall first cry and call to God to give you grace to execute this charge committed unto you with all truth and uprightness, according to your oaths, which you shall endeavour yourselves to do in all things appertaining to your office accordingly: in such sort as all private malice, sloth, negligence, displeasure, disdain, corruption, and sinister affections set apart, it may appear you have God, and the preservation of your sovereign lord and natural country, before your eyes; and that you forget not that by the same, your selves, your wives, and your children, shall surely prosper and be also preserved. For the better doing whereof, you shall, at this your first assembly, make a division of your selves into hundreds or wapentakes; that is to say, two at the least, to have especial eye and regard to the good rule and order of that, or those hundreds, to see the peace duly kept, to see vagabonds and perturbors of the peace punished, and that every man apply himself to do as his calling doth require; and in all things to keep good order, without alteration, innovation, or contempt of any thing that by the laws of our late sovereign lord is prescribed and set forth unto us, for direction and framing of our selves towards God and honest policy. And if any person or persons, whom ye shall think you cannot rule and order, without trouble to this country, shall presume to do the contrary, upon your information to us thereof, we shall so aid and assist you in the execution of justice, and the punishment of all such contemptuous offenders, as the same shall be example to others. And further, his majesty's pleasure, by the advice and consent aforesaid, is, that you shall take such orders amongst you, as you fall not once every six weeks, till you shall be otherwise commanded, to write unto the said lord protector, and others of the privy-council, in what state that shire standeth; and whether any notable things have happened, or were like to happen, in those parts, that you cannot redress, which would be speedily met withal and looked unto; or whether you shall need any advice or counsel, to the intent we may put our hands to the stay and reformation of it in the beginning as appertains: praying you also to take order, that every commissioner in the shire may have a double, or a copy of this letter, both for his own better instruction, and to shew to the gentlemen, and such others as inhabit in the hundreds specially appointed to them, that every man may the better conform himself to do truth, and help to the advancement of justice, according to their most

RECORDS.

bounden duties, and as they will answer for the contrary. Thus fare you well. From the Tower of London, the 12th of February.

Your loving friends,

E. Hertford.

T. Cantuarien. Thomas Wriothesley, Cancel.
W. St. John, J. Russel, Anthony Brown,
Anthony Denny, Cuth. Duresme, William
Paget, W. Herbert, Edward North.

NUMBER IV.

The Order for the Coronation of King Edward.

[Ex Libro Consilii.]

Sunday, Feb. 13, at the Tower, &c.

THIS day the lord protector, and others his executors, whose names be hereunto ascribed, upon mature and deep deliberation had among them, did finally resolve, that forasmuch as divers of the old observances and ceremonies afore-times used at the coronations of the kings of this realm were by them thought meet, for sundry respects, to be corrected; and namely, for the tedious length of the same, which should weary and be hurtful to the king's majesty, being yet of tender age, fully to endure and bide out. And also for that many points of the same were such as by the laws of the realm at this present were not allowable. The king's majesty's coronation should be done and celebrated upon Shrove-Sunday next ensuing, in the cathedral church of Westminster, after the form and order ensuing:—

First, the archbishop of Canterbury shall show the king to the people, at four parts of the great pulpit or stage to be made for the king, and shall say on this wise,—“Sirs, here I present king Edward, rightful and undoubted inheritor, by the laws of God and man, to the royal dignity and crown imperial of this realm, whose consecration, unction, and coronation, is appointed by all the nobles and peers of this land to be this day. Will ye serve at this time, and give your good-wills and assents to the same consecration, unction, and coronation, as by your duty of allegiance ye be bound to do?”

The people to answer, “Yea, yea, yea; king Edward, king Edward, king Edward.”

This done, the archbishop of Canterbury, being revested as he should go to mass, with the bishops of London and Winchester on both sides, with other bishops, and the dean of Westminster in the bishop's absence, to go in order before the king; the king shall be brought from his seat by them that assisted him to the church to the high altar, where, after his prayer made to God for his grace, he shall offer a pall and a pound of gold, twenty-four pound in coin, which shall be to him delivered by the lord great chamberlain. Then shall the king fall groveling before the altar, and over him the archbishop shall say this collect, *Deus humilium*, &c. Then the king shall rise and go to his chair, to be prepared before the altar, his face to the altar, and standing, one shall hold him a book; and the archbishop standing before the king, shall ask him, with a loud and distinct voice, in manner and form following:—

“Will ye grant to keep to the people of England, and others your realms and dominions, the laws and liberties of this realm, and others your realms and dominions?”

I grant and promit.

“You shall keep, to your strength and power, to the church of God, and to all the people, holy peace and concord,”

I shall keep.

“You shall make to be done, after your strength and power, equal and rightful justice in all your dooms and judgments, with mercy and truth.”

I shall do.

“Do you grant to make no laws but such as shall be to the honour and glory of God, and to the good of the commonwealth; and that the same shall be made by the consent of your people, as hath been accustomed?”

I grant and promit.

Then shall the king rise out of his chair, and by them that before assisted then be led to the high altar, where he shall make a solemn oath upon the sacrament, laid upon the said altar, in the sight of all the people, to observe the premisses; and laying his hand again on the book, shall say,

The things which I have before promised I shall observe and keep. So God help me, and those holy Evangelists by me bodily touched upon this holy altar.

That done, the king shall fall again groveling before the high altar, and the said archbishop kneeling before him shall, with a loud voice, begin *Veni Creator Spiritus*, &c.

Which done, the said archbishop, standing, shall say over the king, *Te invocamus*; and at the end shall kneel again, and then shall the king rise, and be set in the chair again; and after a little pause he shall rise, and assisted with those that did before that office, go again to the high altar, where he shall be unclothed by his great chamberlain unto his coat of crimson satin; which, and also his shirt, shall be opened before and behind on the shoulders, and the bowgirt of the arms, by the said great chamberlain, to the intent that on these places he be anointed; and whiles he is in the anointing, sir Anthony Denny and sir William Herbert must hold a pall over him. And first, the said archbishop shall anoint the king, kneeling, in the palms of his hands, saying these words, *Unctus Manus*; with this collect, *Respice Omnipotens Deus*. After he shall anoint him in the breast, in the midst of his back, on his two bowgirts of his arms, and on his head, making a cross; and after making another cross on his head, with holy chrism, saying, as he anointeth the places aforesaid, *Unctus Caput, unctus scapule*, &c. During which time of unction, the quire shall continually sing, *Ungebant Regem*, and the psalm, *Domine in virtute tua latibitur Rex*. And it is to be remembered, that the bishop or dean of Westminster, after the king's unction, shall dry all the places of his body where he was anointed, with cotton or some linnen cloth, which is to be burnt. And furthermore, the places opened for the same is to be clothed by the lord great chamberlain; and on the king's hands shall be put, by the said archbishop of Canterbury, a pair of linnen gloves, which the lord great chamberlain shall before see prepared.

This done, the king shall rise, and the archbishop of Canterbury shall put on the king a tabert of Tarterton white, shaped in manner of a dalmatick; and he shall put upon the king's head a quioif, the same to be brought by the great chamberlain. Then the king shall take the sword he was girt withal, and offer it himself to God, laying it on the altar, in token that his strength and power should first come from God. And the same sword he shall take again from the altar, and deliver it to some great earl, to be redeemed of the bishop or dean of Westminster for 100s.; which sword shall be borne naked afterwards before the king.

Then the king being set in his chair before the

altar, shall be crowned with St. Edward's crown; and there shall be brought, by the bishop or dean of Westminster, royal sandals and spurs, to be presently put on by the lord great chamberlain; and the spurs again immediately taken off, that they do not encumber him.

Then the archbishop, with all the peers and nobles, shall convey the king, sustained as before, again into the pulpit, setting him in his siege royal; and then shall the archbishop begin *Te Deum laudamus*; which done, the archbishop shall say unto the king, *Sta et retine a modo locum*. And the king being thus set, all the peers of the realm and bishops, holding up their hands, shall make unto him homage, as followeth: first, the lord-protector alone, then the archbishop of Canterbury and the lord chancellor, so two and two as they be placed.

"I, N. become your liege man, of life and limb, and of earthly worship, and faith, and truth, I shall bear unto you, against all manner of folks, as I am bound by my allegiance, and by the laws and statutes of this realm. So help us God and Allhallowes." And then every one shall kiss the king's left cheek; which done, all they holding up their hands together, in token of their fidelity, shall with one voice on their knees say, "We offer to sustain and defend you and your crown, with our lives, and lands, and goods, against all the world." And then with one voice to cry, "God save King Edward;" which the people shall cry accordingly. Then shall the king be led to his travers to hear the high mass, and so depart home crowned in order, as he set forth accordingly.

E. Hertford.

T. Cantuarien. Tho. Wriothesley, Cancell. W. St. John. F. Russel. John Lisle. Cuth. Duresme. Anthony Brown. W. Paget. Anthony Denny. W. Herbert.

NUMBER V.

The Commission for which the Lord Chancellor was deprived of his Office; with the Opinion of the Judges concerning it.

[Ex Libro Concilii. Fol. 49.]

EDWARDUS sextus Dei Gratia Angliæ, Franciæ, et Hiberniæ Rex, Fidei Defensor; et in terra Ecclesiæ Anglicanæ et Hiberniæ supremum Caput, dilectis et fidelibus Consiliariis suis, Roberto Southwell Militi, custodi ac Magistro Rotulorum Cancellariæ nostræ, et Johanni Tregonwell Armigero uni Magistrorum Cancellariæ nostræ prædictæ, et dilectis sibi Johanni Olyver Clerico, et Antonio Bellasis Clerico, Magistris ejusdem Cancellariæ nostræ salutem. Quia prædilectus et fidelis consanguineus noster Thomas Comes Southampton Cancellarius noster Angliæ, nostris arduis negotiis ex mandato nostro continuo intendens, in eisdem adeo versatur, quod ad ea quæ in Curia Cancellariæ nostræ, in causis et materiis inter diversos ligeos et subditos nostros ibidem pendentibus, tractand. audiend. discutiend. et terminand. Sicut ut fieri debeant, ad præsens non sufficiat: volentes proinde in ejusdem Cancellarii nostri absentia omnibus ligeis et subditis nostris quibuscunque, quascunque materias suas in Curia Cancellariæ nostræ prædictæ: prosequentiis, plenam et celerem justitiam exhiberi, ac de fidelitatibus, et providia circumspeditionibus vestris plenius confidentes, assignavimus vos tres, et duos vestrum, ac tenore presentium damus vobis tribus et duobus, plenam potestatem et auctoritatem audiendi et examinandi quascunque materias, causas, et Petitiones coram nobis in Cancellaria nostra, inter quoscunque;

ligeos et subditos nostros nunc pendentes, et in posterum ibidem exhibend. et pendend. et easdem materias, causas et Petitiones, juxta sanas vestras discretiones, finaliter terminand. et debite executioni demandand. partesque in materiis sive causis vel Petitionibus illis nominatis et specificatis ad testes et alios quoscunque, quos vobis fore videbitur, evocandos, quoties expedire videbitis coram vobis tribus vel duobus vestrum evocandos; et ipsos et eorum quemlibet debite examinari compellend. diesque productorios imponend. et assignand. processusque quoscunque in ea parte necessarios concedend. et fieri faciend. contemptus etiam quoscunque ibidem commissos sive perpetratos, debite castigand. et puniend. ceteraque omnia et singula faciend. et exequend. quæ circa præmissa necessaria fuerint; seu quomodolibet opportuna: Et ideo vobis mandamus, quod circa præmissa diligenter attendatis, ac ea faciat, et exequamini cum effectu. Mandamus etiam tenore presentium omnibus et singulis Officiariis et Ministris nostris curiæ nostræ prædictæ, quod vobis tribus, et duobus vestrum in executione præmissorum diligenter intendant, prout decet: Volumus enim et per presentes concedimus, quod omnia et singula judicia sive finalia decreta per vos tres vel duos vestrum super hujusmodi causis, sive materiis reddend. seu fiend. sicut et esse debeant, tanti et consimilis valoris, effectus, efficacie, roboris, et virtutis, ac si per Dominum Cancellarium Angliæ et Curia Cancellariæ præ-

reddita seu reddenda forent, proviso semper, quod omnia et singula hujusmodi judicia seu finalia decreta, per vos tres vel duos vestrum, virtute presentium reddend. seu fiend. manibus vestris trium vel duorum vestrum, subscribantur et consignentur, et superinde eadem judicia sive decreta præfato Cancellario nostro presententur et liberentur, ut idem Cancellarius noster antequam irrotulentur, eadem similiter manu sua consignet. In cujus rei testimonium has litteras nostras fieri fecimus Patentes, Teste meipso apud Westmonast. 18 die Feb. Anno Regni nostri primo.

THE said students, referring to the consideration of the said protector and council what the granting out of the said commission without warrant did weigh; forasmuch as the said protector and council, minding the surety of the king's majesty, and a direct and upright proceeding in his affairs, and the observation of their duties in all things, as near as they can, to his majesty, with a desire to avoid all things which might offend his majesty or his laws; and considering that the said commission was none of the things which they in their assemblies in council, at any time since the death of the king's majesty late deceased, did accord to be passed under the great seal, have for their own discharges required us, whose names be under-written, for the opinion they have of our knowledge and experience in the laws of this realm, to consider the said case of making of the said commission without warrant; and after due consideration thereof, to declare in writing to what the said case doth weigh in law. We, therefore, whose names be under-written, after mature and advised consultation and deliberation thereupon, do affirm and say, for our knowledges and determinations, that the said chancellor of England having made forth, under the great seal of England, without any warrant, the commission aforesaid, hath done, and doth by his so doing offend the king's majesty, hath, and doth by the common law, forfeit his office of chancellor, and incur the danger, penalty, and payment of such fine as it shall please the king's majesty, with the advice of the said lord protector and council, to set upon him for the same; with also imprisonment of his body at the king's will:

In witness whereof we have set our names to this present, the last day of February, in the first year of the reign of our sovereign lord king Edward the sixth, by the grace of God king of England, France, and Ireland, defender of the faith, and in earth of the church of England, and also of Ireland, the suprem head; and have likewise, for more ample testimony of this our opinion of and upon the premisses, put and subscribed our names to this present duplicate of the same here asserted, in this present act of this 6th day of the month of March accordingly.

NUMBER VI.

The Duke of Somerset's Commission to be Protector.

[Ex Libro Concilii, Fol. 62.]

EDWARD the Sixth, by the grace of God king of England, France, and Ireland, defender of the faith, and of the church of England, and also of Ireland, in earth the suprem head. Whereas our council, and divers of the nobles and prelates of this our realm of England, considering our young and tender age, have thought meet and expedient, as well for our education and bringing up in knowledge, learning, and exercises of good and goodly manners, virtues, and qualities, meet and necessary for a prince of our estate, and whereby we should, and may at our full age be the more able to minister and execute the charge of our kingly estate and office, committed unto us by the goodness of Almighty God, and left and come unto us by right inheritance, after and by the decease of our late sovereign lord and father, of most famous memory, king Henry the Eighth, whose soul God pardon. As also to the intent, that during the time of our minority, the great and weighty causes of our realms and dominions may be set forth, conducted, passed, applied, and ordered, in such sort as shall be most to the glory of God, our surety and honour; and for the weal, benefit, and commodity of us, our said realms and dominions, and of all our loving subjects of the same, have advised us to nominate, appoint, and authorize some one meet and trusty personage, above all others, to take the special care and charge of the same for us, and in our name and behalf; without the which the things before remembered could not, nor can, be done so well as appertaineth. We therefore, using their advices and counsels in this behalf, did heretofore assign and appoint our dear and well-beloved uncle, Edward, now duke of Somerset, governour of our person, and protector of our said realms and dominions, and of our subjects and people of the same. Which thing albeit we have already declared heretofore, and our pleasure therein published by word of our mouth, in the presence of our said council, nobles, and prelates of our said realm of England, and not by any writing set forth under our seal for that only purpose; yet for a more perfect and manifest knowledge, and further corroboration and understanding of our determination in that behalf; and considering that no manner of person is so meet to have and occupy the said charge and administration, and to do us service in the same, as is our said uncle Edward, duke of Somerset, eldest brother to our natural most gracious late mother queen Jane, as well for the proximity of blood, whereby he is the more stirred to have special eye and regard to our surety and good education, in this our said minority; as also for the long and great experience which our said uncle hath had in the lifetime of our said dear father, in the affairs of our said realms and dominions, both in time of peace and war; whereby he is more able to order and rule our said realms, dominions, and subjects of the same:

and for the special confidence and trust that we have in our said uncle, as well with the advice and consent of our council, and other our nobles and prelates, as also of divers discreet and sage men that served our said late father in his council and weighty affairs;—we therefore, by these presents, do not only ratify, approve, confirm, and allow, all and every thing and things whatsoever devised or set forth, committed or done by our said uncle, as governor of our person, and protector of our said realms and dominions, and of the subjects of the same, sith the time he was by us named, appointed, and ordained by word governor of our person, and protector of our said realms and dominions, and of the subjects of the same, as is aforesaid, or otherwise any time before, sithence the death of our said late father; but also by these presents, we, for a full and perfect declaration of the authority of our said uncle, given and appointed as aforesaid, do nominate, appoint, and ordain our said uncle governor of our said person, and protector of our said realms and dominions, and of the subjects of the same, until such time as we shall have, by the sufferance of God, accomplished the age of eighteen years.

And we also do grant to our said uncle, by these presents, full power and authority, from time to time, until such time as we shall have accomplished the said age of eighteen years, to do, procure, and execute, and cause to be done, procured, and executed, all and every such thing and things, act and acts, which a governor of the king's person of this realm, during his minority, and a protector of his realms, dominions, and subjects, ought to do, procure, and execute, or cause to be done, procured, and executed; and also all and every other thing and things, which to the office of a governor of a king of this realm, during his minority, and a protector of his realms, dominions, and subjects, in any wise appertaineth or belongeth; willing, authorising, and commanding our said uncle, by these presents, to take upon him the name, title, and authority of governor of our person, and protector of our realms, dominions, and subjects; and to do, procure, and execute, and cause to be done, procured, and executed, from time to time, until we shall have accomplished the said age of eighteen years, all and every thing and things, act and acts, of what nature, quality, or effect soever they be or shall be, concerning our affairs, doings, and proceedings, both private and publick, as well in outward and forreign causes and matters, as also concerning our affairs, doings, and proceedings within our said realms and dominions, or in any of them, or concerning any manner, causes, or matters, of any of our subjects of the same, in such like manner and form as shall be thought, by his wisdom and discretion, to be for the honour, surety, and prosperity, good order, wealth, or community of us, or of any of our said realms and dominions, or of the subjects of any of the

And to the intent our said uncle should be furnished with men qualified in wit, knowledge, and experience for his aid and assistance in the managing and accomplishment of our said affairs, we have, by the advice and consent of our said uncle, and others, the nobles, prelates, and wise men of our said realm of England, chosen, taken, and accepted, and by these presents do chuse, take, accept, and ordain to be our counsellors, and of our council, the most reverend father in God, Thomas archbishop of Canterbury, and our right trusty and well-beloved William, lord St. John, great master of our household, and president of our council; John lord Russel, keeper of our privy seal; and our trusty and right well-beloved cousins,

William marquess of Northampton; John earl of Warwick, great chamberlain of England; Henry earl of Arundel, our lord chamberlain; Thomas lord Seymour of Sudley, high admiral of England; the reverend father in God, Cuthbert bishop of Duresme, and our right trusty and well-beloved Richard lord Rich; sir Thomas Cheney, knight of our order, and treasurer of our household; sir John Gage, knight of our order, and comptroller of our household; sir Anthony Brown, knight of our order, master of our horse; sir Anthony Wingfield, knight of our order, our vice-chamberlain; sir William Paget, knight of our order, our chief secretary; sir William Petre, knight, one of our two principal secretaries; sir Ralph Sadler, knight, master of our great wardrobe; sir John Baker, knight; Dr. Wotton, dean of Canterbury and York; sir Anthony Denny and sir William Herbert, kts., gentlemen of our privy-chamber; sir Edward North, kt., chancellor of our court of augmentations and revenues of our crown; sir Edward Montague, kt., chief justice of our common pleas; sir Edward Wotton, kt.; sir Edmund Pekham, kt., cofferer of our household; sir Thomas Bronley, kt., one of the justices for pleas before us to be holden; and sir Richard Southwell, kt.

And furthermore we are contented and pleased, and by these presents do give full power and authority to our said uncle, from time to time, until we shall have accomplished and be of the full age of eighteen years, to call, ordain, name, appoint, and swear such, and as many other persons of our subjects, as to him our said uncle shall seem meet and requisite to be of our council; and that all and every such person or persons, so by our said uncle, for and during the time aforesaid to be called, named, ordained, appointed, and sworn of our council, and to be our counsellor or counsellors, we do by these presents name, ordain, accept, and take our counsellor and counsellors, and of our council, in like manner and form as if he, they, and every of them, were in these presents by us appointed, named, and taken to be of our council, and our counsellor or counsellors, by express name or names. And that also of our forenamed counsellors, or of any others which our said uncle shall hereafter at any time take and chuse to be our counsellor or counsellors, or of our said council, he our said uncle shall, may, and have authority by these presents, to chuse, name, appoint, use, and swear of privy-council, and to be our privy-counsellor or counsellors, such and so many as he from time to time shall think convenient.

And it is our further pleasure, and also we will and grant by these presents, for us, our heirs and successors, that whatsoever cause, matter, deed, thing, or things, of what nature, quality, or condition soever the same be; yea, though the same require, or ought by any manner, law, statute, proclamation, or other ordinance whatsoever, to be specially, or by name, expressed or set forth in this our present grant or letters patents, and be not herein expressed or mentioned, specially which our said uncle, or any of our privy-counsellor or counsellors, with the advice, consent, or agreement of our said uncle, have thought necessary, meet, expedient, decent, or in any manner-wise convenient to be devised, done, or executed, during our minority, and until we come to the full age of eighteen years, for the surety, honour, profit, health, or education of our person; or for the surety, honour, profit, weal, benefit, or commodity of any of our realms, dominions, or subjects; and the same have devised, done, or executed, or caused to be devised, executed, or done, at any time since the death of our most noble father of most famous memory; we are contented and pleased, and will and grant, for us, our heirs and successors, by these presents, that the same

cause, matter, deed, thing and things, and every of them, shall stand, remain, and be (until such time our said uncle, with such and so many of our foresaid counsellors as he shall think meet to call unto his assistance, shall revoke and annihilate the same) good, sure, stable, available, and effectual, to all intents and purposes, without offence of us, or against us, or of or against any of our laws, statutes, proclamations, or other ordinances whatsoever; and without incurring therefore into any danger, penalty, forfeit, loss; or any other encumbrance, penalty, or vexation of his or their bodies, lands, rents, goods, or chattels; or of their, or any of their heirs, executors, or administrators, or of any other person or persons whatsoever, which have done or executed any cause, matter, deed, thing or things, now, or any time since the death of our said father, by the commandment or ordinance of our said uncle, or any of our counsellors, with the advice, consent, or agreement of our said uncle.

And further, we are contented and pleased, and will and grant, for us, our heirs and successors, by these presents, that whatsoever cause, matter, deed, thing or things, of what nature, quality, or condition soever the same be, or shall be; yea, though the same require, or ought by any manner, law, statute, proclamation, or other whatsoever ordinance to be specially and by name expressed and set forth in this our present grant and letters patents, and be not herein specially named or expressed, which our said uncle shall at any time, during our minority, and until we shall come to the full age of eighteen years, think necessary, meet, expedient, decent, or in any wise convenient to be devised, had, made, executed, or done in our name, for the surety, honour, profit, health, or education of our person, or which our said uncle, with the advice and consent of such and so many of our privy-council, or of our counsellors, as he shall think meet to call unto him from time to time, shall at any time, until we come unto the full age of eighteen years, think necessary, meet, decent, expedient, or in any wise convenient to be devised, had, made, executed, or done in our name, for the surety, honour, profit, weal, benefit, or commodity of any of our realms, dominions, or subjects, or any of them, he our said uncle and counsellors, and every of them, and all and every other person or persons, by his our said uncle's commandment, direction, appointment, or order, or by the commandment, appointment, direction, or order of any of our said counsellors, as our said uncle agree, and be contented, to and with the same, shall and may do or execute the same without displeasure to us, or any manner of crime or offence to be by us, our heirs or successors, laid or imputed to him our said uncle, or any of our said counsellors, or any other person or persons therefore, or in that behalf, and without any offence of or against our laws, statutes, proclamations, or other whatsoever ordinances; and without incurring therefore into any damages, penalty, forfeit, loss, or any other encumbrance, trouble, or vexation of his, or any of their bodies, lands, tenements, goods, or chattels; or of his or their, or any their heirs, successors, assigns, executors, or administrators. And therefore we will and command, not only all and every our judges, justices, sergeants, attorneys, solicitors, sheriffs, escheators, bailiffs, and all other our officers, ministers, and subjects, that now be, or hereafter shall be, in no wise to impeach, appeal, arrest, trouble, vex, injure, or molest in our name or otherwise, our said uncle, or our said counsellors, or any of them, or any other person, for any cause, matter, deed, thing, or things, which he or they, or any of them, have done, or shall do, execute,

or cause to be executed or done as aforesaid; but also we require, and nevertheless straitly charge and command, by these presents, all and every our officers, ministers, and subjects, of what estate, degree, or condition soever he or they be, or shall be, to be obedient, aiding, attendant, and assisting to our said uncle and counsellors, and to every of them as becometh, for the execution of this charge and commission given and committed unto our said uncle and council as aforesaid, as they tender our favour and their own weals, and as they will answer unto us at their uttermost perils for the contrary. In witness whereof, we have caused these our letters to be made patents; witness ourself at Westminster, the 13th day of March, in the first year of our reign,

E. Somerset.

T. Cantuarien. W. St. John. J. Russel. W. Northamp. T. Cheynie. William Paget. Anthony Brown.

NUMBER VII.

The King's Letter to the Archbishop of York, concerning the Visitation then intended.

[Cotton Libr. Titus B. 2.]

EDWARDUS sextus, Dei Gratia, Angliæ, Franciæ, et Hiberniæ Rex, Fidei Defensor, ac in terra Ecclesiæ Anglicanæ et Hiberniæ supremum Caput, Reverendissimo in Christo Patri, ac prædilecto Consiliario nostro Roberto permissione divina Eboracens. Archiepisc. Angliæ Primati et Metropolitano salutem. Quum nos, suprema Autoritate nostra Regia, omnia et singula loca Ecclesiastica, clerumque et populum infra et per totum nostrum Angliæ Regnum constituta, propediem visitare statuerimus, Vobis tenore præsentium stricte inhibemus atque mandamus et per vos Suffraganeis vestris confratribus Episcopis, ac per illos suis Archidiaconis ac aliis quibuscunque jurisdictionem Ecclesiasticam exercentibus, tam exemptis quam non exemptis, infra vestram Provinciam Eboracens. ubilibet constitutis sic inhibere volumus atque præcipimus, quatenus nec vos nec quisquam eorum Ecclesias, aut alia loca prædicta Clerumve aut populum visitare, aut ea quæ sunt jurisdictionis exercere seu quicquam aliud in præjudicium dictæ nostræ Visitationis generalis quovismodo attemptare præsumant sive præsumant sub pœna contemptus, donec et quousque licentiam et facultatem vobis et eis in ea parte largiend. et imperitiend. fore duxerimus. Et quia non solum internam animorum subditorum nostrorum pacem; verum etiam externam eorum concordiam multiplicibus opinionum procellis ex contentione, dissensione et contrariis concionatorum exortis, multum corruptam, violatam ac misere divulsam esse cernimus; Idcirco nobis admodum necessarium visum est ad sedandas et componendas hujusmodi opinionum varietates, quatenus inhibeamus, seu inhiberi faciamus omnibus et singulis Episcopis, nec alibi quam in Ecclesiis suis Cathedralibus, et aliis Personis Ecclesiasticis quibuscunque, ne in alio loco quam in suis Ecclesiis, Collegiatis, sive Parochialibus, in quibus intitulati sunt, prædicent, aut subditis nostris quovismodo concionandi munus exercent, nisi ex gratia nostra speciali ad id postea licentiat fuerint, sub nostræ indignationis pœna. In cuius rei testimonium, Sigillum nostrum, quo ad causas Ecclesiasticas utimur, præsentibus apponi mandavimus. Dat. quarto die mensis Maii, Anno Dom. 1547, et Regni nostri Anno primo.

E. Somerset. E. Cantuarien. W. St. John. J. Russel. T. Seimour. Will. Petre, secretary. John Baker. John Gage.

NUMBER VIII.

The Form of bidding Prayer before the Reformation.

The Bodes on the Sunday.

[Out of the "Festival," printed An. 1509.]

YE shall kneel down on your knees, and lift up your hearts, making your prayers to Almighty God, for the good state and peace of all holy church, that God maintain, save, and keep it. For our holy father the pope, with all his true college of cardinals, that God for his mercy them maintain and keep in the right belief, and it hold and increase, and all misbelief and heresy be less and destroyed. Also ye shall pray for the Holy Land, and for the holy cross, that Jesus Christ died on for the redemption of men's souls, that it may come into the power of Christian men the more to be honoured for our prayers. Also ye shall pray for all archbishops and bishops; and especially for the archbishop of Canterbury, our metropolitan, and for the bishop of N., our diocesan, that God of his mercy give to them grace so to govern and rule holy church, that it may be to the honour and worship of Him and salvation of our souls. Also ye shall pray for abbots, priors, monks, canons, friars, and for all men and women of religion, in what order, estate, or degree that they stand in, from the highest estate unto the lowest degree. Also ye shall pray for all them that have charge and cure of Christian men's souls, as curats and parsons, vicars, priests, and clarks; and in especial for the parson and curat of this church, and for all the priests and ministers that serve therein, or have served therein; and for all them that have taken any order, that Almighty God give them grace of continuance well for to keep and observe it to the honour and health of their souls. Also ye shall pray for the unity and peace of all Christian realms, and in especial for the good estate, peace, and tranquillity of this realm of England, for our liege lord the king, that God for his great mercy send him grace so to govern and rule this realm that God be pleased and worshipped, and to the profit and salvation of this land. Also ye shall pray for our liege lady the queen, my lord prince, and all the noble progeny of them; for all dukes, earls, barons, knights, and esquires, and other lords of the king's council which have any rule and governance in this land, that God give them grace so to counsel, rule, and govern, that God be pleased, the land defended, and to the profit and salvation of all the realm. Also ye shall pray for the peace, both on land and on the water; that God grant love and charity among all Christian people. Also ye shall pray for all our parishes, where that they be, on land or on water, that God save them from all manner of perils; and for all the good men of this parish, for their wives, children, and men, that God them maintain, save, and keep. Also ye shall pray for all true tithers, that God multiply their goods and increase; for all true tillers that labour for our sustenance, that till the earth; and also for all the grains and fruits that be sown, set, or done on the earth, or shall be done, that God send such weather that they may grow, encrease, and multiply, to the help and profit of all mankind. Also ye shall pray for all true shipmen and merchants, where-soever that they be, on land or on water, that God keep them from all perils, and bring them home in safety, with their goods, ships, and merchandises, to the help, comfort, and profit of this realm. Also ye shall pray for them that find any light in this church, or give any behests, book, bell, chalice, or vestment, surplice, outer-cloth, or towel, lands, rents, lamp or light, or any other adornments, whereby God's service is the better served, sustained, and maintained in reading

and singing; and for all them that thereto have counselled, that God reward and yield it them at their most need. Also ye shall pray for all true pilgrims and palmers, that have taken their way to Rome, to Jerusalem, to St. Katherine's, or St. James's, or to any other place, that God, of his grace, give them time and space well for to go and to come, to the profit of their lives and souls. Also ye shall pray for all them that be sick or diseased of this parish, that God send to them health, the rather for our prayers; for all the women which be in our Lady's bands, and with child, in this parish, or in any other, that God send to them fair deliverance; to their children right shape, name, and christendom; and to the mothers, purification; and for all them that would be here, and may not, for sickness or travail, or any other lawful occupation, that they may have part of all the good deeds that shall be done here in this place, or in any other. And ye shall pray for all them that be in good life, that God them hold long therein; and for them that be in debt or deadly sin, that Jesus Christ bring them out thereof, the rather for our prayers. Also ye shall pray for him or her that this day gave the holy bread, and for him that first began and longest holdeth on, that God reward it him at the day of doom; and for all them that do well, or say you good, that God yield it them at their need, and for them that otherwise would that Jesus Christ amend them: for all those, and for all Christian men and women, ye shall say a *Pater Noster*, *Ave Maria*, *Deus misereatur nostri*, *Gloria Patri*, *Kyrie Eleison*, *Christe Eleison*, *Kyrie Eleison*, *Pater Noster*, *Et ne nos. Sed libera, Versus, Ostende nobis, Sacerdotes, Domine saluum fac Regem, Saluum fac Populum, Domine fiat Pax. Domine exaudi, Dominus vobiscum, Oremus, Ecclesia tue quesumus, Deus in cujus manu, Deus qui sanctorum, &c.* Furthermore, ye shall pray for all Christian souls, for archbishops and bishops' souls, and in especial for all that have been bishops of this diocess; and for all curats, parsons, and vicars' souls, and in especial for them that have been curats of this church, and for the souls that have served in this church. Also ye shall pray for the souls of all Christian kings and queens, and in especial for the souls of them that have been kings of this noble realm of England; and for all those souls that to this church have given book, bell, chalice, or vestment, or any other thing by which the service of God is better done, and holy church worshipped. Ye shall also pray for your father's soul, for your mother's soul, for your godfathers' souls, for your godmothers' souls; for your brethren and sisters' souls, and for your kindred's souls, and for your friends' souls, and for all the souls we be bound to pray for; and for all the souls that be in the pains of purgatory, there abiding the mercy of Almighty God, and in especial for them that have most need and least help, that God of his endless mercy lessen and minish their pains by the means of our prayers, and bring them to his everlasting bliss in heaven. And also of the soul N., or of them that upon such a day this week we shall have the anniversary; and for all Christian souls ye shall devoutly say a *Pater Noster* and *Ave Maria*, *Psalmus de profundis*, &c., with this collect *Oremus; Absolve quesumus Domine animas famulorum tuorum Pontificum, Regum, Sacerdotum, Parentum, Parochianorum, Amicorum, Benefactorum nostrorum, et omnium fidelium defunctorum, ab omni vinculo delictorum; ut in Resurrectionis Gloria inter sanctos et electos tuos resuscitati respiciant per Jesum Christum Dominum nostrum. Amen.*

Bishop Tonstal's Letter, proving the Subjection of Scotland to England.

An Original.

[Cotton. Libr. Caligula B. 7.]

PLEASE it your grace my lord protector, and you right honourable lords of the king's majesty's council, to understand that I have received your letter of the 4th of this month, by which ye will me to search all mine old registers and ancient places to be sought, where anything may be found for the more clear declaration to the world of the king's majesty's title to the realm of Scotland, and to advertise you with speed accordingly: and also to signify unto you what ancient charters and monuments for that purpose I have seen, and where the same are to be sought for. According unto which your letters, I have sought with all diligence all mine old registers, making mention of the superiorities of the kings of England to the realm of Scotland, and have found in the same of many homages made by the kings of Scots to the kings of England, as shall appear by the copies which I do send to your grace and to your lordships herewith. Ye shall also find in the said copies the gift of the barony of Coldingham, made to the church of Duresm by Edgar the king of Scots; which original gift is under seal, which I showed once to my lord Maxwell at Duresm, in the presence of you my lord protector. I find also a confirmation of the same gift by king William Rufus in an old register, but not under seal, the copy whereof is sent herewith. The homages of kings of Scotland which I have found in the registers, I have sent in this copy. I send also herewith the copy of a grant made by king Richard the First unto William king of Scots and his heirs, how, as oft as he is summoned to come to the parliament, he shall be received in the confines of the realm of Scotland, and conducted from shire to shire unto his coming to the parliament; and what the king doth allow him for his diet every day unto the court; and also what diet and allowance he hath, being at the parliament, both in bread and wine, wax and candle, for his time of his abode there; and of his conduct in his return home.

And where king William, king of Scots, made homage to king Henry the Second, and granted that all the nobles of his realm should be his subjects, and make homage to him, and all the bishops of his realm should be under the archbishops of York; and the said king William delivered to the said king Henry the castles of Roxburgh, Edinburgh, and the castle of Barwick, as is found in my register; and that the king of England should give all abbeyes and honours in Scotland, or at least they should not be given without his counsel. I do find, in the confirmation of the same, out of the old registers of the priors of Duresm, homage made by the abbots, priors, and prioresses of Scotland, to king Edward the First, in French, which I do send herewith. Also I do send herewith, in French, how king Edward the First was received and taken to be suprem lord in Scotland, by all those that pretend title to the crown of Scotland, as next heirs to the king, that was then dead without issue, and the compromise of them all made unto the said king Edward the First to stand to his judgment, which of all them that did claim should have the crown of Scotland: the transcript of which compromise in French was then sent by the said king Edward, under the seal of the king's exchequer in green wax, to the prior of Duresm, to be registered for a perpetual memory that the supremacy of Scotland belonged to the kings of England, which yet the chapters of Duresm have to shew;

which thing he commandeth them to put in their chronicles.

And touching the second part of your letter, where you will me to advertise you what I have seen in the premisses; so it is that I was commanded by mine old master, of famous memory, king Henry the Eighth, to make search among the records of his treasury, in the receipt for solemnities to be done at his coronation in most solemn manner; according to which commandment I made search in the said treasury, where I fortun'd to find many writings for the supremacy of the king to the realm of Scotland; and among others also a writing, with very many seals of arms of Scots, confessing the right of the supremacy to the king of England; which writings I doubt not may be found there.

I have also sent a copy of a book myself have of homages made to the kings of England by the kings of Scotland, which the chancellor of England in king Henry the Seventh's days had gathered out of the king's records; which I doubt not, but out of the king's records and ancient books, the same may be found again by my lord chancellor and the judges.

Furthermore, your grace, and you the right honourable lords of the council, shall understand, that in making much search for the premisses, at the last we found, out of the registers of the chapters of Duresm, when it was a priory, the copy of a writing, by which king Edward the Second doth renounce such superiority as he had in the realm of Scotland, for him and his heirs, to Robert king of Scots then being, as will appear by a copy of the same which I do send you herewith, making mention, in the end of the said writings, of a commission that he gave to Henry the lord Percy, and to William the lord Souch, under his letters patents, to give his oath upon the same. And after the said writing we found also in the said book a renunciation of the said king Edward, of a process that he had commenced before the bishop of Rome, against Robert king of Scots and his subjects, for breaking their oath to him, as will appear by the copy thereof, which I do send also herewith. And touching the said renunciation of king Edward the Second to the superiority of the realm of Scotland, I have often heard it spoken of by Scots, but I did never see the form of it in writing until I see it now; which thing it is not unlikely but the Scots have under the seal of the said king Edward. Whereunto answer is to be made, that a king renouncing the right of his crown cannot prejudice his successors, who have, at the time of their entry, the same whole right that their predecessors had at their first entry, as men learned in the civil law can by their learning shew.

And furthermore, search is to be made in the king's records in the treasury, whether homages have been made sithence king Edward the Second's time; that is to say, in the times of king Edward the Third, king Richard the Second, king Henry the Fourth, king Henry the Fifth, and king Henry the Sixth. In which times if any homage can be found to be made, it shall appear the same renunciation to have taken none effect in the successors, and ancient right to be continued again. For after king Edward the Fourth and king Henry the Sixth strove for the crown, I think none homage of Scotland will be found; for then was also lost Gascoigne and Guienne in France. It is also to be remembered, that when the body of king Henry the Fifth was brought out of France to be buried at Westminster, the king of Scots then being came with him, and was the chief mourner at his burial; which king of Scots, whether he made any homage to king Henry the Fifth in his lifetime, or to king Henry the Sixth at his coronation, it is to be searched by the records of that time.

This is all that can be found hitherto, by all the most diligent search that I could make in my records here; and if any more can be found, it shall be sent with all speed.

And thus Almighty preserve your grace, and your honourable lordships, to his pleasure and yours.

Your grace's most humble orator at commandment,
CUTH. Duresme.

From Ackland,
the 15th of October, 1547.

NUMBER X.

A Letter from the Scottish Nobility to the Pope, concerning their being an independent Kingdom.

An Original.

Ex Autogr. apud Ill. Com. de Il.

*Litteræ directæ ad Dominum Summum
Communitatem Scotiæ. 1320.*

SANCTISSIMO Patri in Christo, ac Domino D. Johanni Divina Providentia Sacrosanctæ Romanæ, et Universalis Ecclesiæ Summo Pontifici, Filii sui humiles et devoti, Duncanus Comes de Fife, Thomas Ranulph Comes Moravia, D. Mannie et Vallis Annandæ, Patricius de Dumbar, Comes Marchie, Malisius Comes de Straherne, Malcolmus Comes de Levenex, Willielmus Comes de Ross, Magnus Comes Cathanæ et Orcadie, et Willielmus Comes Sutherlandie, Walterus Senescallus Scotiæ, Willielmus de Souls Buttelarius Scotiæ, Jacobus D. Douglas, Rogerus de Moubray, David D. de Brechen, David de Grahame, Ingelramus de Umphavill, Johannes de Meneteth custos Comitatus de Meneteth, Alex. Fraser, Gilbertus de Haia Constabularius Scotiæ, Robertus de Keith Mariscallus Scotiæ, Henricus de Sancto Claro, Johannes de Grahame, David de Lindsey, Willielmus Oliphant, Patricius de Grahame, Johannes de Tenton, Willielmus de Abernethie, David de Weemes, Willielmus de Monte fixo, Fergusus de Ardrossane, Eustachius de Maxwell, Willielmus de Ramsay, Willielmus de Monte alto, Alanus de Moravia, Donenaldus Campbell, Johannes Cambrime, Regenaldis de Chein, Alex. de Seaton, Andreas de Lescelyne, et Alex. de Straton, ceteriq; Barones et Libere-tenentes, ac tota Communitas Regni Scotiæ, omnimodam reverentiam filialem, cum devotis pedum osculis Beatorum; Scimus, Sanctissimè Pater, et Domine, et ex antiquorum gestis et libris colligimus, quod inter ceteras nationes egregias, nostra [scilicet Scotorum Natio] multis præconiis fuerit insignita; quæ de majori Scythia per Mare Tyrrhænum et Columnas Herculis transiens, et in Hispania inter ferocissimos per multa temporum curricula residens, a nullis quantumcumq; Barbaricis poterat alicubi subjugari; Indeque veniens post mille et ducentos annos a transitu Populi Israelitici sibi sedes in occidente, quas nunc obtinet, expulsis Brittonibus, et Pictis omnia deletis: licet per Norwagienses, Dacos et Anglicos sæpius impugnata fuerit, multis sibi victoriis et laboribus quamplurimis adquisivit; ipsasq; ab omni servitute liberas (ut priscorum testantur Historiæ) semper tenuit: In quorum Regno centum et tres decem Reges de ipsorum regali præsepia, nullo alienigena interveniente, Regnaverunt; Quorum Nobilitas et merita (licet ex aliis non clarent) satis patenter effulgent ex eo; quod Rex regum D. Jesus Christus post Passionem et Resurrectionem suam ipsos in ultimis terræ finibus constitutos, quasi primos ad suam fidem sanctissimam convocavit, nec eos per quemlibet in dicta fide confirmari voluit, sed per suum primum Apostolum, quamvis ordine secun-

dum vel tertium, Sanctum Andream meritissimum beati Petri Germanum, quem semper ipsis præesse voluit Patronum. Hæc autem Sanctissimi Patres et Prædecessores vestri sollicita mente penantes, ipsum Regnum et Populum, ut beati Petri germano peculium multis favoribus et privilegiis quam plurimis muniverunt. Itaq; gens nostra sub ipsorum protectione libera hacenus degit et quieti; donec ille princeps Magnus Rex Anglorum Edwardus, Pater istius, (qui nunc est) Regnum nostrum Acephalum, populumq; nullius mali aut doli conscium, nec bellis aut insultibus tunc assuetum sub amica et confederata specie innumerabiliter infestavit. Cujus injurias, cædes, et violentias, prædationes, incendia, Prælatorum incarcerationes, Monasteriorum combustiones, Religiosorum spoliationes et occisiones, alia quoq; enormia, quæ in dicto populo exercuit, nulli parcens ætati aut sexui, Religioni aut ordini, nullus scriberet nec ad plenum intelligeret nisi quem experientia informaret: a quibus malis innumeris (ipso juvante qui post vulnera medetur et sanat) liberati sumus per serenissimum Principem Regem et Dominum nostrum, D. Robertum, qui pro populo et hæreditate suis de manibus inimicorum liberandis, quasi alter Maccabeus aut Josua, labores, et tædia, inedia et pericula, leto sustinuit animo; quem etiam divinia dispositio, et juxta leges et consuetudines nostras, quas usq; ad mortem sustinere volumus, juris Successio, et debitus nostrorum omnium consensus et assensus, nostrum fecerunt Principem ac Regem: Cui, tanquam illi, per quem salus in populo facta est, pro nostra libertate tuenda tam jure quam meritis tenemus et volumus in omnibus adhærere: quem (si ab inceptis desistet, Regi Anglorum aut Anglicis nos, aut Regnum nostrum, volens subijcere) tanquam inimicum nostrum, et sui nostriq; juris subversorem, statim expellere nitemur; et alium Regem nostrum, qui ad defensionem nostram sufficere, faciendus: Quia, quamdiu centum vivi remanserint nunquam Anglicorum dominio aliquatenus volumus subjungi. Non enim propter gloriam, divitias, aut honores, pugnamus; sed propter libertatem solummodo, quam nemo bonus nisi simul cum vita amittit. Hinc est, Reverende Pater et Domine, quod sanctitatem vestram cum omni precum instantia genuflexis cordibus exoramus, quatenus sincero corde menteq; pia recensentes, quod apud eum, cujus vices in terris geritis, non sit pondus et pondus, nec distinctio Judei et Græci, Scoti aut Anglici, tribulationes et Angustias nobis et Ecclesiæ Dei illatas ab Anglicis, paternis oculis intuentes Regem Anglorum, cui sufficere debet quod possidet (cum olim Anglia septem aut pluribus solebat sufficere Regibus) monere et exhortari dignemini, ut nos Scotos in exili degentes, Scotia (ultra quam habitatio non est) nihilq; nisi nostrum cupientes in pace dimittat: Cui pro nostra procuranda quiete, quicquid possumus (ad statum nostrum respectu habito) facere volumus cum effectu. Vestra enim interest, Sancte Pater, hoc facere, qui paganorum feritatem Christianorum culpis exigentibus in Christianos severientem aspiciat, et Christianorum terminos arctari indies.* . . . Sanctitatis memoriæ derogat, si (quod absit) Ecclesia in aliqua sui parte vestris temporibus patiatur Eclipsin aut Scandalum, vos videritis: Exhortet igitur Christianos Principes, qui non causam aut causam ponentes se fingunt in subsidium terræ sanctæ propter guerras, quas habent cum proximis ire non posse; Cujus impeditum causa est verior, quod in minoribus proximis debellandis utilitas propior, et resistentia debilior estimantur. Sic quam leto corde dictus D. Rex Noster et nos; Si Rex Anglorum nos in pace

* Quædam sunt deleta.

dimittit, illuc iremus; qui nihil ignorat satis novit: quod Christi Vicario totiq; Christianitati ostendimus et testamur. Quibus, si Sanctitas vestra Anglorum relatis nimis credula, fidem sinceram non adhibet, aut ipsis in nostram confusionem favere non desinat, Corporum excidia, animarum exitia, et Cætera quæ sequuntur in commoda, quæ ipsi in nobis et nos in ipsis fecerimus, vobis ab altissimo credimus imputanda; ex quo sumus et erimus in his quæ tenemur, tanquam obedientiæ filii, vobis tanquam ipsius vicario, in omnibus complacere; ipsiq; tanquam summo Regi et judici causam nostram tuendam committimus, cogitatum nostrum jactitantes in ipso, sperantesq; finem; quod in nobis virtutem faciet, et ad nihilum rediget Hostes nostros Serenitatem ac Sanctitatem vestram conservet Altissimus, Ecclesiæ suæ Sanctæ per tempora diuturna. Datum apud Monasterium de Aberbroth in Scotia, 6 die Apilis, Anno gratiæ Millesimo trecentesimo vicesimo. Anno vero Regni Regis nostri supradicti quintodecimo.

NUMBER XI.

The Oath given to the Scots who submitted to the Protector.

[Ex Libro Concilii, Fol. 139.]

You shall bear your faith to the king's majesty, our sovereign lord Edward the Sixth, &c., till such time as you shall be discharged of your oath by special licence. And you shall, to the uttermost of your power, serve his majesty, truly and faithfully, against all other realms, dominions, and potentates, as well Scots as others. You shall hear nothing that may be prejudicial to his majesty, or any of his realms or dominions, but, with as much diligence as you may, shall cause the same to be opened, so as the same come to his majesty's knowledge, or to the knowledge of the lord protector, or some of his majesty's privy-council. You shall, to the uttermost of your possible power, set forwards and advance the king's majesty's affairs in Scotland, for the marriage and peace.

NUMBER XII.

The Protestation of the Bishop of London, made to the Visitors when he received the King's Majesty's Injunctions and Homilies.

[Ex Libro Concilii, Fol. 110.]

I do receive these injunctions and homilies, with this protestation, that I will observe them, if they be not contrary and repugnant to God's law, and the statutes and ordinances of this church.

The Submission and Revocation of the same Bishop, made before the Lords of the King's Majesty's Council, presently attending upon his Majesty's Person; with the Subscription of his Name thereunto.

WHEREAS I, Edmund bishop of London, at such time as I received the king's majesty's, my most dread sovereign lord's, injunctions and homilies at the hands of his highness' visitors, did unadvisedly make such protestation, as now, upon better consideration of my duty of obedience, and of the ill example that may ensue to others thereof, appeareth to me neither reasonable nor such as might well stand with the duty of an humble subject; forasmuch as the same protestation, at my request, was then by the register of that visitation enacted and put on record; I have thought it my bounden duty, not only to declare before your lordships that I do now, upon better consideration of

my duty, renounce and revoke my said protestation, but also most humbly beseech your lordships, that this my revocation of the same may likewise be put in the same Records for a perpetual memory of the truth: most humbly beseeching your good lordships, both to take order that it may take effect, and also that my former unadvised doings may, by your good mediations, be pardoned of the king's majesty.

EDMUND London.

NUMBER XIII.

Gardiner's Letter to Sir John Godsalue concerning the Injunctions.

[Ex MS. Col. C. C. Cantab.]

Mr. Godsalue, after my right hearty commendations, with like thanks for the declaration of your good mind towards me (as you mean it) although it agreeth not with mine accompt, such as I have had leisure to make in this time of liberty, since the death of my late sovereign lord (whose soul Jesu pardon); for this have I reckoned, that I was called to this bishoprick without the offence of God's law, or the king's in the attaining of it. I have kept my bishopric these sixteen years, accomplished this very day that I write these my letters unto you, without offending God's law, or the king's, in the retaining of it, howsoever I have of frailty otherwise sinned. Now if I may play the third part well, to depart from the bishopric without the offence of God's law, or the king's, I shall think the tragedy of my life well passed over: and in this part to be well handled is all my care and study now, how to finish this third act well; for so I offend not God's law nor the king's, I will no more care to see my bishopric taken from me, than myself to be taken from the bishopric. I am by nature already condemned to die, which sentence no man can pardon, nor assure me of delay in the execution of it; and so see that of necessity I shall leave my bishopric to the disposition of the crown from whence I had it, my household also to break up, and my bringing up of youth to cease, the remembrance whereof troubleth me nothing. I made in my house at London a pleasant study that delighted me much, and yet I was glad to come into the country and leave it; and as I have left the use of somewhat, so can I leave the use of all to obtain a more quiet; it is not loss to change for the better, honesty and truth are more leef to me than all the possessions of the realm, and in these two to say and do frankly, as I must, I never forbear yet: and in these two, honesty and truth, I take such pleasure and comfort, as I will never leave them for no respect, for they will abide by a man, and so will nothing else. No man can take them away from me but myself; and if myself do them away from me, then myself do undo myself, and make myself worthy to lose my bishopric, whereat such as gape might take more sport than they are like to have at my hands. What other men have said or done in the homilies I cannot tell, and what homilies or injunctions shall be brought hither I know not; such as the printers have sold abroad, I have read and considered, and am therefore the better instructed how to use myself to the visitors at their repair hither, to whom I will use no manner of protestation but a plain allegation, as the matter serveth, and as honesty and truth shall bind me to speak; for I will never yield to do that should not beseech a Christian. Bishops ought never to lose the inheritance of the king's laws due to every Englishman for want of petition. I will show myself a true subject, humble and obedient, which repugneth not with

the preservation of my duty to God, and my right in the realm, not to be enjoined against an act of parliament: which mine intent I have signified to the council, with request of redress in the matter, and not to compel me to such an allegation, which, without I were a beast, I cannot premit: and I were more than a beast, if after I had signified to the council truth and reason in words, I should then seem in my deeds not to care for it. My lord protector, in one of such letters as he wrote to me, willed me not to fear too much; and indeed I know him so well, and divers others of my lords of the council, that I cannot fear any hurt at their hands, in the allegation of God's law and the king's, and I will never defame them so much to be seen to fear it. And of what strength an act of parliament is, the realm was taught in the case of her that we called queen Anne, where all such as spake against her in the parliament-house, although they did it by special commandment of the king, and spake that was truth, yet they were fain to have a pardon, because that speaking was against an act of parliament. Did you never know, or hear tell of any man, that for doing that the king our late sovereign lord willed, devised, and required to be done, he that took pains, and was commanded to do it, was fain to sue for his pardon, and such other also as were doers in it: and I could tell who it were. Sure there hath been such a case, and I have been present when it hath been reasoned, that the doing against an act of parliament excuseth not a man, even from the case of treason, although a man did it by the king's commandment. You can tell this to your remembrance, when you think further of it, and when it cometh to your remembrance, you will not be best content with yourself, I believe, to have advised me to enter the breach of an act of parliament, without surety of pardon, although the king command it, and were such indeed as it were no matter to do it at all. And thus I answer the letters with worldly civil reasons, and take your mind and zeal towards me to be as tender as may be; and yet you see that the following of your advice might make me lose my bishopric by mine own act, which I am sure you would I should keep, and so would I, as might stand with my truth and honesty, and none otherwise, as knoweth God, who send you heartily well to fare.

NUMBER XIV.

The Conclusion of Gardiner's Letter to the Protector, against the Lawfulness of the Injunctions.

[Cotton Libr. Vesp. D. 18.]

Whether the king may command against the common law, or an act of parliament, there is never a judge, or other man in the realm, ought to know more by experience, of that the lawyers have said, than I.

First, my lord cardinal had obtained his legacy by our late sovereign lord's request at Rome; yet being it was against the laws of the realm, the judges censured the offence of premunire; which matter I bore away, and take it for a law of the realm, because the lawyers said so, but my reason digested it not.

The lawyers, for the confirmation of their doings, brought in a case of my lord Typtoft, an earl he was, and learned in civil laws; who being chancellor, because in execution of the king's commission, he offended the laws of the realm, he suffered on Tower-hill: they brought in the examples of many judges that had fines set on their heads in like case, for transgression of the laws by the king's commandment; and this I learned in this case.

Since that time being of the council, when many proclamations were devised against the carriers out of corn; when it came to punishing the offenders, the judges would answer, it might not be by the laws, because the act of parliament gave liberty, wheat being under a price: whereupon at the last followed the act of proclamations, in the passing whereof were many large words.

When the bishop of Exeter and his chancellor were by one body brought into a premunire, I reasoned with the lord Audley, then chancellor, so far, as he bade me hold my peace, for fear of entering a premunire myself: but I concluded, that although I must take it as of their authority that it is common law, yet I could not see how a man authorised by the king, as since the king's majesty hath taken upon him the supremacy, every bishop is, that man could fall in a premunire.

I reasoned once in the parliament-house, where was free speech without danger; and there the lord Audley, chancellor, then to satisfy me, because I was in some secret estimation as he knew. Thou art a good fellow, bishop, (quoth he,) look the act of supremacy, and there the king's doings be restrained to spiritual jurisdiction: and in another act, no spiritual law shall have place contrary to a common law, or an act of parliament. And if this were not (quoth he), the bishops would enter in with the king, and by means of his supremacy order the law as you listed; but we will provide (quoth he) that the premunire shall never go off your heads. This I bare away there, and held my peace.

Since that time, in a case of jewels, I was fain, with the emperor's ambassador Chapinius when he was here, and in the emperor's court also, to defend and maintain by commandment, that the king's majesty was not above his laws, and therefore the jeweller, although he had the king's bill signed, yet it would not serve, because it was not obtained after the order of the law, in which matter I was very much troubled. Even this time twelvemonth, when I was in commission with my lord great master, and the earl of Southampton, for the altering of the Court of Augmentations, there was my lord Montague, and other of the king's learned council, of whom I learned what the king might do against an act of parliament, and what danger it was to them that meddled. It is fresh in my memory, and they can tell whether I say true or no; and therefore being learned in so notable causes, I wrote in your absence therein, as I had learned by hearing the common lawyers speak (whose judgment rule these matters) howsoever my reason can digest them. When I wrote thereof, the matter was so reasonable, as I have been learned by the lawyers of the realm, that I trusted my lords would have staid till your grace's return.

NUMBER XV.

A Letter from the Duke of Somerset to the Lady Mary, in the beginning of King Edward's Reign.

[Cotton Libr. Faust. C. 2.]

Madam, my humble commendations to your Grace premised;

These may be to signify unto the same, that I have received your letters of the second of this present, by Jent your servant, acknowledging myself thereby much bound unto your grace; nevertheless I am very sorry to perceive that your grace should have or conceive any sinister or wrong opinion in me and others, which were by the king, your late father, and our

most gracious master, put in trust as executors of his will, albeit the truth of our doings being known to your grace, as it seemeth by your said letter not to be. I trust there shall be no such fault found in us, as in the same your grace hath alleged; and for my part, I know none of us that will willingly neglect the full execution of every jot of his said will, as far as shall and may stand with the king our master's honour and surety that now is: otherwise I am sure that your grace, nor none other his faithful subjects, would have it take place; not doubting but our doings and proceedings therein, and in all things committed to our charge, shall be such as shall be able to answer the whole world, both in honour and discharge of our consciences. And where your grace writeth, that the most part of the realm, through a naughty liberty and presumption, are now brought into such a division, as if we executors go not about to bring them to that stay that our late master left them; they will forsake all obedience, unless they have their own will and phantasies, and then it must follow that the king shall not be well served, and that all other realms shall have us in an obloquy and derision, and not without just cause. Madam, as these words written or spoken by you soundeth not well, so can I not persuade myself, that they have proceeded from the sincere mind of so virtuous and so wise a lady, but rather by the setting on and procurement of some uncharitable and malicious persons, of which sort there are too many in these days, the more pity: but yet we must not be so simple so to weigh and regard the sayings of ill-disposed people, and the doings of other realms and countries, as for that report we should neglect our duty to God, and to our sovereign lord and native country, for then we might be justly called evil servants and masters; and thanks be given unto the Lord, such hath been the king's majesty's proceedings, our young noble master that now is, that all his faithful subjects have more cause to render their hearty thanks for the manifold benefits showed unto his grace, and to his people and realm, sithence the first day of his reign until this hour, than to be offended with it; and thereby rather to judge and think that God, who knoweth the hearts of all men, is contented and pleased with his ministers, who seek nothing but the true glory of God, and the surety of the king's person, with the quietness and wealth of his subjects. And where your grace writeth also, that there was a godly order and quietness left by the king our late master, your grace's father, in this realm at the time of his death; and that the spirituality and temporality of the whole realm, did not only, without compulsion, fully assent to his doings and proceedings, especially in matters of religion, but also in all kind of talk, whereof, as your grace wrote, ye can partly be witness yourself; at which your grace's sayings I do something marvel: for it may please you to call to your remembrance what great labours, travels, and pains his grace had before he could reform some of those stiff-necked Romanists or papists: yea, and did not they cause his subjects rise and rebel against him, and constrained him to take the sword in his hand, not without danger to his person and realm? Alas, why should your grace so shortly forget that great outrage done by those generations of vipers unto his noble person only for God's cause? Did not some of the same ill kind also, I mean that Romanist sect, as well within his own realm as without, conspire oftentimes his death, which was manifestly and oftentimes proved, to the confusion of some of their privy assisters. Then was it not that all the spirituality, nor yet the temporality, did so fully assent to his godly orders, as your grace writeth of? Did not his grace also depart from this life before he had fully finished

such orders as he minded to have established to all his people, if death had not prevented him? Is it not most true, that no kind of religion was perfected at his death, but left all uncertain, most like to have brought us into parties and divisions, if God had not only helped us? And doth your grace think it convenient it should so remain? God forbid. What regret and sorrow our late master had, the time he saw he must depart, for that he knew the religion was not established as he purposed to have done, I and others can be witness and testify; and what he would have done further in it, if he had lived, a great many know, and also I can testify: and doth your grace, who is learned, and should know God's word, esteem true religion, and the knowledge of the Scriptures, to be new-fangledness and fantasie? For the Lord's sake turn the leaf, and look the other while upon the other side, I mean, with another judgment, which must pass by an humble spirit through the peace of the living God, who of his infinite goodness and mercy grant unto your grace plenty thereof, to the satisfying of your conscience, and your most noble heart's continual desire.

NUMBER XVI.

Certain Petitions and Requests made by the Clergy of the Lower House of the Convocation, to the most Reverend Father in God the Archbishop of Canterbury his Grace, and the residue of the Prelates of the Higher House, for the furtherance of certain Articles following.

[Ex MS. Dr. Stillingfleet.]

First; That ecclesiastical laws may be made and established in this realm by thirty-two persons, or so many as shall please the king's majesty to name and appoint, according to the effect of a late statute made in the thirty-fifth year of the most noble king, and of most famous memory, king Henry VIII. So that all judges ecclesiastical, proceeding after those laws, may be without danger and peril.

Also that according to the ancient custom of this realm, and the tenour of the king's writ for the summoning of the parliament, which be now, and ever have been, directed to the bishops of every diocese, the clergy of the lower house of the convocation may be adjoined, and associate with the lower house of the parliament; or else, that all such statutes and ordinances as shall be made concerning all matters of religion and causes ecclesiastical, may not pass without the sight and assent of the said clergy.

Also, that whereas by the commandment of king Henry VIII., certain prelates and learned men were appointed to alter the service in the church, and to devise other convenient and uniform order therein; who according to the same appointment, did make certain books, as they be informed: their request is, that the said books may be seen and perused by them, for a better expedition of divine service to be set forth accordingly.

Also, that men being called to spiritual promotions, or benefices, may have some allowance for their necessary living, and other charges to be sustained and borne, concerning the same benefices, in the first year wherein they pay the first fruits.

Whether the clergy of the convocation may liberally speak their minds without danger of statute or law.

NUMBER XVII.

A second Petition to the same purpose.

[Ex MS. Dr. Stillingfleet.]

Where the clergy, in this present convocation assembled, have made humble suit unto the most reverend father in God my lord archbishop of Canterbury, and all the other bishops, that it may please them to be a mean to the king's majesty, and lord protector's grace, that the said clergy, according to the tenour of the king's writ, and the ancient laws and customs of this noble realm, might have their room and place, and be associated with the commons in the nether house of this present parliament, as members of the commonwealth, and the king's most humble subjects. And if this may not be permitted and granted unto them, that then no statutes or laws concerning the Christian religion, or which shall concern especially the persons, possessions, rooms, livings, jurisdictions, goods, or chattels of the said clergy, may pass nor be enacted, the said clergy not being made privy therunto, and their answers and reasons not heard. The said clergy do most humbly beseech an answer and declaration to be made unto them, what the said most reverend father in God, and all other the bishops, have done in this their humble suit and request, to the end that the said clergy, if need be, may chuse of themselves such able and discreet persons, which shall effectually follow the same suit in the name of them all.

And whereas in a statute ordained and established by authority of parliament at Westminster, in the twenty-fifth year of the reign of the most excellent prince king Henry VIII., the clergy of this realm submitting themselves to the king's highness, did knowledge and confess, according to the truth, that the convocations of the same clergy have been, and ought to be assembled by the king's writ, and did promise farther, in *Verbo Sacerdotii*, that they never from thenceforth would presume to attempt, allege, claim, or put in use, or enact, promulge, or execute any new canons, constitutions, ordinances, provincials, or other, or by whatsoever other name they shall be called in the convocation, unless the king's most royal assent and license may to them be had to make, promulge, and execute the same. And his majesty to give his most royal assent and authority in that behalf, upon pain of every one of the clergy doing the contrary, and being thereof convict, to suffer imprisonment, and make fine at the king's will. And that no canons, constitutions, or ordinances shall be made or put in execution within this realm, by authority of the convocation of the clergy, which shall be repugnant to the king's prerogative royal, or the customs, laws, or statutes of this realm; which statute is oftsoons renewed and established in the twenty-seventh year of the reign of the most noble king, as by the tenour of both statutes more at large will appear. The said clergy being presently assembled in convocation, by authority of the king's writ, do desire that the king's majesty's license in writing may be for them obtained and granted, according to the effect of the said statutes authorising them to attempt, entreat, and commune of such matters, and therein freely to give their consents, which otherwise they may not do upon pain and peril premised.

Also the said clergy desireth, that such matters as concerneth religion, which be disputable, may be quietly and in good order reasoned and disputed among them in this house, whereby the verities of

such matters shall the better appear, and the doubts being opened and resolutely discussed, men may be fully persuaded with the quietness of their consciences, and the time well spent.

NUMBER XVIII.

A Paper offered to Q. Elizabeth, and afterwards to K. James, concerning the Inferior Clergy's being brought to the House of Commons.

[Ex MS. Dr. Borlase.]

Reasons to induce her Majesty, that Deans, Archdeacons, and some other of her grave and wise Clergie, may be admitted into the Lower House of Parliament.

1. In former times, when causes ecclesiastical were either not at all, or else very rarely treated of in that assembly, the clergy were thought men most meet to consult and determine of the civil affairs of this realm.

2. The supreme authority in church causes is not newly granted, but reunited and restored to the crown; and an order is by law already established, how all abuses in the church are to be reformed: so as no cause concerning religion may be handled in that house without her majesty's special leave, but with the manifest impeaching of her prerogative royal, and contempt of the said order.

3. If it shall please her highness to give way to this course, that church-matters be there debated, and in part concluded: how much more necessary is it now than it was in former times, that some of the clergy should be there present at the same!

4. * It doth not appear why they were excluded, but as it is thought either the king, offended with some of them, did so grievously punish the whole body, or else the ambition of one of them meeting with the subtlety of an undermining politic, did occasion this causeless separation.

5. They are yet to this day called by several writs, directed into their several dioceses under the great seal, to assist the prince in that high court of parliament.

6. Though the clergy and the universities be not the worst members of this commonwealth, yet in that respect they are of all other in worst condition; for in that assembly every shire hath their knights, and every incorporate town their burgesses, only the clergy and the universities are excluded.

7. The wisdom and justice of this realm doth intend, that no subject should be bound to that law whereunto he himself (after a sort) hath not yielded his consent; but the clergy and the universities may now be concluded by law, without their consent, without their just defence, without their privacy.

8. The many motions made so prejudicial to the state and being of the clergy and universities, followed now with so great eagerness in that house, would

* In the same paper written over to be presented to K. James, this article is thus varied. It is thought the clergy falling into a preunire, and so not in the king's protection, it did afterwards please the king to pardon them, but not to restore them. So began this separation, as far forth as can be collected; then the wisdom of a great politician, meeting with the ambition of as great a prelate, wrought the continuance of the said separation, under this pretence, that it should be most for the honour of him and his clergy, to be still by themselves in two assemblies of convocation, answerable in proportion to the two houses of parliament. There are many other inconsiderable amendments made by bishop Blavis's own hand.

then be utterly silenced, or soon repressed, with the sober and sufficient answers of the clergy present.

9. It would much repair the reputation and credit of the clergy, which now is exposed to great contumely and contempt, as generally abroad in this land, so particularly in that house. And whoso is religious and wise may observe, that the contempt of the clergy is the high way to atheism and all profaneness. Men are flesh and not spirit, led by ordinary outward means, and not usually overwrought by extraordinary inspirations; and therefore do easily despise their doctrine whose persons they have in contempt.

10. Look into the whole world, Christian or unchristian, and see if the civil state in every place be not supported and maintained by the dignity and authority of their clergies, subordinate and subjected unto them: as, on the contrary, where the clergy is base and contemptible, there grows an anarchy and confusion. It is conscience that works obedience to the temporal magistrate, not constitutions, nor constraint; the one may command it, the other may correct the breach of it, only religion effects a peaceable subjection.

11. It concerneth the clergy, most of all men in England, that the present state be continued, as now it is happily established without any alteration. Whereas some others in that house may think it would be good for them to fish in troubled waters, or that any change would be better to them than their present estate wherein they live so malecontent, through their own unthriftiness or malignity of nature, or perverseness of opinion.

12. If hereafter God in justice should plague us for our sins, by taking away the joy of our hearts, yet how greatly would it tend to his glory, the good of this land, and the honour of her blessed memory, if it shall please her majesty to leave a portion of the clergy interest in that house, where they may stand for the godly government established in her days, against all innovation of popery or puritanism!

13. In the mean time (which God in mercy grant may be for many generations) her majesty shall be sure of a number more in that assembly, that ever will be most ready to maintain her prerogative, and to enact whatsoever may make most for her highness' safety and contentment, as the men that next under God's goodness do most depend upon her princely clemency and protection.

14. It would much recover the ancient estimation and authority of that assembly, if it might be increased with men of religion, learning, and discretion; which now is somewhat imbraced by youths, serving men, and outlaws, that injuriously are crept into the honourable house.

15. And it is the more necessary that there were some more men of sobriety and judgment in that meeting, that might counterpoise the haste and headiness of others that have intruded themselves, especially considering that a cipher is as sufficient to promote a single figure of one into the place of ten, as the best man that giveth voice in that house, when they come to calculating.

NUMBER XIX.

A Letter of Martin Rucer's to Gropper.

[Ex MS. Col. C. C. Cantab.]

GRATIAM et Pacem Doctissime et Amicissime Vir.

Quod tam sero respondeo ad tuas Literas, quamquam etiam occupationes Ministerii mei, tamen id magis in causa fuit, quod non satis liqueret, quomodo respondere conveniret, simul mœ in te Charitati,

meoq; Ministerio, et præsenti temporis conditioni. Sed tamen quia Charitati Deus facile omnia secundat, et frugifera facit, hac incitatus nunc respondeo, et respondeo ex ejus dictatione.

Et primum de eo, quod te de meo adventu et Ministerio non præmonuerim. Quod per totam Germaniam increbuerat, etiam anteaquam Ego certus de vocatione ista essem, non putavi te latere posse. Mox etiam ut adveni et priusquam aliquid Ministerii inivissem, tuum colloquium expetii. Certe nihil maluisse quam a te ante omnia doceri et institui. Novit Christus quid tibi Tribuam.

Quod scribis te cupere meam conditionem sic esse ut Clero et Populo Vestre Colonie Agrippinæ gratus esse et placere possem, nunc cum secus se res habeant, non esse quod tibi quid imputem. Tibi optime Groppe loco hujus imputo, confido enim te, me, quo ipse loco habes, eo etiam studere apud alios collocare.

Sed cogitemus juxta, cui, Ego Clero istic, cui populo et cur gratus minus sim, et non placeam, Clerus et Populus Christi cum Domino suo, Personam nullam in invocantibus Christum, in iis præsertim, quos aliqua Religionis Nostræ opinio commendat, aversatur: quamvis deprehensi in contumelia Christi, in desertione verbi ejus, in Scandalo objecto Ecclesiæ ejus; Lex nostra non Judicat quemquam nisi audierit prius ab eo, et cognoverit quid fecerit. **Audiant**, cognoscant, tum Judicent: si **audire** et cognoscere nolunt nec Judicare **jare possunt**. Vulgata est hæc Responsio, **sed nosti** etiam Jure Divino, Naturæ, et scripto **ab hominibus niti**.

Sed O Clerum, O fortem Domini, et habentes Christum sortem suam. Gratias ago Christo Domino nostro quod in me nihil deprehendit vester Clerus et Populus, cur me illo Jure abjicere, nedum prosequi queant. Assumpsit me Dominus, Servorum non est rejicere: posuit me in Ministerium suum Christus, depelli me eo nemo de Clero Christi postulat. Agnoscunt se invicem et amant, atq; in opere eodem promoveant, quicunq; Christi Spiritu vivunt et aguntur, qui hunc non habent, Christi non sunt, quicquid ipsi se, vel alii eos vocent.

Displicet in me quod videor aliquid Canonum, sed humanitus tantum Conditorum, transgressus. Hoc si propter Ecclesiam Christi, vel ejus ædificationem vel ornatum displiceret, non tolerata fuissent tam diu, et hodie tolerarentur, tam horrendæ et Manifestæ Simonie, Sacrilegia, et vitæ totius tanta, adeoq; et Canonibus, et Divinis Legibus graviter damnata fuditas. Christi igitur veritas, et libertas in me istis displicet, non transgressio Canonum, quam in summis necessariis Sanctionibus penitus et tot jam sæculis pro ridiculo habent.

Consolabor itaq; me in Domino, Beati estis, cum vos odio habuerint homines, et a se excluderint, atq; convitiis prosciderint et rejecerint nomen vestrum tanquam nefandum, Causa Filii hominis, Qui in Cœlis sedet. Pater videt profecto hosce conatus contra Regnum Filii sui, et brevi loquetur illis in ira sua. Avertat misericordia ejus, quæ sequuntur.

Deploranda profecto Cæcitas, non videre hanc Dei clarissimam Lucem, infanda stupiditas, ista Dei Judicia non sentire. Quotidie enim vident et audiunt ut collidantur, qui impingunt in hanc Petram Scandali, et ut commolat illa, in quos ipsa ceciderit, et tamen conantur adhuc rejicere hunc lapidem, quem Pater in Zion pro fundamento et angulo posuit. Sed dolent hæc et tibi, ac mecum ea deploras, provides enim quid ista malorum invehant, et adhuc invectura sint.

Audio plerosq; multo quam antea solitum fuit concionari purius, audiavi etiam quasdam ipse, in quorum concionibus nihil reprehendendum audiebatur, aut quam multa desiderabantur. Nam pro Amplitudine

Majestatis Christi, prædicanda Christi omnia sunt: hoc est summa perspicuitate, libertate et virtute, non enim ut multa præclara cogitemus, aut loquamur, sed ut Domino magis magisq; fidamus, nomen ejus celebremus: idq; verbis et factis omnibus, sacræ Concionis habendæ sunt. Quare etiam opposita juxta se ponenda sunt ut magis illucescant, sed ad singularia Sermo dimittendus est ut plus moneat.

In Templo D. Columbæ, aiunt Idolo ejus Imaginis parari vestem majoris pretii quam Centum Florenorum. Si jam Pastor hujus Parochiæ Christum pure et *ἐνεργῶς* cum effectu prædicat, qui fert tam pudendam Idololatriam? Et si ornari statum posse aliquo colore dicere conetur, quare non cum cultum præscribet, quem gratum Martyribus et S. Patres testantur, cultum qui Cruci Christi sit consentaneus: Sed sicut ipsi verbis Christo omnia tribuunt, facto autem querunt et prosequuntur tam multa contra Christum, ita faciunt etiam populum delectari nonnihil Saniore Doctrina. Omni autem Vita et Religione permanere in omnibus Superstitionibus et Vitæ impuritate in qua antea hærebat.

Jactatur magna populi devotio istis et erga Pastores suos reverentia, hoc autem gravius peccatur, cum illis Christus non quam simplicissime in omnibus etiam Ceremoniis prædicatur. Sed O spinas existimationis et commoditas mundialis, O fundum tenuem, et humorem malignum, in quo æstus Crucis enatum semen tam cito arefacit! Hæc de iis scribo ad quos pertinent.

De te non dubito Gloriam Christi et propagationem Regni ejus tibi quoq; ut scribis, cordi esse: tamen te rogo per Christum id quod subjicis diligenter et coram Christo Domino exentias.

Sed nolui tamen sic urgere Causam Christi, ut dum promotam eam velim, magis remorer. Zelum oportet esse secundum scientiam. Recte hæc, si rite intelligantur. Sed scientia Spiritus, non Carnis, hic opus est. Causa Christi nec debet nec potest per se quidem urgeri nisi assiduus precibus, et modesta, leni, Religiosa, sed libera, sed clara, sed integra confessione et prædicatione Christi, eaq; quæ non verbis tantum sed etiam factis constet. Hoc si scimus et agimus, Zelum habemus secundum scientiam, et Causam Christi tantum promovere, et renorari non possumus. Nam Christo tradita est omnis potestas in Cœlo et in Terra, igitur nihil est Potestatis per se Pontifici, cucullatis et personatis, ac quibusvis titulis titulatis hominibus, qui scilicet tægerant liberam et puram Christi Prædicationem. Est quidem aliquando tacendum Evangelium Christi, sed apud canes et porcos, imo nec apud hos tacendum est, cum Gloria Christi agitur: sed animose confitendum est, quamquam non sit illis late explicandum, id est, Sanctum hoc projiciendum et Margaritæ istæ spargendæ.

Sunt qui ferre nos Lutheranos non possunt, et tamen a Regno Christi non abhorrent? Ubi quæso sunt et qui? Qui enim aliquid Christi habent, ita neminem odisse et condemnare sustinent, non auditum, non cognita causa; nam Filii Dei agnoscunt loquelam Christi, oves ejus sequuntur vocem ejus, per quemcunq; eam insonari fecerit.

Si Reformatio Ecclesiæ per istos ulla queritur, indubie id quærent, ut Membra Christi omnia sub Capite Christo recolligantur et reconcinnetur et cooptentur. Quare nemo horum, qui vero Reformationis veræ studio tenetur, ullum hominem sub ullo titulo, quamvis odiosum invidia Crucis Christi, cuiquam imposuerit, ab hoc sancto opere instaurandi Ecclesias rejiciat, præsertim cum luce meridiana constet clarius, Pontificios nihil prorsus passuros mutari. Quid ergo? non queremus ut Patria nostra tam perniciosi desidiis aliquando liberaretur, ut uno tandem re Christum glorificemus.

Ne resecemus vites, et uvas queramus a spinis. Valeat apud nos præjudicium Christi; quosque ille assumpsit, eos conservi ne repudiemus. Quid cuique datum sit facile videre est: arbor quælibet ut plantata est, ut ingenium habet, ita fert fructum. Ne fugiamus Scandalum Crucis cum quo Christus est. Et si Christi nos non pudeat, nec servorum ejus nos pudeat. Paulus scribit Timotheo, ne pudeat te Testimonium Domini nostri, neque mei victi ejus; ita dum nos negotia Domini agimus sinceriter, nec nostri quisquam, quamtumlibet nos Mundus inter damnatos numeret, qui Christi sit, pudebit. Non est res ulla, ad quam quisque eam sincere agit, magis expetat adjuvari se, etiamsi fieri possit ab omnibus Creaturis, atque est negotium Reformationis Christianæ.

Trascentur quidam, tumultuabuntur graviter credo, et impediunt negotium Domini; hoc non credo, neque enim poterunt. Et ut Dominus eis gravissima contra Regnum suum facere concedat, tamen nobis Filiis Dei propterea nihil tacendum, nihil dissimulandum, nihil remittendum est in hac Causa Christi.

Jubes me non suspicari te sic mundo inescatum, ut refugas Crucem Domini ferre, si ita res postulet, et fructum facturum videre: de te profecto hoc bonis apud quos convenit semper Testor, te mihi multo plura in Causa Christi hactenus semper reipsa præstitisse, quam promississes aut etiam verbis præ te tulisses: apud me quidem, cum contrarium nunc accidat a quodam, nisi te Christi membrum et præclaris dotibus ornatum suspicerem, crede, ita dedit mihi Dominus sublimia Mundi non mirari, tuam amicitiam et familiaritatem tantopere non quesivissem, nec tali studio colerem: sed valde oro Dominum det tibi videre ubi, quando et qua ratione fructum pro Regno facere possis; et animet te ac corroboret forti contemplatione Potestatis et Majestatis suæ, ut vere dicas, absit mihi gloriari nisi in Cruce Domini Nostri Jesu Christi per quem mihi Mundus Crucifixus est et ego mundo. Tantæ opes, honores, Curæ rerum sæcularium, tamen spinæ sunt, tamen onera sunt. Presbyter es Domini Nostri Jesu Christi, cuius præcipuum munus est prædicare Christum. Clericum veteres Sancti non patiebantur, vel tutelam pupillorum, vel curam viduarum suscipere, tam liberum volebant esse curis hujus Sæculi omnem Clericum: at quantis tu ac etiam privatis causis, nec tamen semper Pupillorum et Viduarum prægravaris, id dolet indubie et tibi ipsi. Acceptabile Tempus nunc est et Dies Salutis, sed tempus breve, visitationem Nostram tempore agnoscamus et sequamur.

Hæc dum non datur commentari tecum coram, quia te vere diligo, quia colo sinceriter, cum hunc certum habere nuncium, ad te scribere volui.

Quod magnificum D. Cancellarium meis Verbis diligenter Salutasti, gratias ago, utinam autem et resalutare ille, vel hic cum fuit, quod usque ad eam Diem quo iterum abiit clam me fuit, admittere me ad pium colloquium dignatus esset. Tamen rogo salutes illum officiose meis verbis.

Dominus Jesus qui solus et efficit et largitur omne bonum, donet ut omnia in ipso queramus, et ab ipso expectemus: Sic facile nos in ipso agnoscamus et complectemur, quicquid odiosorum Titulorum Diabolus et Membra ejus injiciant. In Christo enim nec Mas quidem et Fœmina, Judæus et Ethnicus, nedum Lutherani et Romani; sed omnes unum sunt. In hoc bene vale, et fac pro Christi Charitate ut tandem nos aliquando videamus, et Sancto Colloquio nos mutuo recreemus. Optime mihi et colende atque vere dilecte Cordi meo Groppere. Bonn, pridie Calendas Februarii 1543.

Deditus Tibi in Domino,

M. BUCERUS.

Præcipuum oblitus eram, te per Christum rogo et obtestor, mone ad hunc me, versantem in Negotio Christi. Debes hoc Christo; et apud me tuto depones omnia nec unquam frustra monebis.

NUMBER XX.

Questions and Answers concerning the Divorce of the Marquess of Northampton.

[Ex MS. Dr. Stillingsfleet.]

1. Quid dirimit Matrimonii Vinculum?
2. Quas ob causas dirimi poterit?
3. An dirimi poterit Conjugium a thoro, non a vinculo?
4. Quibus casibus possit sic dirimi?
5. An exceptio illa ("excepta Fornicationis causa") etiam in Lucae, Marci et Pauli locis, qui de his rebus tractant, est subaudienda?
6. An etiam Uxor, repudiata propter Adulterium, alteri poterit nubere?
7. An redire ad priorem maritum, repudiatæ Adulteræ liceat?
8. An Maritus, propter Adulterium, ab Uxore casta possit repudiari?

Ad primam Respondemus; Ipso Adulterii facto Matrimonii vinculum dirimi. Nam alioquin, ob solum Adulterium non liceret viro Uxorem repudiare: voluntas viri solliciti iudices, Iudices palam faciunt Ecclesiæ, virum licite talem repudiare Uxorem.

Ad secundam Resp. Quod ob solum causam stupri dirimitur Matrimonii vinculum: ejus ipso quidem facto, Conjugii dissolvitur nodus, et loquimur his, qui Sacrosancti Matrimonii jus agnoscunt.

Ad tertiam Resp. Quod non; quia Mulier quamdiu vixerit, "alligata est viro," Rom. vii, "item ne fraudetis vos invicem," 1 Cor. vii; item in eodem loco Uxori Vir debitam benevolentiam reddat similiter, et Uxor viro, "item Vir non habeat potestatem sui corporis," sed Uxor similiter; "nec Uxor habeat potestatem sui corporis, sed Vir."

Ad quartam patet in responsione ad tertiam.

Ad quintam Respondemus; quod exceptio ista, viz. "Nisi causa stupri;" est subaudienda in Luca, Marco, et Paulo: alioquin manifesta erit repugnantia inter Matthæum et eos.

Ad sextam Respond. Quod repudiata propter Adulterium, quia Uxor repudiantis desiit esse, ob idque libera est sicut aliæ omnes post obitum virorum potest alii nubere; sequo jure quo illæ juxta illud Pauli, "si non continent, contrahant Matrimonium," 1 Cor. vii. Ad septimam Respond. Quod non licet repudiata Adulteræ redire ad repudiantem, tanquam alligata ei Jugi vinculo Matrimonii.

Ultima Questio Nihil ad Nos.

NUMBER XXI.

Injunctions given by the King's Majesty's Visitors, to all and every the Clergy and Laity now resident within the Diocese of Dunelm.

[Ex MS. Dr. Johnson.]

Item. You shall not hereafter, in the pulpit or elsewhere, on the Sunday, or any other day, give knowledge to your parishioners when or what day of the week any of the abrogate holy days were solemnized or kept in the church, but omit the same with silence as other working days, for the utter abolishing of the remembrance thereof.

Item. You shall teach your parishioners, that

fasting in the Lent, and other days, is a meer positive, that is to say, man's law; and by the magistrates, upon considerations, may be altered, changed, and dispensed with: and that therefore all persons having just cause of sickness, or other necessity, or being licensed thereto, may temperately eat all kinds of meat, without scruple or grudge of conscience.

Item. You shall every day that an high mass is said or sung at the high altar, before the same mass, read openly in your churches the English suffrages for the preservation and safeguard of the king's majesty's people, and prosperous success of his affairs.

Item. You shall every Sunday, at the time of your going about the church with holy water, into three or four places where most audience and assembly of people is, for the declaration of the ceremonies, say, distinctly and plainly, that your parishioners may well hear and perceive the same, these words:

“Remember Christ's blood-shedding, by the which most holy sprinkling, of all your sins you have free pardon.”

And in like manner, before the dealing of the holy bread, these words:

“Of Christ's body this is a token, which on the cross for our sins was broken; wherefore, of his death if you will be partakers, of vice and sin you must be forsakers.”

And the clarks, in the like manner, shall bring down the paxe, and standing without the church-door, shall say loudly to the people these words:

“This is a token of joyful peace, which is betwixt God and men's conscience: Christ alone is the peace-maker, which straitly commands peace between brother and brother.”

And so long as ye use these ceremonies, so long shall ye use these significations.

Item. The church-wardens of every parish church shall, some one Sunday, or other festival day, every month, go about the church, and make request to every of the parish for their charitable contribution to the poor; and the sum so collected shall be put in the chest of alms for that purpose provided. And forasmuch as the parish clark shall not hereafter go about the parish with his holy water as hath been accustomed, he shall, instead of that labour, accompany the said church-wardens, and in a book register the name and sum of every man that giveth any thing to the poor, and the same shall intable; and, against the next day of collection, shall hang up somewhere in the church, in open place, to the intent the poor having knowledge thereby by whose charity and alms they are relieved, may pray for the increase and prosperity of the same.

Item. The church-wardens, for the better relief of honest poverty, shall, upon sufficient surety found for the repayment of the same, lend to some young married couple, or some poor inhabitants of their parish, some part of the said alms, whereby they may buy some kind of stuff; by the working, sale, and gains whereof they may repay the sum borrowed, and also well relieve themselves; or else the said church-wardens to buy the stuff themselves, and pay the poor for their working thereof; and after sale of the same, to return the sum, with the gain, to the said chest, there to remain to such-like use.

Item. Forasmuch as heretofore you have not, by any means, diligence, or study, advanced yourselves unto knowledge in God's word and his scriptures, condignly, as appertaineth to priests and dispensators of God's testament; to the intent you may hereafter be of better ability to discharge yourselves towards God,

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and your offices to the world, you shall daily, for your own study and knowledge, read over diligently, and weigh with judgment, two chapters of the New Testament, and one of the Old, in English; and the same shall put in use and practice, as well in living as preaching, at times convenient, when occasion is given.

Item. Forasmuch as drunkenness, idleness, brawls, dissention, and many other inconveniences, do chance between neighbour and neighbour, by the assembly of people together at wakes, and on the Plough-Mondays; it is therefore ordered and enjoined, that hereafter the people shall use, make, or observe no more such wakes, Plough-Mondays, or drawing of the same, with any such assembly or rout of people, or otherwise, as hath been accustomed, upon pain of forfeiting to the king's highness 40s. for every default, to be paid by the owner of the plough and householder whereunto the said plough is drawn, on wakes are kept.

The names of the visitors:—Sir John Markham. John Hearn. Thomas Gragrove. Roger Tongue. William Moreton. Edmund Farley.

NUMBER XXII.

A Proclamation against those that do innovate, alter, or leave undone any Rite or Ceremony in the Church of their private authority; and against them which preach without License. Set forth the 6th day of February, in the second year of the King's Majesty's most gracious Reign.

[Ex Reg. Cranmer. Fol. 111.]

THE king's majesty, by the advice of his most entirely beloved uncle, the duke of Somerset, governor of his most royal person, and protector of all his realms, dominions, and subjects, and others of his counsel; considering nothing so much to tend to the disquieting of this realm as diversity of opinions, and variety of rites and ceremonies concerning religion, and worshipping of Almighty God; and therefore studying all the ways and means which can be to direct this church, and the cure committed to his highness, in one and most true doctrine, rite, and usage; yet is advertised, that certain privat curats, preachers, and other lay-men, contrary to their bounden duties of obedience, do rashly attempt, of their own and singular wit and mind, in some parish churches, and otherwise, not only to persuade the people from the old and accustomed rites and ceremonies, but also themselves bringeth in new orders every one in their church, according to their phantasies; the which, as it is an evident token of pride and arrogance, so it tendeth both to confusion and disorder, and also to the high displeasure of Almighty God, who loveth nothing so much as order and obedience. Wherefore his majesty straitly chargeth and commandeth, that no manner of person, of what estate, order, or degree soever he be, of his private mind, will, or phantasie, do omit, leave undone, change, alter, or innovate any order, rite, or ceremony, commonly used and frequented in the church of England, and not commanded to be left undone at any time in the reign of our late sovereign lord, his highness' father, other than such as his highness, by the advice aforesaid, by his majesty's visitors, injunctions, statutes, or proclamations, hath already, or hereafter shall command to be omitted, left, innovated, or changed; but that they be observed after that sort as before they were accustomed, or else now sith prescribed by the authority of his majesty, or by the means aforesaid, upon pain that whosoever shall offend contrary to this proclamation, shall incur his highness' indignation, and suffer

imprisonment, and other grievous punishments, at his majesty's will and pleasure. Provided always, that for not bearing a candle upon Candlemass-day, not taking ashes upon Ash-Wednesday, not bearing palm upon Palm-Sunday, not creeping to the cross, not taking holy bread or holy water, or for omitting other such rites and ceremonies concerning religion and the use of the church, which the most reverend father in God, the archbishop of Canterbury, by his majesty's will and commandment, with the advice aforesaid, hath declared, or hereafter shall declare, to the other bishops, by his writing under seal, as heretofore hath been accustomed to be omitted or changed, no man hereafter be imprisoned, nor otherwise punished, but all such things to be reputed for the observation and following of the same, as though they were commanded by his majesty's injunctions. And to the intent that rash and seditious preachers should not abuse his highness' people, it is his majesty's pleasure, that whosoever shall take upon him to preach openly in any parish, church, chapel, or any other open place, other than those which be licensed by the king's majesty, or his highness' visitors, the archbishop of Canterbury, or the bishop of the diocese where he doth preach, except it be bishop, parson, vicar, dean, warden, or provost, in his or their own cure, shall be forthwith, upon such attempt and preaching, contrary to this proclamation, be committed to prison, and there remain until such time as his majesty, by the advice aforesaid, hath taken order for the further punishment of the same. And that the premises should be more speedily and diligently done and performed, his highness giveth straitly in commandment to all justices of peace, mayors, sheriffs, constables, headboroughs, churchwardens, and all other his majesty's officers and ministers, and rulers of towns, parishes, and hamlets, that they be diligent and attendant to the true and faithful execution of this proclamation, and every part thereof, according to the intent, purport, and effect of the same. And that they of their proceedings herein, or if any offender be, after they have committed the same to prison, do certify his highness the lord protector, or his majesty's council, with all speed thereof accordingly, as they tender his majesty's pleasure, the wealth of the realm, and will answer to the contrary at their uttermost perils. God save the king.

NUMBER XXIII.

An Order of Council for the Removing of Images.

[Regis. Cran. Fol. 32.]

AFTER our right-hearty commendations to your good lordship, where now of late, in the king's majesty's visitation, among other godly injunctions commanded to be generally observed throughout all parts of this his highness' realm, one was set forth for the taking down all such images as had at any time been abused with pilgrimages, offerings, or censings. Albeit, that this said injunction hath in many parts of the realm been well and quietly obeyed and executed, yet in many other places much strife and contention hath arisen, and daily ariseth, and more and more encreaseth, about the execution of the same: some men being so superstitious, or rather wilful, as they would by their good wills retain all such images still, although they have been most manifestly abused; and in some places also, the images which by the said injunctions were taken down, be now restored and set up again; and almost in every place is contention for images, whether they have been abused or not. And

whiles these men go about on both sides contentiously to obtain their minds, contending whether this or that image hath been offered unto, kissed, censed, or otherwise abused, parties have in some places been taken, in such sort, as further inconvenience is very like to ensue, if remedy be not provided in time. Considering, therefore, that almost in no places of the realm is any sure quietness, but where all images be wholly taken away and pulled down already; to the intent that all contention in every part of the realm for this matter may be clearly taken away, and that the lively images of Christ should not contend for the dead images, which be things not necessary, and without which the churches of Christ continued most godly many years, we have thought good to signify unto you, that his highness' pleasure, with advice and consent of us the lord protector and the rest of the council, is, that immediately upon the sight hereof, with as convenient diligence as you may, you shall not only give order that all the images remaining in any church or chapel within your diocese be removed and taken away, but also by your letters signify unto the rest of the bishops within your province, this his highness' pleasure, for the like order to be given by them, and every of them within their several dioceses; and in the execution hereof we require both you and the rest of the said bishops to use such foresight as the same may be quietly done, with as good satisfaction of the people as may be. Thus fare your good lordship well. From Somerset House, the 21st of February, 1517. Your lordship's assured friends,

E. Somerset. Jo. Russell. Henricus Arundel.
T. Scymour. Anthony Wingfield. William Paget.

NUMBER XXIV.

The Copy of a Letter sent to all those Preachers which the King's Majesty hath licensed to preach, from the Lord Protector's Grace, and other of the King's Majesty's most honourable Council, the 13th day of May, in the second year of the Reign of our Sovereign Lord King Edward the Sixth.

AFTER our right hearty commendations as well for the conservation of the quietness and good order of the king's majesty's subjects, as that they should not, by evil and unlearned preachers, be brought unto superstition, error, or evil doctrine, or otherwise be made stubborn and disobedient to the king's majesty's godly proceedings, his highness, by our advice, hath thought good to inhibit all manner of preachers, who have not such license, as in the same proclamation is allowed, to preach, or stir the people, in open and common preaching of sermons, by any means, that the devout and godly homilies might the better, in the mean while, sink into his subjects' hearts, and be learned the sooner, the people not being tossed to and fro with seditious and contentious preaching, while every man, according to his zeal—some better, some worse—goeth about to set out his own phantasie, and to draw the people to his opinion. Nevertheless it is not his majesty's mind hereby clearly to extinct the lively teaching of the word of God, by sermons made after such sort, as for the time the Holy Ghost shall put into the preacher's mind, but that rash, contentious, hot, and undiscreet preachers should be stopped; and that they only which be chosen and elect, be discreet and sober men, should occupy that place, which was made for edification, and not for destruction; for the honour of God, and peace and quietness of conscience to be set forward, not for private glory to be advanced; to appease, to teach; to instruct the people

with humility and patience, not to make them contentious and proud; to instil into them their duty to their heads and rulers, obedience to laws and orders appointed by the superiors who have rule of God; not that every man should run before their heads have appointed them what to do, and that every man should chuse his own way in religion: the which thing yet being done of some men, and they being rather provoked thereto by certain preachers, than dehorted from it, it was necessary to set a stay therein; and yet forasmuch as we have a great confidence and trust in you, that you will not only preach truly and sincerely the word of God, but also will use circumspection and moderation in your preaching, and such godly wisdom as shall be necessary and most convenient for the time and place: We have sent unto you the king's majesty's license to preach; but yet with this exhortation and admonishment, that in no wise you do stir and provoke the people to any alteration or innovation, other than is already set forth by the king's majesty's injunctions, homilies, and proclamations; but contrariwise, that you do in all your sermons exhort men to that which is at this time more necessary; that is, to the emendation of their own lives, to the observance of the commandments of God, to humility, patience, and obedience to their heads and rulers; comforting the weak, and teaching them the right way; and to flee all old erroneous superstitions, as the confidence in pardons, pilgrimages, beads, religious images, and other such of the bishop of Rome's traditions and superstitions, with his usurped power; the which things be here in this realm most justly abolished; and straitly rebuking those who, of an arrogancy and proud hastiness, will take upon them to run before they be sent, to go before the rulers, to alter and change things in religion without authority, teaching them to expect and tarry the time which God hath ordained, to the revealing of all truth, and not to seek so long blindly and hidlings after it, till they bring all orders into contempt. It is not a private man's duty to alter ceremonies, to innovate orders in the church; nor yet it is not a preacher's part to bring that into contempt and hatred which the prince doth either allow or is content to suffer. The king's highness, by our advice, as a prince most earnestly given to the true knowledge of God, and to bring up his people therein, doth not cease to labour and travel by all godly means, that his realm might be brought and kept in a most godly and Christian order, who only may and ought to do it. Why should a private man, or a preacher, take this royal and kingly office upon him, and not rather, as his duty is, obediently follow himself, and teach likewise others to follow and observe that which is commanded? What is abolished, taken away, reformed, and commanded, it is easy to see by the acts of parliament, the injunctions, proclamations, and homilies; the which things most earnestly it behoveth all preachers in their sermons to confirm and approve accordingly; in other things which be not yet touched, it behoveth him to think that either the prince doth allow them, or else suffer them; and in those it is the part of a godly man not to think himself wiser than the king's majesty and his council, but patiently to expect and conform himself thereto, and not to intermeddle further to the disturbance of a realm, the disquieting of the king's people, the troubling of men's consciences, and disorder of the king's subjects.

These things we have thought good to admonish you of at this time, because we think you will set the same so forward in your preaching, and so instruct the king's majesty's people accordingly, to the most advancement of the glory of God and the king's majesty's most godly proceedings, that we do not doubt but

much profit shall ensue thereby, and great conformity in the people the which you do instruct; and so we pray you not to fail to do. And having a special regard to the weakness of the people what they may bear, and what is most convenient for the time; in no case to intermeddle, in your sermons or otherwise, with matters in contention or controversion, except it be to reduce the people in them also to obedience, and following of such orders as the king's majesty hath already set forth, and no others, as the king's majesty and our trust is in you, and as you tender his highness's will and pleasure, and will answer to the contrary at your peril. Fare you well.

Printed at London, June 1, 1548.

NUMBER XXV.

Queries put concerning some Abuses of the Mass; with the Answers that were made by many Bishops and Divines to them.

[Ex MS. Dr. Stillingfleet.]

Question 1.

Whether the Sacrament of the Altar was instituted to be received of one Man for another, or to be received of every Man for himself?

Answers.

The sacrament of the altar was not instituted to be received of one man for another, but to be received by every man for himself.—*Cantuarren.*

The sacrament of the altar was not instituted to be received of one man for one other, but of every man for himself.—*Eboracen.*

I think that the sacrament of thanks was not instituted to be received of one man for another, but of every man for himself.—*London. Hereford. Cicestren. Worcester. Norwicen. Assaven.*

The sacrament of the altar was instituted to be received of every man by himself, to make him a member of Christ's mystical body, and to knit and unite him to Christ our head; as St. Paul saith, 1 Cor. x. "Unus panis, et unum corpus, multi sumus omnes qui de uno pane participamus."—*Duelm.*

The sacrament of the altar was not instituted to be received of one man for another sacramentally, no more than one man to be christened for another: notwithstanding the grace received by him that is housled, or christened, is profitable and available to the whole mystical body of Christ, and therefore to every lively member thereof.—*Sarisburyen.*

The sacrament (as they call it) of the altar was not instituted to be received of one for another, but of every man for himself: for Christ, the institutor of this sacrament, saith, with manifest words, "Take, eat," &c. Matt. xxvi. And also, John vi. "Except ye eat the flesh of the Son of Man, and drink his blood, ye have no life in you. Whoso eateth my flesh, and drinketh my blood, hath eternal life." Nor the receiving of one man doth avail or profit any other, otherwise than by the way of example, whereby the people present are provoked to the imitation of the thing that is good.—*Lincoln.*

The sacrament of the altar was not instituted to be received of one man for another, but of every man for himself.—*Elieu.*

I think and suppose that the sacrament of the altar was instituted to be received of every man for himself; for so are the words of Christ, "Comedite et bibite," speaking to them present, and to every one of them.—*Covent. et Litchfield.*

The sacrament of the altar was not ordained or instituted to be received of one man alone, but of all,

and for all, because it is the general and continual remedy, help, and succour of all, which maketh no let or stop of themselves, and their own unfaithful or sinful life.—*Carlolen.*

Of every man for himself.—*Roffen.*

The sacrament of the altar was not instituted to be received of one man for another sacramentally, no more than one man to be christened for another; but every man to receive it in faith and cleanness of life for himself.—*Bristolten.*

The sacrament of the body and blood of Christ was not instituted that one man should receive it for another, but every man for himself. "Probet autem seipsum homo, et sic de pane illo edat, et de populo illo bibat." 1 Cor. xi.—*Meneven.*

The sacrament of thanks was instituted to be received of every man for himself, and not of one for another.—*Dr. Cox.*

Of every man for himself.—*Dr. Tyler.*

Question 2.

Whether the receiving of the said Sacrament of one Man doth avail and profit any other?

Answers.

The receiving of the said sacrament by one man doth avail and profit only him that receiveth the same.—*Cantuarien.*

The receiving of the sacrament only availeth the receivers thereof, except it be by reason of such communion as is among the members of the mystical body of Christ.—*Eboracen.*

I think that the receiving of the said sacrament doth not avail or profit any other, but only as all other good works done of any member of Christ's church be available to the whole mystical body of Christ, and to every lively member of the same, by reason of mutual participation, and spiritual communion between them. And also it may be profitable to others, as an example whereby others may be stirred to devotion and to like receiving of the same.—*London. Worcester. Hereford. Norwicen. Ciestren. Assaven.*

The receiving of the sacrament of one man doth profit another, as the health and good liking of one member doth in part strengthen the body, and other members of the same: for St. Paul saith, "Multi unum corpus sumus in Christo, singuli autem alter alterius membra," Rom. xii.; and 1 Cor. xii. "Si gaudet unum membrum, congaudent omnia membra." And in a mystical body, the good living of one man stirreth another to the same.—*Dunelm.*

The oblation made after the consecration in the mass is the offering unto the Father of the body and blood of Christ by the minister, with the commemoration of the Passion, and with thanksgiving for the same, and with the prayers of the minister and people, that it may be available to all Christian people.—*Surisburien.*

The receiving thereof of one man doth not avail or profit any other, but as all good deeds profit the congregation, and as one member healed or taking nourishment profiteth another member.—*Elien.*

And I suppose also that the receiving of one man doth not avail or profit another, but as every good act or deed of one member doth profit to the whole body.—*Covent. et Litchfield.*

The receiving of the sacrament, as it noteth the act of him who receiveth, it may be that it neither availeth or profiteth him who receiveth nor any other, but also hurts the receiver, if he presume to take it rashly or unworthily. But as touching the thing which is sacred, offered, and distributed by the common minister in the mass, representing the Holy Church, or

mystical body of Christ, and is received both of him and other that will, whatsoever the receiving or receiver be, it availeth and profiteth all present, absent, living, and dead.—*Carlolen.*

No; but as the receipt of wholesome doctrine, the receipt of the fear of God, the receipt of any godly gift that is profitable to any one member of Christ's mystical body, may be said generally to profit the whole body, because there is a mystical communion and a spiritual participation amongst all the members of Christ in all godliness; as there is in the natural body a natural participation of all natural affections, both good and evil.—*Roffen.*

It appeareth, by the words of St. Cyprian, Epist. vi. lib. 3, that it should be profitable and available to others; forasmuch as he wrote these words of the faithful Christians which departed this world in prison, and said, "Ququam fidelissimus et devotissimus frater noster, inter cætera sollicitudinem et curam suam cum fratribus in omni obsequio operationis imperitur, qui nec illic curam corporum—scripserit ac scribat ac significat mihi dies quibus in carcere beati fratres nostri ad immortalitatem gloriosæ mortis exitu transeant et celebrentur, hic a nobis Oblationes et Sacrificia ob commemorationes eorum, quæ cito vobiscum, domine prosperante, celebrabimus. Ita enim docuit Apostolus Christi unus Panis et unum Corpus multi sumus omnes, qui de uno Pane, et de uno Calice participamus." 1 Cor. i. "Nec loquitur de his solis qui eo tempore Corinthi conveniebant, et Sacramentum ab unus Sacerdotis manu recipiebant; Verum potius de seipso tunc procul a Corintho agente, et Corinthiis ipsis omnibusque in Christum credentibus ubi tandem constituti essent quos omnes significat unum esse Corpus qui toto orbe de uno Pane communicantes participarent."—*Bristolten.*

The sacrament profiteth him only that receiveth it worthily; like as it damnieth him only that receiveth it unworthily. "Nam qui edit aut bibit indigne, judicium sibi ipsi edit ac bibit," 1 Cor. xi.—*Meneven.*

The receiving of the said sacrament doth avail and profit the receiver only, and none other, but by occasion to do the like.—*Dr. Cox.*

So much as the christening of one man profiteth another, which after my opinion profiteth nothing.—*Dr. Tyler.*

Question 3.

What is the oblation and sacrifice of Christ in the mass?

Answers.

The oblation and sacrifice of Christ in the mass is not so called because Christ indeed is there offered and sacrificed by the priest and the people (for that was done but once by himself upon the cross); but it is so called because it is a memory and representation of that very true sacrifice and immolation which before was made upon the cross.—*Cantuarien.*

The oblation and sacrifice of Christ in the mass is the presenting of the very body and blood of Christ to the heavenly Father, under the forms of bread and wine, consecrated in the remembrance of his Passion, with prayer and thanksgiving for the universal church.—*Eboracen.*

I think it is the presentation of the very body and blood of Christ being really present in the sacrament; which presentation the priest maketh at the mass, in the name of the church, unto God the Father, in memory of Christ's passion and death upon the cross; with thanksgiving therefore, and devout prayer, that all Christian people—and namely they which spiritually join with the priest in the said oblation, and of

whom he maketh special remembrance—may attain the benefit of the said passion.—*London. Worcester. Hereford. Norwiche. Cicestren. Assaen.*

The oblation and sacrifice of Christ in the mass is the presenting of Christ by the priest, in commemoration of his passion, being our eternal and permanent sacrifice, present in the sacrament by his omnipotent word left to us, to have his death and passion in remembrance, with giving thanks for the same, and prayer of the minister and them which be present, that the same may be available to the whole church of Christ, both quick and dead in the faith of Christ.—*Dunelm.*

Which oblation, commemoration of Christ's passion, giving of thanks and prayer, taketh effect only in them which by their own proper faith shall receive the same effect.—*Sarisburien.*

There is properly no oblation nor sacrifice, but a remembrance of the one oblation of Christ upon the cross, made once for all; a giving of thanks for the same, and the prayer of the public minister for the whole congregation; which prayer only taketh effect in them who by their own proper faith receive the benefit of Christ: and where many of those authors do say there is an oblation and sacrifice, they spoke so because in this sacrament we be admonished of the oblation and sacrifice of Christ upon the cross.—*Lincoln.*

If oblation be taken *pro re oblata*, then, as old ancient doctors write, it is *Corpus et Sanguis, scil. Verum, et Corpus, scil. Mysticum*. If ye take it *pro actu offerendi*, it is a commemoration and representation of Christ's death once suffered upon the cross, with thanksgiving for the same.—*Elie.*

I suppose the very oblation and sacrifice of Christ in the mass is this, that after the benediction—that is to say, the words of consecration spoken by the priest, and the divine working of Christ presently, by the which there is the very precious body and the precious blood of Christ present to be so received; then the priest offereth up the holy memory of our redemption to God the Father, most humbly praying, that as it was once offered up by Christ upon the cross, for the redemption of mankind, so it may take effect now, and at all times, especially in those that with a true faith, with a full trust and hope, shall so worthily receive it.—*Covent. et Litchfield.*

The oblation and sacrifice of Christ in the mass is even the same which was offered by Christ on the cross, ever and everywhere abiding and enduring, of like strength, virtue, and power. The difference is, that on the cross, Christ, being there both priest and sacrifice, offereth himself visibly, and in the mass, being likewise both priest and sacrifice, offereth himself invisibly, by the common minister of the church, who in the name and stead of the whole faithful congregation offereth and presenteth, as he bid and commanded by Christ.—*Carlisle.*

The representation and commemoration of Christ's death and passion, said and done in the mass, is called the sacrifice, oblation, or immolation of Christ: "Non rei veritate," as learned men do write, "sed significandi mysterio."—*Roffen.*

It is in giving thanks unto the Father, as Christ did himself at his supper, taking the bread and wine into his hands, and with the words of consecration consecrating the same, and then making presentation of the very body and blood of Christ unto God the Father, in the name of the church, in the memory of Christ's most painful passion and death, suffered upon the cross; and so worthily receiving the same, and with giving thanks again for the same at the latter end; as the Gospel saith, "Hymno dicto;" but what this hymn or prayer was, I find no mention.—*Bristollen.*

The oblation and sacrifice of Christ mentioned in the mass is a memorial of Christ's only sacrifice upon the cross, once offered for ever; "Unica enim Oblatione, perfectos efficit in perpetuum eos qui sanctificantur," Heb. x.—*Meneven.*

The oblation of the sacrifice of Christ in the mass is the prayer, the praise, the thanksgiving, and the remembrance of Christ's passion and death.—*Dr. Cox.*

There is no oblation, speaking properly; but some ancient doctors, and the use of the church, calleth the receiving of it, with the circumstances then done, an oblation; that is to say, a memorial and remembrance of Christ's most precious oblation upon the cross.—*Dr. Tyler.*

Question 4.

Wherein consisteth the Mass by Christ's institution?

Answers.

The mass, by Christ's institution, consisteth in those things which be set forth in the Evangelists, Matt. xxvi., Mark xiv., Luke xxii., 1 Cor. x. and xi.—*Cantuarien.*

The mass, by Christ's institution, consisteth in the consecration and oblation of the very body and blood of Christ, with prayer, thanksgiving, and receiving of the same; as appeareth in the Evangelists, Matt. xxvi. xxvii., Mark xiv. and xv., Luke xxii. and xxiii., John vi., 1 Cor. x. and xi., Acts ii.—*Eboracen.*

I think it consisteth principally in the consecration, oblation, and receiving of the body and blood of Christ, with prayers and thanksgiving; but what the prayers were, and what rites Christ used or commanded at the first institution of the mass, the Scripture declareth not.—*London. Worcester. Hereford. Norwiche. Cicestren. Assaen.*

The mass, by Christ's institution, consisteth in those things which be set forth by the Evangelists, Matt. xxvi., Mark xix., Luke xxii., and Paul, 1 Cor. x. xi. and xii., and Acts ii., with humble and contrite confession, the oblation of Christ, as before; the receiving of the sacrament, giving of thanks therefore, and common prayer for the mystical body of Christ.—*Dunelm.*

The mass, by Christ's institution, consisteth in those things which be set forth in the Evangelists, Matt. xxvi., Mark xiv., Luke xxii., 1 Cor. x. and xi., Acts ii. and xiii.—*Sarisburien.*

It consisteth in these things which be set forth, Matt. xxvi., Mark xix., Luke xxii., 1 Cor. x. xi., Acts ii.—*Lincoln.*

The mass, by Christ's institution, consisteth in those things which be set forth in the Evangelists, Matt. xxvi., Luke xxii., and 1 Cor. x. xi., and Acts ii.—*Elie.*

The mass, by Christ's institution, only expressing the form of Christ by the Scripture, consisteth in the taking of the bread, and giving thanks to God the Father, in the benediction and consecration, in the receiving or distribution, and receiving of them, to whom the distribution is made by the hands of the priest: as the eldest authors affirm, in the renewing of the memory of our redemption by an undoubted faith, and for that to give most humble thanks; so calling to remembrance, as often as it is thus done, the inestimable benefit of our redemption. What thanks that Christ gave before this most holy action, or what thanks that he gave after it, by the general words of Matthew (chap. xxiv.) "Hymno dicto," are not expressed: so that there appeareth, both before this most holy action and also after, to be a certain ceremony appointed by Christ more than is expressed. Moreover, by the doctrine of the apostle (1 Cor. xi.) it behoveth every man to be wise and circumspect, that he receive not this most blessed sacrament unworthily and unreverently, not making difference betwixt

the receiving of the most blessed body of Christ, and other meats.—*Covent. et Litchfield.*

The mass, by Christ's institution, consisteth in consecrating, offering, receiving, and distributing of the blessed body and blood of our Saviour Jesus Christ, according to that he himself did, willed, and commanded to be done. This we have manifested by the Evangelists, St. Paul, and St. Luke, in the Acts. But because Christ was, after his resurrection, long with his disciples, communing and treating of the kingdom of God, what should be done here to come thither, it may be well thought that whatsoever he or his Holy Spirit left with the apostles, and they with others, after which also the whole universal congregation of Christian people useth and observeth, most ancient and holy doctors in like form noteth, may likewise be said and taken as of Christ's institution.—*Carliolen.*

I am not able to say that the mass consisteth, by Christ's institution, in other things than in those which he set forth in the Evangelists, Matthew, Mark, and Luke, in the Acts, and 1 Cor. x. and xi.—*Roffen.*

As I take it, the mass, by Christ's institution, consisteth in those things and rites which be set forth unto us, in the 26th of St. Matthew, the 14th of St. Mark, and the 22nd of St. Luke; and also as mention is made in the First Epistle to the Corinthians, chap. x. and xi., and Acts xi.; any other institution I read not of by Scripture.—*Bristollen.*

Christ's institution compriseth no more in the mass than the communion of the body and blood, to be ministred and received under both kinds, of bread and wine, according as is declared by the Evangelists, Matt. xxvi., Mark xiv., Luke, in the Acts ii.—*Mewven.*

The mass, by Christ's institution, consisteth in thanksgiving to the Father, in distributing of the body and blood of Christ to the congregation, to have the death and passion of Christ in remembrance, and in the end to laud and praise God.—*Dr. Cox.*

In giving of thanks to God the Father, and blessing and breaking it, and reverently receiving the holy sacraments, with all such rites and circumstances as Christ did in both the kinds.—*Dr. Tyler.*

Question 5.

What time the accustomed Order began first in the Church, that the Priest alone should receive the Sacrament?

Answers.

I think the use that the priest alone did receive the sacrament without the people, began not within six or seven hundred years after Christ.—*Cantuarien.*

The accustomed order that the priest alone should receive the sacrament began about the time of Zephcrinus; who, when the common people had left their daily and frequent communion, ordained that they should communicate at the least once in the year—that was at Easter; which ordinance Innocentius the Third confirmed.—*Eboracen.*

I know no further order or commandment of the church, but what time the devotion of the people was so greatly decayed that they would not come to receive the sacrament, then the priests were compelled to receive it alone.—*London. Worcester. Hereford. Norwien. Cisterien. Assaven.*

The custom began that the priest alone should receive the sacrament of necessity, when the people falling from devotion would not come to the communion, but cared more for their worldly business than for godly receiving the sacrament; for in the beginning they received it daily by frequent devotion; after, thrice a week; after, on the Sundays only; after,

thrice in the year, at Christmas, Easter, and Whitsunday; after, only once in the year, at Easter, by coldness of devotion.—*Dunelm.*

The time certain is not known; most men ascribe it unto Gregory, who was more than six hundred years after Christ; for that every bishop of Rome bringing in his portion (some Introitus, some Kyrie Eleison, some Graduale); the mass in the said Gregory's time was grown to the full quantity it is now of, and men's inventions began to step before and get ground of Christ's institution; but from the beginning it was not so, for Christ did not eat and drink alone at his last supper, but gave the bread and cup to all present. In the primitive church one did not eat alone, and the rest look on, but they did eat together and drink together, as it is to be seen Acts ii., 1 Cor. xi. And Anaclelus writes thus: "Peraeta Consecratione omnes communicant, qui noluerit Ecclesiasticis caveat liminibus." *De Conso. Dist. 1. Cum Episcopus, &c.—Lincoln.*

The very time I know not, but is to be supposed that that custom crept into the church by negligence and slackness of the lay people, who would not so oft receive it as the priest would; for in the beginning the communion with the laity was *quotidiane*, which the priest observeth still unto this day, and not the laity; and there be canons that bindeth the priest to the receiving of it as oft as he doth consecrate; and the cause why the priests did not receive it after they had consecrated should seem to be, that there was none to receive it with them, which was the occasion of the making of those canons, as I suppose.—*Elien.*

Because Scripture saith, "Panis quem frangimus, nonne communicatio corporis est," &c. Likewise "de Chalice, cui benedicimus;" and also, "bibite ex eo omnes." And the canons said to be of the apostles, Can. x. and x., and of the Antiochian Council, Can. ii. Anaclelus, in an epistle, commandeth the sacrament to be received of more than of the priest alone. Dionyse also declareth the same, and also long after Chrysost. St. Ambrose and St. Austin both complain of the slackness of some, and earnestly exhort the people to the receipt thereof. Therefore I suppose that custom that the priest should receive it alone, where it was celebrated openly, was not received in the church of Christ by the space of four or five hundred years at least after Christ.—*Roffen.*

I know no such order or commandment of the church, but what time the devotion of the people began greatly to decay, and would not come to receive the sacrament, then I think the priests were compelled to receive it alone.—*Bristollen.*

I suppose not long after the apostles' time the godly devotion of the people decaying, who at the beginning used to commune daily, and after that weekly, after that thrice in the year, and at last but once in the year, the priest was forced to receive the sacrament alone.—*Dr. Cox.*

Question 6.

Whether it be convenient that the same Custom continue still within this Realm?

Answers.

I think it more agreeable to the Scripture and primitive church, that the first usage should be restored again, that the people should receive the sacrament with the priest.—*Cantuarien.*

I would wish, that at every mass there would be some to receive the sacrament with the priest: nevertheless if none will come to receive it, I think it lawful and convenient, that the priests of this realm of England may say mass, and receive the sacrament alone.

RECORDS.

—*London. Worcester. Hereford. Norwich. Cicestren. Assaen.*

It were much convenient that people were exhorted to come to it oftener, if they could be brought thereto. Nevertheless if none will communicate, it is not meet that the priests stirred to communicate, or should forbear for coldness or lack of other men's devotion.—*Dunelm.*

Nothing can be better or more wisely devised than Christ did ordain, and the apostles, according to his ordinance, did use: we ought therefore to captivate our senses and understandings to the wisdom of Christ, and think that most convenient that to his ordinance is most correspondent: and as St. Paul notes, by eating all of one bread, and drinking all of one cup, we be put in remembrance, that we be all one body in Christ, and have received all one spirit. Nevertheless the slackness of some ought not to be prejudicial to the rest, nor the refusing of one to be impediment to another.—*Lincoln.*

If the laymen could be brought to it, it were better not to continue; but if they cannot, it is not convenient that priests, who would communicate for their own comfort, should be defrauded by other men's slackness.—*Elien.*

I suppose it were best, that that custom should be reformed unto the rule of Scripture, and unto the pattern of the primitive church.—*Roffen.*

I think it were good, that at every mass there were some to receive the sacrament with the priest: nevertheless, if none will come to receive it, I think it lawful and convenient that the priest say mass, and receive the sacrament alone, when he is disposed, or by the Christian congregation desired.—*Bristollen.*

I think it not convenient that the said custom should continue, if by any godly mean the people might be brought to receive the sacrament with the priest.—*Dr. Cox.*

Question 7.

Whether it be convenient that Masses Satisfactory should continue, (that is to say) Priests hired to sing for Souls departed.

Answers.

I think it not convenient that satisfactory masses should continue.—*Cantuarien.*

I think that such of the schoolmen as do write of masses satisfactory, do define them otherwise than is declared in this question: nevertheless I think, that it is not against the word of God, but that priests praying in the mass, both for the quick and dead, and doing other things in the church about the ministration of the sacraments, may take a living for the same.—*London. Worcester. Hereford. Norwich. Chichester. St. Asaph.*

All priests saying mass be bound in the same to pray for the whole mystical body of Christ, quick and dead, though they be not hired thereto; and those that be deputed thereto, if they say mass, must do the same though they were not hired: and yet, as St. Paul saith, those that be partakers of spiritual things with others, ought to minister unto them temporal things in recompence, Rom. xv.—*Dunelm.*

St. Paul saith, Heb. x. that we are made holy by the offering of the body of Jesus once for all; and Heb. ix. that Christ, by his own blood, entered in once to the holy place, and found eternal redemption; which redemption and satisfaction, unless we think insufficient, it were meet masses satisfactory to be taken away, and not to count Christ and his apostles either unlearned or unloving teachers, and who could not or would not teach a thing so necessary. Naucerus

does write, that Gregory III. gave commandment to priests to pray and offer for the dead. And though ancient writers make oft mention of prayer for the dead, yet they never allow any hireling to that purpose. *Leges August. ad Aurel. de coercenda temulentia.*—*Lincoln.*

It is one thing to sing satisfactory, and another to be hired to sing mass for the souls departed: for the first importeth, that the mass should be a satisfaction for the sins of the soul departed; which is not so, but the second, that is, to sing or pray for the souls departed, is a laudable custom, and seemeth to have some ground in Scripture; which custom hath been always continued from the apostles' time, and hath been used in the mass, as appeareth by ancient doctors, *Aust. Amb. Chrys.* and others; and therefore this to continue I think it meet. But to say mass for money, thinking it a commutation or just compensation betwixt the prayer and the money that he is hired for, I think it soundeth to avarice and simonie; and yet, *dignus est operarius mercede sua.* Like as, *Prædicans Evangelium sine sumptu debet ponere Evangelium, et tamen Dominus ordinavit his qui Evangelium annunciant de Evangelio vivere.*—*Elien.*

If by this be meant, that any thing, or action either of the priest, should be a full and perfect satisfaction of sins venial and mortal; I know we read not of any such satisfactory, neither would I say that priests be hired after that common fashion and contracts of the world, to sing for souls departed, but rather that they, as they be ordered to do, do say and sing their mass, having in their remembrance, both generally and specially, as shall most appertain both to the living and the dead; and then, as they be worthy, must have their livings by the altar which they serve, as St. Paul at large declareth. But as for the full and perfect satisfaction of all manner of sins, that is to be attributed only to Christ, his passion and justification; yet after the mind of St. Austin, St. Jerom, with others, *Pro non ralde malis propitiaciones fiant et levioribus peccatis, cum quibus obligati defuncti sunt, possunt post mortem absolvi, &c.*—*Carlile.*

That masses satisfactory should continue to be sung for souls departed, by priests hired thereunto, I think it not convenient.—*Roffen.*

I think that the word of God, and St. Paul, meant that all priests may offer gifts and sacrifices unto God for the offences of the people, (as it is written in the 5th of the Hebrews,) *Omnis Pontifex, &c.* and may receive and take (ministring the sacrament and sacramentals in the prayer to the congregation) a living for the same.—*Bristollen.*

Masses to be said for satisfaction of sin, (since Christ is the only satisfaction for all sin,) is an abuse not to be continued: and priests to be hired only to sing for souls departed, seemeth to be a superfluous function in Christ's church.—*Dr. Cox.*

Question 8.

Whether the Gospel ought to be taught at the time of the Mass, to the understanding of the People being present?

Answers.

I think it very convenient that the gospel, concerning the death of Christ and our redemption, should be taught to the people in the mass.—*Cantuarien.*

It is expedient that the gospel be taught at the time of the mass, to the understanding of the people being present.—*York.*

I think it not necessary to have a sermon at every mass, but the oftener the same is done to the edifying of the people (so that the service of their vocation be

not thereby defrauded), the more it is to be commended.—*London. &c.*

It is much convenient that the gospel be taught to the understanding of the people being present, when it may be. Howbeit, it is not so of the substance of the mass, but the mass may be done without it, and it is done at other times as well as at the mass.—*Dunelm.*

Christ distributing the sacrament to his disciples, does say, (as it is Luk. xxii.) “*Hoc facite in meam commemorationem* :” and if St. Paul doth thus write to the Corinthians, “*Quotiescunq; manducabitis panem hunc ac Calicem bibitis, mortem Domini annuntiabitis donec veniet.*” The glad tydings therefore, the great benefit that we receive by Christ’s death and sufferings (which we see as in a glass, in this holy sacrament), ought to be set forth and preached to the people, so oft as they come to the holy communion.—*Lincoln.*

That the gospel be read or taught at the time of the mass, that the people there present may understand ; it is good and godly, and convenient it should be so.—*Elien.*

I think it expedient and necessary, that as the king’s most excellent majesty, his most dear uncle my lord protector’s grace, with the most honourable council beside, hath already appointed and enjoined to be done, that at all such times as the people (as they ought) be most gathered together, in the principal and high mass, the gospel be taught and declared to the best understanding of the people.—*Carlisle.*

The annunciation of Christ’s death and passion, and the benefit of the same, that the forgiveness of sins, to all the true and faithful believers therein, ought evermore to be set forth in the mass to the edification of the people ; which thing cannot be done according to St. Paul’s mind and meaning, 1 Cor. xiv. as I suppose, except it be set forth to the people’s understanding.—*Roffen.*

I think it is not against God’s word, but the offer the same is done to the edifying of the people, received with devotion, and intending redress of life thereby, the more it is to be affected and used.—*Bristol.*

In the mass-time, it were convenient to have some doctrines, after the example of the primitive church, that at the blessed communion the people might be edified.—*Dr. Cor.*

Question 9.

Whether in the Mass it were convenient to use such speech as the people may understand ?

Answers.

I think it convenient to use the vulgar tongue in the mass, except in certain secret mysteries, whereof I doubt.—*Cantuar.*

It were convenient to use such speech in the mass as the people might understand.—*Eborac.*

To have the whole mass in English, I think it neither expedient, neither convenient.—*London. Hereford. Cicestren. Worcester. Norwicen. Assaven.*

It is convenient that the common Latin tongue to these west parts of Christendom be used in the mass, being the common-prayer of the whole church, namely, in the mysteries thereof, lest rude people should vilely prophane the holy mysteries thereof by contempt. Nevertheless certain prayers might be in the mother tongue, for the instruction and stirring of the devotion of the people, as shall be thought convenient.—*Dunelm.*

St. Paul would all things in the congregation, and publick assembly, so to be spoken that they might edify ; and in such a language, that the people present might say Amen to our thanksgiving. And long after the apostles’ times, all the people present did answer the priest (he speaking in a language that they did

understand), like as the clerk or boy doth now answer (as he is taught) in a language that he understands not. *Cypri habet de Cons. distinct. 1 Ca. Quando.*—*Lincoln.*

It was so used in Dalmatia in St. Hierom’s time, and in Sclavonia in Cyril’s time, who making suit to the court of Rome for the same, and the matter being debated in the consistory, and having many adversaries, suddenly there was heard a voice, as it were, from heaven ; “*Omnis Spiritus laudet Dominum, et omnis Lingua confiteatur ei.*” Whereupon Cyrillus had his petition granted him.—*Elien. Hæc jam mea est Opinio, sed, sic ut, auditis melioribus cedam.*

This question was deeply searched and tried for, in the most excellent and of highest memory king Henry the Eighth his time, by the best clerks of his realm, in his presence ; and then and there concluded, and upon that same by proclamation commanded, that Holy Scripture should not be evulgate in English. Yet after it was otherwise seen and provided for : therefore therein I would wish, that were most to the quiet edification of Christian people, and shall submit myself to my superiors and betters, submitting mine understanding to their judgments.—*Carlisle.*

I think it not only convenient that such speech should be used in the mass as the people might understand, but also to speak it with such an audible voice, that the people might hear it, that they be not defrauded of their own, which Saint Paul teacheth to belong to them ; and also that they may answer, as Cyprian saith, the people did in his days, *Habemus ad Dominum.* Nevertheless, as concerning that part that pertaineth to the consecration, Dyonise and Basil moveth me to think it no inconvenience, that part should be spoken in silence.—*Roffen.*

If the mass should be wholly in English, I think we should differ from the custom and manner of all other regions : therefore if it may stand with the king’s majesty’s pleasure, I think it not good to be said all in English.—*Per me Paulum Episcopum Bristolensem.*

Question 10.

When the Reservation of the Sacrament and the hanging up of the same first began ?

Answers.

The reservation of the sacrament began, I think, six or seven hundred years after Christ : the hanging up, I think, began of late time.—*Cantuar.*

Polidore Virgil doth write, that Innocentius the Third decreed the sacrament to be kept, to be in a readiness for the sick. And Honorius the Third confirmed the same ; adding, that it ought to be reserved *in loco singulari, mundo, et signato.* Commanding also the priests that they should often instruct the people reverently to bow down at the elevation-time, and when it is born to the sick. As for the hanging up of the sacrament over, or setting it upon the altar, is of a later time, not yet received in divers places of Christendom.—*Lincoln.*

Some Questions, with Answers made to them by the Bishops of Worcester, Chichester, and Hereford.*

The Question.

What or wherein John’s Fasting, giving Alms, being baptized, or receiving the Sacrament of Thanks in England, doth profit and avail Thomas dwelling in Italy, and not knowing what John in England doth ?

* These queries were put by Cranmer to those bishops ; but this paper is all in Bonner’s hand, with whom these three bishops agreed.—*STRYPE’S CORRECT.*

The Answer.

The distance of place doth not lett nor hinder the spiritual communion which is between one and another; so that John and Thomas, wheresoever they be, far asunder, or near together, being both lively members of Christ, receive either of other's goodness some commodity; although to limit what or wherein is unsearchable, and only pertaineth to the knowledge of God.—*Worcester. Chichester. Hereford.*

The Question.

Whether the said acts in John do profit them that be in heaven, and wherein?

The Answer.

Gaudium est in Cœlo super uno peccatore penitentiam agente, &c.—*Luc. xv.*

The Question.

Whether it lieth in the said John, to defraud any member of Christ's body of the benefit of his fasting, alms-deeds, baptism, or receiving of the sacrament, and to apply the same benefit to one person more than to another?

The Answer.

Charity defraudeth no man of any such benefit that might come to him; and it lieth in God only to apply the same, and not in any man, otherwise than by desire and prayer; but the better the man is, the more available his prayer is to them for whom he especially prayeth.

The Question.

What thing is the presentation of the body and blood of Christ in the Mass, which you call the oblation and sacrifice of Christ? and wherein standeth it, in act, gesture, or words? and in what act, gesture, or words?

The Answer.

The presentation, &c. standeth in such words, prayers, supplications, and actions, as the priest useth at the mass, having the body and blood of Christ there present in the sacrament.

The Question.

Is there any rite or prayer not expressed in the Scripture, which Christ used or commanded at the first institution of the Mass, which we be now bound to use; and what the same be?

The Answer.

That Christ used rites and prayers at the institution and distribution of the sacrament, the Scripture declareth: but what rites and prayers they were we know not; but I think we ought to use such rites and prayers as the catholick church hath, and doth uniformly observe

The Question.

Whether in the primitive church there were any priests that lived by saying of mass, matins, and even-song, and praying for souls only? And whether any such state of priesthood be allowed in the Scripture, or be meet to be allowed now?

The Answer.

There were priests in the primitive church which preached not, but exercised themselves in prayer for the quick and the dead, and other spiritual ministrations in the church; and accustomedly used common prayers both morning and evening; and such state of priesthood is not against the Scripture.

The Question.

For what cause it were not expedient nor convenient to have the whole mass in English?

The Answer.

This question is answered by Dyonise and Basil, De Spiritu Sancto; and also an uniformity of all churches in that thing is to be kept*.

NUMBER XXVI.

A Collection of some of the Chief Indulgences then in the English Offices.

HORÆ B. Mariæ Virg. ad usum Sarum, printed at Paris, 1526.

Folio 38.—To all them that be in the state of grace, that daily say devoutly this prayer before our blessed Lady of pity, she will shew them her blessed visage, and warn them the day and the hour of death; and in their last end, the angels of God shall yield their souls to heaven; and he shall obtain 500 years, and so many Lents of pardon, granted by five holy fathers, popes of Rome.

Folio 42.—Our holy father Sixtus the 4th, pope, hath granted to all them that devoutly say this prayer before the image of our Lady, the sum of 11,000 years of pardon.

Folio 44.—Our holy father the pope Sixtus hath granted, at the instance of the high-most and excellent princess Elizabeth, late queen of England, and wife to our sovereign liege lord king Henry the 7th, (God have mercy on her sweet soul, and all Christian souls!) that every day in the morning, after three tollings of the Ave-bell, say three times the whole salutation of our Lady, Ave Maria Gratia; that is to say, at six of the clock in the morning, three Ave Marias; at twelve of the clock at noon, three Ave Marias; and at six of the clock at even; for every time so doing, is granted of the spiritual treasure of holy church, 300 days of pardon, *toties quoties*. And also our holy father, the archbishop of Canterbury and York, with other nine bishops of this realm, have granted, three times in the day, forty days of pardon to all them that be in the state of grace, able to receive pardon; the which began the 26th day of March, anno 1492, Anno Henrici 7; and the sum of the indulgence and pardon for every Ave Maria, 860 days, *toties quoties*. This prayer shall be said at the tolling of the Ave-bell.

Folio 47.—Our holy father the pope Boniface hath granted to all them that devoutly say this lamentable contemplation of our blessed Lady, standing under the cross weeping, and having compassion with her sweet

* After these answers follows a reply by Crammer in other queries; as, "If you cannot tell what and where the acts of John can profit Thomas, being so far distant from him that he can never hear of him; why do you then affirm that to be true which you cannot tell how, nor wherein it can be true?"

"Whether our prayers for all the souls departed do profit the apostles, prophets, and martyrs?"

"Whether they know all the actions of every man here in earth? and if not, how do they rejoice of those good actions which they know not?"

"Whether our evil deeds do them hurt, as our good deeds profit them?"

"Whether the presentation of the body and blood of Christ do stand in all the words and actions that the priest useth in the mass which now we do use?"

"Whereby is it known that in the primitive church were priests that preached not?"

"Why may not we as well alter the mass into the English tongue, or alter the ceremonies of the same, as we alter the communion to be under both kynds, that in other churches is uniformly ministred to the people under one kind; seeing that the uniformity of all churches requireth no more the uniformity in one than in the other?"—*STURGE'S CORRECT.*

son Jesus, seven years of pardon, and forty Lents. And also pope John the 22nd hath granted 300 days of pardon.

Folio 50.—These be the fifteen Do's, the which the holy virgin S. Bridget was wont to say daily before the holy rood in S. Paul's church at Rome; whoso says this a whole year, shall deliver fifteen souls out of purgatory of his next kindred, and convert other fifteen sinners to good life; and other fifteen righteous men of his kind shall persevere in good life; and what ye desire of God ye shall have it, if it be to the salvation of your souls.

Folio 54.—To all them that before this image of pity devoutly say five Pater-nosters, and five Ave Marias, and a Credo, piteously beholding those arms of Christ's passion, are granted 32,755 years of pardon; and Sixtus the fourth pope of Rome hath made the fourth and the fifth prayer, and hath doubled his fore-said pardon.

Folio 56.—This epistle of our Saviour, sendeth our holy father Pope Leo to the emperor Carolo Magno; of the which we find written, Who that beareth this blessing upon him, and saith it once a day, shall obtain forty years of pardon and eighty lentings, and he shall not perish with sudden death.

Folio 57.—This prayer made by S. Austin, affirming who that says it daily kneeling, shall not die in sin, and after this life shall go to the everlasting joy and bliss.

Folio 58.—Our holy father the pope John 22d hath granted to all them that devoutly say this prayer after the elevation of our Lord Jesus Christ, 3000 days of pardon for deadly sins.

Ibid.—Our holy father the pope Bonifacius the 6th hath granted to all them that say devoutly this prayer following, between the elevation of our Lord and the three Agnus Dei, 10,000 years of pardon.

Folio 61.—Our holy father Sixtus the 4th hath granted to all them that be in the state of grace, saying this prayer following immediately after the elevation of the body of our Lord, clean remission of all their sins perpetually enduring. And also John the 3d, pope of Rome, at the request of the queen of England, hath granted to all them that devoutly say this prayer before the image of our Lord crucified, as many days of pardon as there were wounds in the body of our Lord in the time of his bitter passion, the which were 5465.

Folio 65.—These five petitions and prayers made S. Gregory, and hath granted unto all them that devoutly say these five prayers, with five Pater-nosters, five Ave Marias, and a Credo, 500 years of pardon.

Folio 66.—These three prayers be written in the chappel of the Holy Cross in Rome, otherwise called *Sacellum Sanctæ Crucis septem Romanorum*; who that devoutly say them, they shall obtain ten hundred thousand years of pardon for deadly sins, granted of our holy father John, 22d pope of Rome.

Folio 68.—Who that devoutly beholdeth these arms of our Lord Jesus Christ, shall obtain 6000 years of pardon of our holy father S. Peter, the first pope of Rome, and of thirty other popes of the church of Rome, successors after him. And our holy father Pope John the 22d hath granted unto all them, very contrite and truly confessed, that say these devout prayers following, in the commemoration of the bitter passion of our Lord Jesus Christ, 3000 years of pardon for deadly sins, and other 3000 for venial sins, and say first a Pater-noster and Ave Maria.

Folio 71.—Our holy father Pope Innocentius the 2d hath granted to all them that say this prayer devoutly

in the worship of the wound that our Lord had in his blessed side, when he was dead, hanging in the cross, 4000 days of pardon.

Folio 72.—This most devout prayer, said the holy father S. Bernard, daily kneeling in the worship of the most holy name Jesus. And it is well to believe, that through the invocation of the most excellent name of Jesu, S. Bernard obtained a singular ward of perpetual consolation of our Lord Jesu Christ. And these prayers written in a table that hanged at Rome in S. Peter's Church, nigh to the high altar there, as our holy father the pope evely is wont to say the office of the mass; and who that devoutly, with a contrite heart, daily say this orison, if he be that day in the state of eternal damnation, then his eternal pain shall be changed him in temporal pain of purgatory; then if he hath deserved the pain of purgatory, it shall be forgotten and forgiven, through the infinite mercy of God.

NUMBER XXVII.

Injunctions for a Visitation of Chaurtries.

[Ex MS. Dr. Johnson.]

To the parson, vicar, curat, chaurter, priests, churchwardens, and two of the most honest persons of the parish of _____ being no founders, patrons, donors, lessees, nor farmers of the promotions or corporations hereafter recited, nor of any part thereof, and to four of them at the least.

First, ye shall make diligent search and inquiry, immediately upon the receipt hereof, of the number; and how many chaurtries, hospitals, colleges, free chappels, fraternities, brotherhoods, guilds and salaries, or wages of stipendiary priests, being perpetuities now charged, or that ought to be charged, or chargeable, to the payment of the first fruits and tenths, and of all colleges chargeable and not chargeable to the said payment of tenths and first fruits, which be within your church and parish.

Also you shall enquire of the orders, ordinances, kinds, qualities, degrees, uses and abuses, or misuses, conditions, estates, and necessities, of and concerning all and every the said chantries, fraternities, guilds, stipends, or wages, and other the premises; and by what names, sir-names, corporations, or titles, they and every of them be taken or known; and to what intents, purposes, and deeds of charity they and every of them were founded, ordained, and made; and ye shall take into your hands, and also bring with you, at the day of your certificate, the foundations, and all other writings which you have or can attain, for the true declaration and proof of the same.

Also you shall enquire, how and what manner or sort the revenues and profits of the lands and possessions of all the aforesaid promotions, and every of them, be used, expended, imploied, or bestowed.

Also how many of the said promotions be parish churches.

Also how far space or distance the said chantries and chappels be, and stand from the parish churches of the parishes wherein they do stand.

Also ye shall enquire of all the houses, lands, tenths, rents, possessions and revenues, united, annexed, or appertaining to the aforesaid chantries, hospitals, guilds, and other promotions above said, and to every of them, and of the yearly value thereof, and shall make a true and perfect rental or other book thereof.

And ye shall enquire of all the resolutes, deductions, and yearly payments or charges going forth of the premises, and of every part thereof, and shall certify the same in writing; that is to say, for every chantry

or other the aforesaid promotions severally by itself; and over this, to bring with you all such rentals of the same, and every of them, as ye have or may attain or come by.

Also ye shall enquire of all the lands, rents, possessions, and hereditaments, which were or be united, annexed, or pertaining to the aforesaid promotions or corporations, or to any of them, which at any time since the 4th day of February, in the 27th year of the king's majesty's reign, did appertain or belong to them, or any of them, and of the goods, jewels, and ornaments, lately pertaining or belonging to the same.

Also ye shall enquire how many of the aforesaid chantries, hospitals, guilds, and other the aforesaid promotions and corporations, and what lands, rents, or parcels thereof, sithence the 4th day of February, in the 27th year of the reign of our aforesaid sovereign lord, been or have been dissolved, purchased, or by any other means or ways taken, entered unto, or obtained by any of the king's majesty's subjects, by their own authorities without the king's license.

And ye shall enquire of the lands, tenths, rents, and hereditaments thereof, and of the yearly value of the same, and of all the goods and ornaments of the same; and of the yearly resolutives, deductions, and payments going forth of the same; and shall make a true rental or book thereof, and shall certify the same particularly.

Also ye shall enquire of all the plate, jewels, ornaments, goods, and chattels, merely and truly pertaining or belonging to all the aforesaid promotions or corporations, and to every of them severally, and shall make one true inventory thereof, with the value of the same, and of every parcel thereof, that is to say, in true weight of all parcels of plate, chalices, and other; and the price or value of all other ornaments, goods, or chattels, and in whose hands or possession the same be or remain.

Also, finally, ye shall make ready and finish your certificate in writing, before the _____ of all and singular the premises, and of every article aforesaid severally, and not in gross, or in one whole article, as ye will answer and be sworn to the same: and that you, and every of you, being resident or remaining within the said parish, shall sign and seal the same; and ye shall send the same your certificate sealed unto us, at such day and place as hereafter shall be assigned unto you, by one of the most honest of the aforesaid church-wardens, and by all the incumbents of the chantries, chappels, hospitals; guilds and promotions aforesaid, if there be but one incumbent in the said promotions, or any of them; and if there be more incumbents than one in the said promotions, or any of them being of one foundation, that then one of the said incumbents, together with the said honest church-wardens, and other incumbents, being but one of one foundation, as is aforesaid. Foreseeing always, that your proceedings and certificate of the premises, and every part thereof, be executed, ordered, and done, with all diligence, substantially and truly, that the same may so appear unto us at our repair to view and survey the premises, as ye will then have condign thanks for the same, and avoiding your extream damage, which may ensue of the contrary.

Robert Archbishop. Sir Michael Stanhope.
Sir Leonard Bekworth. Mr. Robert Hennege. Mr. ——— Babthorpe. Mr. Wallay.
Mr. Norton. Mr. Chaloner. Mr. Gargrave.
Mr. ———, Auditor.

NUMBER XXVIII.

The Protector's Letter to Gardiner, concerning the Points he was to handle in his Sermon.

[Ex MS. Col. C. C. Cantab.]

WE commend us unto you: we sent to you yesterday our servant William Cecil, to signify unto you our pleasure and advice, that you should, in this your next sermon, forbear to intreat upon those principal questions, which remain among the number of learned men in this realm, as yet in controversy, concerning the sacrament of the altar, and the mass; as well for that your private argument or determination therein might offend the people, naturally expecting decisions of litigious causes, and thereby discord and tumult arise; the occasions whereof we must necessarily prevent and take away; as also for that the questions and controversies rest at this present in consultation, and, with the pleasure of God, shall be in small time, by publick doctrine and authority, quietly and truly determined. This message we send to you, not thinking but your own wisdom had considered so much in an apparent matter; or at the least, upon our remembrance, ye would understand it and follow it with good will, consulting thereby your own quiet in avoiding offence, as observing our pleasure in avoiding contention. Your answer thereunto, our said servant hath declared unto us in this manner. Ye can no wise forbear to speak of the sacrament, neither of the mass; this last being the chief foundation, as ye say, of our religion, and that without it we cannot know that Christ is our sacrifice; the other being so spoken of by many, that if you should not speak your mind thereof what ye think, you know what other men would think of you; in the end, concluding generally, that you will speak the truth, and that ye doubt not but that we shall be therewith content; adding also, as our said servant reporteth unto us, that you would not wish that we ourselves should meddle or have to do in these matters of religion, but that the care thereof were committed to you the bishops, unto whom the blame, if any should be deserved, might well be imputed.

To this your answer, if so it be, we reply very shortly, signifying unto you our express pleasure and commandment, on our sovereign lord the king's majesty's behalf, charging you, by the authority of the same, to abstain in your said sermon from treating of any matter, in controversy concerning the said sacrament and the mass, and only to bestow your speech in the expert explication of the articles prescribed unto you, and in other wholesome matter, of obedience of the people, and good conversation and living; the same matters being both large enough for a long sermon, and not unnecessary for the time. And the treaty of other, which we forbid you not meet in your private sermon to be had, but necessarily reserved for a publick consultation, and at this present utterly to be forborn for the common quiet.

This our express pleasure, wherein we know how reasonably we may command you, and you (we think) know how willingly ye ought to obey us. For our intermeddling with these causes of religion, understand you, that we account it no small part of our charge, under the king's majesty, to bring his people from ignorance to knowledge, and from superstition to true religion, esteeming that the chief foundation to build obedience upon: and where there is a full consent of others, the bishops and learned men, in a truth, not to suffer you, or a few other, with wilful headiness, to dissuade all the rest. And although we presume not to determine articles of religion by ourself, yet from God we knowledge it, we be desirous to defend and

advance the truth, determined or revealed, and so consequently we will not fail, but withstand the disturbers thereof. So fare you well. From Sion, June 28, anno 1548.

Your loving friend,
E. SOMERSET.

NUMBER XXIX.

Some of the Collects and Hymns to the Saints in the Hours ad usum Sarum, printed at Paris, Anno 1520. In which, immediate Adoration is offered to them, and those things are asked of them which God only gives.

SANCTA Dei Genetrix, quæ digne meruisti concipere, quem totus orbis nequivit comprehendere; tuo pio interventu, culpas nostras ablue, ut perennis sedem gloriæ, per te redempti, valeamus scandere, ubi manes cum Filio tuo sine tempore.

Folio 4. Sancte Panthaleon Martyr Christi, militari ordine fuisti, quo promeruisti;—Demum heremiticum vitam acquisisti.—Tu vero hydropicum sanum reddidisti—Missus in equuleo ungues perdidisti—Costas cum lampadibus adustus fuisti—Collum subdens gladio pronus pertulisti—Fundens lac pro sanguine vitam sic finisti—Cunctas febres dilue a plebe tam tristi—Qui Cœlestis Gloriæ Regna meruisti.

Tu per Thomæ sanguinem, quem pro te impendit, fac nos Christe scandere, quo Thomas ascendit—Versicle gloria et honore coronasti cum Domine : Resp. et constituisti eum supra opera manuum tuarum.

Folio 11. S. Panthaleon. Ut ejus meritis et precibus a gehennæ incendiis liberemur.

Folio 12. S. Tho. Cant. Sancta Maria succurre miseris, Juva pusillanimes, re fove febiles, ora pro populo, interveni pro clero, intercede pro devoto femineo sexu.

Folio 30. Virgo singularis, inter omnes mitis, non culpis solutos, mites fac et castos : Vitam præstā puram, iter paratum, ut videntes Jesum, semper collatēmur.

Folio 12. of Pope Nicolaus. And so in many other places. Folio 30. A Prayer to the Virgin, to the sayers of which Pope Cælestine granted three hundred days of pardon : a part of which is,

Consolare peccatorem, et ne tuum deshonorem, alieno vel crudeli ; precor te Regina Cœli. Me habeto excusatum, apud Christum tuum natum, cujus iram expavesco, et furorem pertimesco, nam peccavi tibi soli. O Maria Virgo, noli esse mihi aliena, gratia Cœlesti plena ; esto custos cordis mei, signa me timore Dei, confer vitæ sanitatem, et da morum honestatem : Et da peccata me vitare, et quod justum est amare. O dulcedo Virginalis, nunquam fuit nec est talis, &c.

Folio 44. Georgi Martyr inclite, te decet laus et gloria : prædotatum militia, per quem puella Regia, existens in tristitia, coram Dracone pessimo, salvata est, et animo ; te rogamus corde intimo, ut cum cunctis fidelibus, Cœli jungamur civibus, nostris abluti sordibus, ut simul cum lætitia, tecum simus in gloria, nostraq; reddant labia laudes Christo cum gloria.

Martyr Christophore, pro salvatoris honore, fac nos mente fore, dignos Deitatis amore, Promisso Christi, quia quod petis obtinuisti, da populo tristi, bona quæ moriendo petisti : confer solamen, et mentis tolle gravamen ; judicis examen, fac mite sit omnibus Amen.

Ibid. St. Christoph. O Willielme Pastor bone, Cleri pater et patrone, munda nobis in agone, confer opem et depone vitæ sordes, et Coronæ Cœlestis da gaudia,

Folio 77. S. George. Folio 77. S. George.

Folio 77. S. George. Folio 77. S. George.

Folio 77. S. George. Folio 77. S. George.

Folio 80. O vos undena millia, puella gloriosæ, 11,000 Virgins. virginittatis lilia, Martyrii Rosæ, in vita me defendite, præbendo nihil juvenem, in morte vos ostendite supremum ferendo solamen.

To St. Alban.

Te nunc petimus patrone, præco sedule, qui es nostra vera gloria, solve precum votis, servorum scelera.

To St. Peter and St. Paul.

Beate Petre qui Maxima reseras, claudis verbo Cœli limina, sume pius vota fidelia, peccati cuncta dissolvendo vincula : Sacra Pauleingere dogmata, illustrans plebis pectora.

In die omnium Sanctorum.

Mariam primam vox sonet nostra, per quam nobis vitæ sunt data præmia : Regina quæ es Mater, et casta, solve nostra per Filium peccamina : Angelorum concio sacra, et Arch-Angelorum turma inclita, nostra diluant jam peccata præstando supernam Cœli gloriam.

NUMBER XXX.

Dr. Redmayn's Opinion concerning the Marriage of the Clergie.—An original.

[Ex MS. Col. C. C. Cantab.]

I THINK that although the word of God does exhort and counsel priests to live in chastity, out of the number of the flesh and of the world, that thereby they may wholly attend to their calling; yet the bond of containing from marriage doth only lie upon priests in this realm, by reason of canons and constitutions of the church, and not by any precept of God's word, as in that they should be bound by any vow: which (in as far as my conscience is) priests in this church of England do not make.

I think that it standeth well with God's word, that a man which hath been, or is but once married, being otherwise accordingly qualified, may be made a priest.

And I do think, that forasmuch as canons and rules made in this behalf are neither universal nor everlasting, but upon considerations may be altered and changed; therefore the king's majesty, and the higher powers of the church, may, upon such reasons as shall move them, take away the clog of perpetual continence from priests, and grant that it may be lawful for such as cannot, or will not contain, to marry a wife; and if she die, then the said priest to marry no more, remaining still in the ministration.

JOHN REDMAYN.

NUMBER XXXI.

Articles of High Treason and other misdemeanours against the King's Majesty and his Crown, objected to Sir Thomas Seymour, Kt. Lord Seymour of Sudley, and High Admiral of England.

[Ex Libro Concilii, Fol. 236.]

1. WHEREAS the duke of Somerset was made governor over the king's majesty's person, and protector of all his realms and dominions, and subjects; to the which you yourself did agree, and gave your consent in writing; it is objected, and laid unto your charge, that this notwithstanding, you have attempted and gone about, by indirect means, to undo this order, and to get into your hands the government of the king's majesty, to the great danger of his highness' person, and the subversion of the state of the realm.

2. It is objected and laid to your charge, that by corrupting with gifts, and fair promises, divers of the privy chamber, you went about to allure his highness to condescend and agree to the same your most heinous and perilous purposes, to the great danger of

his highness' person, and of the subversion of the state of the realm.

3. It is objected, and laid unto your charge, that you wrote a letter with your own hand; which letter the king's majesty should have subscribed, or written again after that copy, to the parliament-house; and that you delivered the same to his highness for that intent: with the which so written by his highness, or subscribed, you had determined to have come into the commons-house yourself, and there, with your fautors and adherents before prepared, to have made a broil, or tumult, or uproar, to the great danger of the king's majesty's person, and subversion of the state of this realm.

4. It is objected, and laid unto your charge, that you yourself spake to divers of the council, and laboured with divers of the nobility of the realm, to stick and adhere unto you for the alteration of the state, and order of the realm, and to attain your other purposes, to the danger of the king's majesty's person, now in his tender years, and subversion of the state of the realm.

5. It is objected, and laid under your charge, that you did say openly and plainly, you would make the blackest parliament that ever was in England.

6. It is objected, and laid to your charge, that being sent for by the authority, to answer to such things as were thought meet to be reformed in you, you refused to come: to a very evil example of disobedience, and danger thereby of the subversion of the state of the realm.

7. It is objected, and laid to your charge, that sith the last sessions of this parliament, notwithstanding much clemency shewed unto you, you have still continued in your former mischievous purposes; and continually, by yourself and other, studied and laboured to put into the king's majesty's head and mind, a misliking of the government of the realm, and of the lord protector's doings, to the danger of his person, and the great peril of the realm.

8. It is objected, and laid to your charge, that the king's majesty being of those tender years, and as yet by age unable to direct his own things, you have gone about to instill into his grace's head, and, as much as lieth in you, perswaded him to take upon himself the government and managing of his own affairs, to the danger of his highness' person, and great peril of the whole realm.

9. It is objected, and laid to your charge, that you had fully intended and appointed to have taken the king's majesty's person into your own hands and custody, to the danger of his subjects and peril of the realm.

10. It is objected, and laid to your charge, that you have corrupted with money, certain of the privy chamber, to perswade the king's majesty to have a credit towards you; and so to insinuate you to his grace, that when he lacked any thing, he should have it of you and none other body, to the intent he should mislike his ordering, and that you might the better, when you saw time, use the king's highness for an instrument to this purpose, to the danger of his royal person, and subversion of the state of the realm.

11. It is objected, and laid unto your charge, that you promised the marriage of the king's majesty at your will and pleasure.

12. It is objected, and laid unto your charge, that you have laboured and gone about to combine and confederate yourself with some persons: and specially moved those noblemen, whom you thought not to be contented, to depart into their countries, and make themselves strong; and otherwise to allure them to serve your purpose by gentle promises and offers, to

have a party and faction in readiness to all your purposes, to the danger of the king's majesty's person, and peril of the state of the realm.

13. It is objected, and laid unto your charge, that you have parted, as it were, in your imagination and intent the realm, to set noblemen to countervail such other noblemen as you thought would let your devilish purposes, and so laboured to be strong to all your devices; to the great danger of the king's majesty's person, and great peril of the state of the realm.

14. It is objected, and laid unto your charge, that you had advised certain men to entertain and win the favour and good-wills of the head yeomen and ring-leaders of certain countries, to the intent that they might bring the multitude and commons, when you should think meet, to the furtherance of your purposes.

15. It is objected, and laid to your charge, that you have not only studied and imagined how to have the rule of a number of men in your hands, but that you have attempted to get, and also gotten, divers stewardships of noblemen's lands, and their manors, to make your party stronger, for your purposes aforesaid; to the danger of the king's majesty's person, and great peril of the state of the realm.

16. It is objected, and laid to your charge, that you have retained young gentlemen, and hired yeomen, to a great multitude, and far above such number as is permitted by the laws and statutes of the realm, or were otherwise necessary or convenient for your service, place, or estate, to the fortifying of yourself towards all your evil intents and purposes; to the great danger of the king's majesty, and peril of the state of the realm.

17. It is objected, and laid to your charge, that you had so travailed in that matter, that you had made yourself able to make, of your own men, out of your lands, and rules, and other your adherents, 10,000 men, besides your friends, to the advancement of all your intents and purposes; to the danger of the king's majesty's person, and the great peril of the state of the realm.

18. It is objected, and laid unto your charge, that you had conferred, cast, and weighed so much money as would find the said 10,000 men for a month; and that you knew how and where to have the same sum: and that you had given warning to have and prepare the said mass of money in a readiness; to the danger of the king's majesty's person, and great peril to the state of the realm.

19. It is objected, and laid unto your charge, that you have not only, before you married the queen, attempted and gone about to marry the king's majesty's sister, the lady Elizabeth, second inheritor, in remainder to the crown, but also being then let by the lord protector, and others of the council, sithence that time, both in the life of the queen, continued your old labour and love; and after her death, by secret and crafty means, practised to achieve the said purpose of marrying the said lady Elizabeth; to the danger of the king's majesty's person, and peril of the state of the same.

20. It is objected, and laid to your charge, that you married the late queen so soon after the late king's death, that if she had conceived straight after, it should have been a great doubt whether the child born should have been accounted the late king's or yours; whereupon a marvellous danger and peril might, and was like to have ensued to the king's majesty's succession, and quiet of the realm.

21. It is objected, and laid unto your charge, that you first married the queen privately, and did dissemble and keep close the same, inasmuch that a good space after you had married her, you made labour to the

king's majesty, and obtained a letter of his majesty's hand, to move and require the said queen to marry with you; and likewise procured the lord protector to speak to the queen to bear you her favour towards marriage; by the which colouring, not only your evil and dissembling nature may be known, but also it is to be feared that at this present you did intend to use the same practice in the marriage of the lady Elizabeth's grace.

22. It is objected, and laid unto your charge, that you not only, so much as lay in you, did stop and lett all such things as, either by parliament or otherwise, should tend to the advancement of the king's majesty's affairs, but did withdraw yourself from the king's majesty's service; and being moved and spoken unto, for your own honour, and for the ability that was in you, to serve and aid the king's majesty's affairs, and the lord protector's, you would always draw back, and feign excuses, and declare plainly that you would not do it.

Wherefore upon the discourse of all these aforesaid things, and of divers others, it must needs be intended, that all these preparations of men and money, the attempts and secret practices of the said marriage; the abusing and perswading of the king's majesty, to mislike the government, state, and order of the realm that now is, and to take the government into his own hands; and to credit you, was to none other end and purpose, but after a little gotten to the crown, and your party made strong both by sea and land, with furniture of men and money sufficient, to have aspired to the dignity royal, by some hainous enterprise against the king's majesty's person; to the subversion of the whole state of the realm.

23. It is objected, and laid unto your charge, that you not only had gotten into your hands the strong and dangerous Isles of Silly, bought of divers men; but that so much as lay in your power, you travailed also to have Londay; and under pretence to have victualled the ships therewith, not only went about, but also moved the lord protector, and whole council, that you might, by publick authority, have that, which by private fraud and falshood, and confederating with Sharington, you had gotten, that is, the Mint at Bristol, to be yours wholly, and only to serve your purposes, casting, as may appear, that if these traitorous purposes had no good success, yet you might thither convey a good mass of money; where being aided with ships, and conspiring at all evil events with pirates, you might at all times have a sure and safe refuge, if any thing for your demerits should have been attempted against you.

24. It is also objected, and laid unto your charge, that having knowledge that Sir William Sharington, kt. had committed treason, and otherwise wonderfully defrauded and deceived the king's majesty, nevertheless you both by yourself, and seeking counsel for him, and by all means you could, did aid, assist, and bear him contrary to your allegiance and duty to the king's majesty, and the good laws and orders of the realm.

25. It is objected, and laid unto your charge, that where you owed to sir William Sharington, kt. a great sum of money, yet to abet, bear, and cloak the great falshood of the said Sharington, and to defraud the king's majesty, you were not afraid to say and affirm before the lord protector and the council, that the same Sharington did owe unto you a great sum of money, viz. 2800*l*. and to conspire with him in that falshood and take a bill of that feigned debt into your custody.

26. It is objected, and laid unto your charge, that you by yourself and ministers have not only extorted and bribed great sums of money of all such ships as should go into island, but also as should go any other where in merchandise, contrary to the liberty of th'

realm, and to the great discouragement and destruction of the navy of the same; to the great danger of the king's majesty, and the state of the realm.

27. It is objected, and laid unto your charge, that where divers merchants, as well strangers as Englishmen, have had their goods piratiously robbed and taken, you have had their goods in your hands and custody, daily seen in your house, and distributed among your servants and friends, without any restitution to the parties so injured and spoiled; so that thereby foreign princes have in a manner been weary of the king's majesty's mity, and by their ambassadors divers times complained; to the great slander of the king's majesty, and danger of the state of the realm.

28. It is objected, and laid unto your charge, that where certain men have taken certain pirates, you have not only taken from the takers of the said pirates all the goods and ships so taken, without any reward, but have cast the said takers, for their good service done to the king's majesty, into prison, and there detained them a great time, some eight weeks, some more, some less, to the discouraging of such as truly should serve the king's majesty against his pirates and enemies.

29. It is objected, and laid unto your charge, that divers of the head pirates being brought unto you, you have let the same pirates go again free unto the seas; and taking away from the takers of them, not only all their commodity and profit, but from the true owners of the ships and goods all such as ever came into the pirates' hands, as though you were authorized to be the chief pirate, and to have had all the advantage they could bring unto you.

30. It is objected, and laid unto your charge, that where order hath been taken, by the lord protector and the whole council, that certain goods, piratically taken upon the seas, and otherwise known not to be wrecked nor forfeited, should be restored to the true owners, and letters thereupon written by the lord protector and the council; to the which letters, you yourself, among the other, did set to your hand; yet you, this notwithstanding, have given commandment to your officers, that no such letters should be obeyed; and written your private letters to the contrary, commanding the said goods not to be restored, but kept to your own use and profit, contrary to your own hand before in the council-chamber written, and contrary to your duty and allegiance, and to the perilous example of others, and great slander and danger of the realm.

31. It is objected, and laid unto your charge, that where certain strangers, which were friends and allies to the king's majesty, had their ships, with wind and weather broken, and yet came unwrecked to the shore; when the lord protector and the council had written for the restitution of the said goods, and to the country to aid and save so much of the goods as might, you yourself subscribing and consenting thereto; yet this notwithstanding, you have not only given contrary commandment to your officers, but as a pirate have written letters to some of your friends to help, that as much of these goods as they could, should be conveyed away secretly by night further off, upon hope that if the same goods were assured, the owners would make no further labour for them, and then you might have enjoyed them; contrary to justice and your honour, and to the great slander of this realm.

32. It is objected, and laid unto your charge, that you have not only disclosed the king's majesty's secret council, but also where you yourself, amongst the rest, have consented and agreed to certain things for the advancement of the king's affairs, you have spoken and laboured against the same.

33. It is further objected, and laid unto your charge, that your deputy steward, and other your ministers of

the Holt, in the county of Denbigh, have now, against Christmass last past, at the said Holt, made such provision of wheat, malt, beefs, and other such things as be necessary for the sustentance of a great number of men; making also, by all the means possible, a great mass of money; insomuch that all the country doth greatly marvel at it, and the more, because your servants have spread rumours abroad, that the king's majesty was dead; whereupon the country is in a great maze, doubt, and expectation, looking for some broil, and would have been more, if at this present, by your apprehension, it had not been staid.

The Lord Admiral's Answer to three of the former Articles.

To the first, he saith, that about Easter-tyde was twelve-months, he said to Fowler, as he supposeth it was, that if he might have the king in his custody as Mr. Page had, he would be glad; and that he thought a man might bring him through the gallery to his chamber, and so to his house: but this he said he spoke merrily, meaning no hurt. And that in the mean time after he heard, and upon that sought out certain precedents, that there was in England at one time, one protector, and another regent of France, and the duke of Exeter, and the bishop of Winchester, governors of the king's person; upon that he had thought to have made suit to the parliament-house for that purpose, and he had the names of all the lords, and totted them whom he thought he might have to his purpose to labour them. But afterwards communing with Mr. Comptroller at Ely-place, being put in remembrance by him of his assenting and agreeing with his own hand, that the lord protector should be governor of the king's person, he was ashamed of his doings, and left off that suit and labour.

To the second he saith, he gave money to two or three of them which were about the king. To Mr. Cheek he saith, he gave at Christmass-tide was twelve-months, when the queen was at Enfield, 40*l.*, whereof to himself 20*l.*, the other for the king, to bestow where it pleased his grace amongst his servants. Mr. Cheek was very loth to take it, howbeit he would needs press that upon him; and to him he gave no more, at no time as he remembreth, sith the king's majesty was crowned.

To the grooms of the chamber he hath at Newyears-tydes given money, he doth not well remember what.

To Fowler, he saith, he gave money for the king, sith the beginning of this parliament now last at London, 20*l.*

And divers times, he saith, the king hath sent to him for money, and he hath sent it. And what time Mr. Latimer preached before the king, the king sent to him to know what he should give Mr. Latimer, and he sent to him by Fowler 40*l.* with this word, that 20*l.* was a good reward for Mr. Latimer, and the other he might bestow amongst his servants; whether he hath given Fowler any money for himself he doth not remember.

To the third, he saith, it is true, he drew such a bill indeed himself, and proffered it to the king, or else to Mr. Cheek, he cannot well tell; and before that, he saith, he caused the king to be moved by Mr. Fowler, whether he could be contented that he should have the governance of him as Mr. Stanhope had. He knoweth not what answer he had; but upon that he drew the said bill to that effect, that his majesty was content, but what answer he had to the bill he cannot tell, Mr. Cheek can tell.

NUMBER XXXII.

The Warrant for the Admiral's Execution.

[Ex Libro Concilii, Fol. 247.]

March 17.

THIS day, the 17th of March, the lord chancellor, and the rest of the king's council, meeting in his highness' palace of Westminster, heard the report of the bishop of Ely, who by the said lords, and others of the council, was sent to instruct and comfort the lord admiral; after the hearing whereof, consulting and deliberating with themselves of the time most convenient for the execution of the said lord admiral, now attainted and condemned by the parliament, they did condescend and agree, that the said lord admiral should be executed the Wednesday next following, betwixt the hours of nine and twelve in the forenoon of the same day, upon Tower-hill. His body and head to be buried within the Tower. The king's writ (as in such cases as heretofore hath been accustomed) being first directed and sent forth for that purpose and effect. Whereupon calling to the council-chamber the bishop of Ely, they willed him to declare this their determination to the said lord admiral; and to instruct and teach him, the best he could, to the quiet and patient suffering of justice, and to prepare himself to Almighty God.

E. Somerset, T. Cantuarien., R. Rich., chancel., W. St. John, J. Russel, J. Warwick, F. Shrewsbury, Thomas Southampton, William Paget, Anthony Wingfield, William Petre, A. Denny, Edward North, R. Sadler.

NUMBER XXXIII.

Articles to be followed and observed, according to the King's Majesty's Injunctions and Proceedings.

[Ex MS. Dr. Johnson.]

1. THAT all parsons, vicars, and curats, omit in the reading of the injunctions all such as make mention of the popish mass, of chantries, of candles upon the altar, or any other such-like thing.

2. *Item.* For an uniformity, that no minister do counterfeit the popish mass, as to kiss the Lord's table; washing his fingers at every time in the communion; blessing his eyes with the paten or sudary, or crossing his head with the paten, shifting of the book from one place to another, laying down and licking the chalice of the communion; holding up his fingers, hands, or thumbs, joined towards his temples; breathing upon the bread or chalice; showing the sacrament openly before the distribution of the communion; ringing or scrying bells, or setting any light upon the Lord's board at any time; and finally, to use no other ceremonies than are appointed in the king's book of common prayers, or kneeling otherwise than is in the said book.

3. *Item.* That none buy or sell the holy communion, as in trentals and such other.

4. *Item.* That none be suffered to pray upon beads, and so the people to be diligently admonished; and such as will not be admonished to put from the holy communion.

5. *Item.* That after the homily, every Sunday, the minister exhort the people, especially the communicants, to remember the poor men's box with their charity.

6. *Item.* To receive no corpse but at the churchyard, without bell or cross.

7. *Item.* That the common prayer, upon Wednesdays and Fridays, be diligently kept, according to the

king's ordinances, exhorting such as may conveniently come to be there.

8. *Item.* That the curats, every sixth week at the least, teach and declare diligently the catechism, according to the book of the same.

9. *Item.* That no man maintain purgatory, invocation of saints, the six articles, bedrolls, images, reliques, lights, holy bells, holy beads, holy water, palms, ashes, candles, sepulchres paschal, creeping to the cross, hallowing of the font of the popish manner, oil, chrisme, altars, beads, or any other such abuses and superstitions, contrary to the king's majesty's proceedings.

10. *Item.* That within any church or chappel be not used any more than one communion upon any day, except Christmass-day and Easter-day.

11. *Item.* That none keep the abrogate hollydays, other than those that have their proper and peculiar service.

12. *Item.* That the church-wardens suffer no buying nor selling, gaming, or unfitting demeanour, in church or churchyards; especially during the common prayer, the sermon, and reading of the homily.

13. *Item.* That going to the sick with the sacrament, the minister have not with him either light or bells.

NUMBER XXXIV.

A Paper written by Iuther to Bucer concerning Reconciliation with the Zuinglians. An Original.

[Ex MS. Col. C. C. Cantab.]

PRIMO : Ut nullo modo concedamus de nobis dici, quod neutri neutros ante Intellexerunt : Nam isto Pharmaco non medebimur tanto vulnere : cum nec ipsi credamus utrimque hoc verum esse, et alii putabunt a nobis hoc fingi ; ut ita magis suspectam reddemus causam, vel potius per totum dubiam faciemus ; cum sit communis omnium, ut in tantis animorum turbis et scrupulis non expedit hoc nomine addere offendiculum.

Secundo : Cum hactenus dissenserimus, quod illi signum, nos Corpus Christi asseruerimus plane contrarii : Nihilominus mihi videtur utile, ut mediam, ut novam statuamus sententiam, qua et illi concedant Christum adesse vere, et nos concedamus panem solum manducari. Considerandum certe est, quantum hic fenestram aperiemus in re omnibus communi cogitandi et Orientium hinc fontes questionum et opinionum

*. Ut tutius multo sit illos simpliciter manere in suo signo, cum nec ipsi suam, nec nos nostram partem, multo minus utriq; totum orbem pertrahemus in eam sententiam ; Sed potius irritabimus ad varias Cogitationes. Ideo vellem potius ut sopitum maneret dissidium in duabus istis sententiis, quam ut occasio daretur infinitis quæstionibus ad Epicurismum profuturis.

Istis salvis, nihil est quod a me peti possit : nam ut ego hoc dissidium vellem (testis est mihi Christus meus) redemptum Corpore et Sanguine meo. Sed quid faciam ? Ipsi forte Conscientia bona sunt in altera sententia. Feramus igitur eos : si sinceri sunt, liberalit eos Christus Dominus. Ego contra captus sum bona mea Conscientia, nisi ipsi mihi sum ignotus, in eadem sententiam : ferant et me, si non possunt mihi accedere.

* Here a word is wanting ; it is like it should be *Oculi* *deudi*.

NUMBER XXXV.

The Sentence against Joan of Kent, with the Certificate made upon it.

[Regis. Cran. Fol. 175.]

IN Dei Nomine, Amen. Nos Thomas, Permissione Divina Cantuarien. Archiepiscopus, totius Angliæ Primas et Metropolitanus, Thomas Smith Miles, Willielmus Cooke Decanus de Arcubus, Hugo Latimer Sacræ Theologiæ Professor, et Richardus Lyell Legum Doctor, illustrissimi, invictissimi in Christo Principis et Domini nostri Domini Edwardi Sexti, Dei Gratia Angliæ, &c. per Literas suas Regias Patentes, * dat. duodecimo die mensis Aprilis, Anno Regni sui tertio, contra te Joannam Bocher, alias nuncupatam Joannam de Kente, coram nobis super hæretica pravitare, juxta et secundum Commissionem dicti Domini nostri Regis detectam et declaratam, ac in ea parte apud bonos et graves Notorie et Publice, diffamatam, rite et legitime procedentes, auditis, visis, intellectis, cognitis, rimatis, et matura deliberatione discussis et ponderatis dicti negotii meritis et circumstantiis, servatisq; in omnibus et per omnia in eodem negotio de jure servandis in quomodolibet requisitis : judicialiter et pro tribunali sedentes, Christi nomine invocato ac ipsum solum Deum præ oculis nostris habentes ; Quia per acta inactitata, deducta, probata, confessata, ac per te sæpius coram nobis in eodem negotio recognita, comperimus et clare invenimus te, tum per confessiones, tum per recognitiones tuas coram nobis judicialiter factas, nefandum et intollerabilem errorem, hæresin damnatam et scandalosam opinionem subscriptam, juri Divino et Fidei Catholicæ obviantem, contrariam et repugnantem : viz. " That you believe that the Word was made flesh in the Virgin's belly ; but that Christ took flesh of the Virgin, you believe not ; because the flesh of the Virgin, being the outward man, was sinfully gotten and born in sin ; but the Word, by the consent of the inward man of the Virgin, was made flesh." Manutenuisse quem eundem errorem, hæresin damnatam et scandalosam opinionem. juri Divino et Fidei Catholicæ obviantem, contrariam et repugnantem, &c. Idcirco nos Thomas Archiep. &c. te Joannam Bocher, alias Joannam de Kente predictam, de meritis, culpis, obstinaciis et contumaciis, &c. de et super horrendo hæreticæ pravitatis reatu confessam, ad Ecclesiæ unitatem redire nolentem, hæreticam opinionem credentem, præmissorum prætextu fuisse et esse, cum animi dolore et cordis amaritudine Judicamus, teq; ex nunc tanquam pertinacem et obstinatam hæreticam, judicio sive curiæ seculari ad omnem juris effectum, qui exinde sequi debeat, aut poterit, relinquendam fore decernimus et declaramus, et sic per præsentem de facto relinquimus ; Teq; Joannam Bocher, alias Joannam de Kent, memoratam hæreticam, pertinacem, in majoris Excommunicationis sententiam occasione præmissorum incidisse et incurrisse, necnon excommunicatam fuisse et esse, etiam sententialiter et definitive pronunciamus et declaramus, per hanc nostram sententiam definitivam, quam ferimus et promulgamus in his scriptis. Lecta fuit hæc sententia per prænominatos, Reverendum, &c.

Sermo factus Domino Regi contra Joannam Bocher, alias dictam Joannam de Kent, pro Brachio Seculari.

Illustrissimo et Invictissimo in Christo Principi, Domino nostro Edwardo Sexto, Dei Gratia Angliæ, &c. Thomas Permissione Divina Cantuarien. &c. Thomas Smith et Commissarii prædicti et Inquisitores vestræ Celsitudinis, per Literas vestras Regias Patentes, dat. 12 Aprilis, Anno Regni vestri tertio, sufficienter et legitime deputati honorem et perpetuam

foelicitatem in eo, per quam Reges regnant et principes dominantur. Vestræ Regiæ Celsitudini, Tenore præsentum significamus, quod nos adversus quandam, Joannam Bocher alias Joannam de Kent dictam, subditam vestram de et super nefando Crimine Hæreseos ac detestanda Anabaptistarum Secta apud bonos et graves enormiter defamatam, et super reatu earundem nobis detectam, delatam et denuntiatam, rite et legitime juxta literarum vestrarum Regiarum Commissionarium exigentiam, et tenorem procedentes, eandem Joannam, per nos examinatam, comperimus et invenimus Errores, Hæreses et damnatas Opiniones pertinaciter animo indurato sæpenumero manutenuisse, defendisse et in eisdem permansisse, et ab eisdem nullo modo resipuisse, nec resipiscere curasse; sed ad Sanctæ Matris Ecclesiæ gremium redire penitus neglexisse: Ideo, cum animi amaritudine et cordis dolore, eandem Joannam, sæpius monitam et per nos ad Ecclesiæ unitatem redire hortatam, salutaribus nostris monitis parere omnino spernentem, de et cum consensu Collegarum nostrorum, tanquam ovem morbidam a grege Domini (ne alios viros subditos sua contagione inficiat) ejiciendam et eliminandam fore decrevimus, ipsamque Joannam occasione iniquitatis suæ inveteratæ, hæreticam ac hæreticis Opinionibus credentem, mediante nostra sententia definitivæ, pronuntiavimus et decrevimus. Cum igitur Sancta Mater Ecclesia non habeat, quod ulterius facere et exequi debeat, in hac parte vestræ Regiæ sublimitati et brachio vestro seculari dictam Hæreticam et relapsam relinquimus, condigna animadversione plectendam. In cujus rei testimonium, Nos Thomas Archiep. &c. Commissarius vester humillimus supradictus, de consensu Collegarum nostrorum, hic se subscribentium, Sigillum nostrum Archiepiscopale præsentibus apponi fecimus. Datum ultimo die mensis Aprilis, Anno Dom. 1549, et Regni vestri foelicissimi Anno tertio.

Folio 178. After this followeth the process and sentence of condemnation of one George van Parre, a Dutchman, for obstinately maintaining the like opinions; together with a petition imploring the execution thereof, and the assistance of the secular power, conform to the tenour of that above written, bearing date the 6th of April, Anno Dom. 1551.

The judges and commissioners of this process were, Thomas archbishop of Canterbury, Nicholas bishop of London, William May, Griffin Leyson, John Oliver, Miles Coverdale, Richard Lyell, John Gosnold, and Christopher Nevison.

His heresy that he believeth is, that "God the Father is only God; and that Christ is not very God, is non-heresy." And being asked by an interpreter, whether he would abjure the said opinion? he answered, "No."

NUMBER XXXVI.

A Letter from the Protector to Sir Philip Hobbey, concerning the Rebelloons at Home.

[Cotton Libr. Galba. B. 12.]

KNOWING that all such as be ambassadors abroad are not only desirous of news, for the love they bear to their own country naturally, desiring often to hear of the estate of it, but also to confirm and confute such rumours as be spread in the parts where they lie, we have thought good to impart what with our last letters hath chanced. The Devonshire men are well chastised and appeased; three other of their captains have

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voluntarily come in, and simply submitted themselves to sir Thomas Pomery, kt., Wise and Harrice, who before were fled, and could not be found; and the country cometh in daily to my lord privy seal by hundreds and thousands, to crave their pardon, and be put in some sure hope of grace. Burry, and some one or two more of their blind guides that escaped from the sword, have attempted, in the mean season, to stir up Somersetshire, and have gotten them a band or camp; but they are sent after, and we trust by this they have as they deserve. The earl of Warwick lieth near to the rebels in Norfolk, which faint now, and would have grace gladly, so that all might be pardoned; Ket, and the other arch-traitors. The number upon that is at a stay, and they daily shrink so fast away, that there is great hope that they will leave their captains destitute and alone, to receive their worthy reward; the which is the thing we most desire, to spare, as much as may be, the effusion of blood, and that namely of our own nation. In Yorkshire a commotion was attempted the week last past; but the gentlemen were so soon upon them, and so forwardly, that it was straight suppressed; and with weeping eyes, the rest upon their knees, they wholly together desired the gentlemen to obtain their pardons; the which the king's majesty hath so granted unto them as may stand with his highness' honour: so that for the inner parts (thanks be to the Almighty God!) the case standeth in good points. The causes and pretences of these uproars and risings are divers and uncertain, and so full of variety almost in every camp (as they call them), that it is hard to write what it is; as ye know is like to be of people without head and rule, and that would have that they wot not what. Some crieth, "Pluck down inclosures and parks;" some for their commons; others pretend the religion; a number would rule another while, and direct things as gentlemen have done; and, indeed, all have conceived a wonderful hate against gentlemen, and taketh them all as their enemies. The ruffians among them, and the souldiers, which be the chief doers, look for spoil; so that it seemeth no other thing but a plague and a fury amongst the vilest and worst sort of men: for except only Devonshire and Cornwall, and they not past two or three, in all other places not one gentleman, or man of reputation, was ever amongst them, but against their wills, and as prisoners. In Norfolk, gentlemen, and all serving-men, for their sakes, are as ill handled as may be; but this broil is well asswaged, and in a manner at a point shortly to be fully ended, with the grace of God.

On the other part of the seas, we have not so good news; for the French king taking now his time, and occasions of this rebellion within the realm, is come unto Bullignoish, with a great number of horsemen and footmen, himself in person; and as we are advertised of the letters of the 24th of this present, from Ambletue or Newhaven, the Almain camp, or Almain hill, a piece appertaining to the said Ambletue, was that day delivered to the French, by traitorous consent of the camp; their variance falling out, or feigned, between the captain and the souldiers, so that they are now besieged very near, and in a manner round. Howbeit they write, that they trust the piece itself of Newhaven will be well enough defended, God assisting them, who be in as good and stout a courage as any men may be, and as desirous to win honour, and give a good account of their charge. Thus we bid you heartily farewell. August 24, 1549.

NUMBER XXXVII.

A Letter of Bonner's after he was deprived.—An Original.

The first part of this Letter is the recommending the Bearer, that they might find a good Marriage for him.

—THE pears were so well accepted in every place, where I had so many thanks for my distribution, that I intend by God's grace, to send down to you your frail again, to have an eching, either of more pears, or else of puddings, &c. ye do know what, &c. doth mean, by that Italian proverb, *Dio me guarda da furia di villani, da conscientia di preti, da chi odi due messe nel giorno, da quasibuglie di medici da &c. di notarii, da chi jura per la conscientia mia.* I do not write to sir John Burne, nor to my lady, for anything, their conscience is not over large; and the like is in Mr. Hornvale, and also my old acquaintance John Badger. But if amongst you I have no puddings, then must I say, as Messer, our priest of the hospital, said to his mad horse, in our last journey to Hostia, *Al diavolo, ai tutti diavolli.* Our Lord preserve you, and all yours, with desire to be recommended to all. *Festo omnium Sancterum*, in the marshalsea.

Your loving and assured old acquaintance,

EDMUND BONNER.

To my dear beloved friend, the worshipful Richard Lechmore.

NUMBER XXXVIII.

Letters and Instructions touching Proceedings with the Emperor, to Sir William Paget, Knight of the Order, sent to the Emperor. 1549.

[Cotton Libr. Galba. B. 12.]

First, He shall communicate his instructions, and the cause of his coming with sir Philip Hobbey ambassador, resident with the emperor, and accompanied with him at his access to the said emperor, shall deliver his letters of credit; and for his credit shall utter his charge as followeth.

First, He shall declare what good will we have to the continuance of the amity, and the encrease of the same, by such means as may be devised on either party; and how the reciproque hath been promised on their behalf.

Item. To the intent they may as well perceive our forwardness therein, as also the world see the same take effect indeed, he is sent to show what we have thought upon for this purpose; and also if they be of a like forwardness, to hear again what they think meet in that behalf; and upon this conference, either to conclude upon both our devices, or such one of them as shall be thought best for both parties.

Item. We think good, that the treaty already made between the emperor and the king's majesty of famous memory, deceased, be made perpetual, that is to say, confirmed by the prince, and the countries on both sides, whose commodity depend upon the same treaty.

Item. Before the confirmation, the treaty to be revised by him; and the ambassador, and certain other, to be appointed by the emperor, to the intent it may appear whether we have both one understanding of the words of the treaty.

Item. Where the debating to and fro of the amity with his ambassador here, occasion hath risen to talk of marriage between the infant of Portugal and the lady Mary; to which thing we perceive the emperor

hath sithence been made privy; and that in case the emperor mind to treat further of that matter, he shall say he hath commission to hear and conclude thereof.

Item. To declare the state of our affairs in Scotland at this time; and forasmuch as the Scots have been very much aided with victuals, ammunitions, and other necessities from his dominions, by reason whereof they are more stiff and unwilling to come to reason; the said comptroller declaring this consideration, shall do what he may to procure, that not only all safe-conducts granted by the emperor or the regent may be cassed; but also his consent, that if any his subjects traffique into Scotland, being common enemies, if they be taken beyond Barwick thitherward, it may be lawful for our men to take their goods as forfeit.

Item. To declare our proceedings with France at this time, and of our sending commissioners upon the French motion, who shall not conclude anything prejudicial to the amity or treaties already passed, or now to be passed, between us and the emperor, but shall depend wholly upon his proceedings there; so as if the emperor shall, upon consultation of his affairs, determine with us to do anything to France, we will frame our communications with the French thereafter: if otherwise than the said commissioners now sent to the French shall do accordingly.

Item. For making the treaty perpetual, we think convenient that the prince of Spain do confirm and sign the same, and the Low Countries comprised therein do also in their general parliaments or assemblies make like confirmation, and in their courts to make decrees thereof; and this, or such form as hath been used in those parts heretofore in like cases, to be done for their part: and for our part, the king to ratify it, the parliament to confirm it, and the courts of Chancery, King's Bench, and Common Pleas, to make decrees thereof.

Item. In the revising of the treaty, if any doubt rise for the understanding of it, which shall seem by his and the ambassador's discretion to be for the king's profit, to conclude upon it, if they will agree to the same; and if there arise doubt, which shall seem to their discretions against the king, then to advertise hither.

Item. For the case of the marriage, to declare at the first what was left by the king's majesty deceased; and yet nevertheless afterward to offer 100,000 crowns, or the revenue yearly which she hath now upon convenient dower. The said 100,000 crowns, or revenue, to be paid at Calais, if the marriage take place; she to be conveyed to Calais at the king's charges; the marriage to be made in the emperor's court, or elsewhere in the Low Country, by his appointment; and for her dowry to ask by the year to be paid in case of the infant's death, at Calais yearly, at the feasts of and the feast of and she to return into England with jewels, plate, household stuff, such as should be agreed upon. And thus far to enter for the first degree; and in case of further communication, to advertise and receive answer from hence.

Item. Touching our proceeding with France, to declare how we have continued in war with them and Scotland these four years alone without help; and that we think it expedient for us, upon this occasion now ministered by France, to give ear; in the which hearing, we mind to attribute much to the emperor's friendship; for loth we are to let slip from the king any one jot of his right, if the emperor will assist; but otherwise we must make such a bargain for the king, as we may with regard to his honour and surety. And in this point the comptroller shall press the said emperor to enter with us, and to put him in a remembrance of

his quarrels, and all such other things as he can devise for this purpose; and to put him in hope generally, that we will enter gallantly with him. And if he descend to particulars for the form of the entry, to hear his opinion, and to advertise, and then proceed as answer cometh from hence; but specially to remember to set forth the comprehension of Bulloign for defence, upon a like reciproque, for so shall he be brought to think we mind not to conclude with France, and thereby stay such practices, as upon occasion of the said comptroller's going, either he with France, or France with him, might enter together. And so the commissioners sent to France may make the better bargain for the king. Marry, this point is not to be opened thoroughly, till he hear some likelihood that our commissioners in France break off without conclusion.

Item. The said comptroller shall essay, as of himself, whether they will accept Bulloign at the king's majesty's hands, for some other reasonable recompence.

Item. The said comptroller shall use his discretion, to open the points aforesaid to the emperor, Granvela or D'Arras, either at one time or several times, as to his discretion shall seem convenient; and shall address his packets to the commissioners for France lying at Calais, to the end they may see his proceedings, and send them over with speed, directing their charge the better hereafter.

NUMBER XXXIX.

An Account of a Conference the English Ambassadors had with the Emperor's Ministers, in a Letter to the Protector.

[Cotton Libr. Galba. B. 12.]

It may like your grace to be advertised, that upon the 20th of this present, came to the lodging of me the comptroller, monsieur D'Arras, and in his company the two presidents of the council, St. Maurice and Viglius; who, after a few words of office passed between them and us, entered the cause of their coming, saying, that the emperor having been informed of such conference as was passed this other day between me and Granvela, hath to declare his readiness to any thing that might satisfy his good will and affection to the intent of the king, sent as here to revisit the treatise, and see how we do agree upon the understanding of the same. I, the comptroller, answered, that it was not amiss, howbeit I had not so opened the matters, nor looked to have it passed in such order. But first to know the emperor's resolution, how he can be contented with the confirmation of the treaty, in the form that I had moved; and then that agreed upon, to proceed to the revisitation of the same. In good faith, (quoth D'Arras,) we did so understand it, and have so reported to the emperor, and this commission hath he now given us. Well, (quoth I,) seeing you are now here, and have brought the treaty with you for that purpose, we may do somewhat in it, and afterwards be advised farther, requiring, that in case anything should be found in the passages of the treaty meet to be considered, that we might, before further wading in the matter, know the emperor's resolution, touching as well the confirmation of the treaty, as in such things as now might be moved: which they thought reasonable. And so we began to read the treaty; and when we came to the sixth article, wherein it is provided for the common enmity in case of invasion, and by the establishment set forth, with what number the invasion must be made; and that both for the invasion, and the number the prince

required to join, shall credit the letters of the prince requiring. I put this case, (quoth I,) for the understanding of this matter, that the king my master will signify by his letters to the emperor, that such a day the Scots, our common enemies, to the number of seven thousand men, with the aid of the French king, affronted the borders of England, comprehended in the treaty, and set above two thousand men into the realm to invade: who did indeed invade, and spoil, and burn, and take prisoners; and therefore would require the emperor, according to the treaty, to take the French king, who had aided his enemies, for his enemies; for so doth he, and so will use him for his enemies. Is not the emperor bound to do it? What say you, (quoth I,) how do you understand this article? It should seem yes, (quoth D'Arras,) but we will speak with the emperor in it, and bring you an answer. The words be plain, (quoth I,) and cannot be avoided.

Then in the seventh article, where it is said, that the prince requiring for his aid money instead of men, must, if the invasion made by the enemy cease, restore the money again which remaineth. And afterwards says, that though the invasion cease, yet if he will follow the enemy, he may use the aid for the time appointed in the treaty; saying in generality, (*co casu subsidii auxiliaribus*, &c.) I asked, whether in those general words, they mean not the money as well as the men? Whereupon they seemed to doubt, and took a note thereof, to know the emperor's pleasure in the same.

In the ninth article, where it is treated for redress of injuries done by one subject to the other, there we fell into a brawl of half an hour, upon a question that I moved, viz. when they took justice to be denied? And their answer was, that we used none at all. And here at length, I fell into their manner of arresting of one whole nation upon a knave mariner's complaint.

And he, what thieves our nation was upon the sea, and lawless people, and that they never proceed to such extremities, but when their subjects had been in England and justice was denied. That hath never been seen, quoth I; but if any of your subjects think himself grieved, straight he runneth to monsieur le Protecteur; and he, by and by, setting all the king's affairs apart, must attend to the affairs of monsieur le Mariniure, or else home runneth he with open cry, that he cannot have justice in England, and you straight believe; and thereupon cometh these often blusters. And do you think it reason, that monsieur G. or you should attend to every private man's complaint; you should then have a goodly office. No, you send them to the ordinary justices, and so let that take place and way as it will; but you will never impeach yourself more with the matter. And reason, (quoth he,) but the cause is not alike with you in England, for there, (quoth he,) all things come to the lord protector's hand, there is none other judge or justice used or cared for in the realm; no, and his letters sometimes not esteemed, and that our subjects fear full often, and therefore of force they must resort to monsieur Protecteur. And this is not true, (quoth I,) and that monsieur Hobbey knoweth, my lord protector, nor none of the privy council, meddle with no private matters whosoever it be, but only meddle with matters of state, leaving all other things to the ordinary course of justice, except only many times to gratify your ambassador, and to show himself glad to nourish the amity, he troubleth himself with the complaints of your subjects, which, by St. Mary, by my advice, he shall do no more, seeing it is so little considered, but shall refer them to the common justice. Whither is that? (quoth he.) To the admiralty, (quoth I.)

Marry, a goodly justice, (quoth he,) for so shall the poor man's cause be tried before his adversary. And why not tried in our admiralty (quoth I) as well as in yours? Nay, (quoth he,) both be naught indeed; they were very ordinary courts at the beginning of the redress of matters upon the sea; but now they feel the sweet of the gain such, as they care little for justice, and here, as well for relief of poor men spoiled and robbed upon the seas, as to avoid arrests, and such other troublesome proceedings on either side, we fell to devising, and came to this point: If the princes for their parts, upon their advertisement to the emperor, and we to your grace, shall like it, that commission sufficient be given by the emperor, to two of his privy council, to hear and determine by their discretion, summary, *et de pleno*, all complaints by the king's subjects here for criminal causes upon the sea; and the king's majesty to do the like to two of his privy council, for the complaints in like case of the emperor's subjects.

And this was all passed in open conference, saying, that in the discourse for the confirmation in the treaty by the prince and their countries, as they seemed to shew the emperor's readiness (but yet not so resolved) that the prince should confirm the treaty, and that further any other thing should be done that he might reasonably do, to declare his good will to the entertainment and augmentation of his amity and affection to the king's majesty. So he alleged divers reasons why the emperor should not seek to his subjects to confirm his treaties with foreign princes. We alleged the example of the king, and the French king in times past; and what was said in that case at C. in the presence of himself de C. and Chap.

Whereunto he answered, that the state of France was more restrained than the emperor's; and that the French king could give no piece of his patrimony, nor bind his country, without the consent of his parliament at Paris, and the three estates; but he thought the king of England to have a greater prerogative; and the emperor, he was sure, had a greater prerogative; and so had all his ancestors, and therefore would be loth now to put himself so far in their danger: they were, he said, fifteen or sixteen parliaments, and if a thing should be proposed unto them, whereof they had never heard the like before, they would not only muse much at the matter, but they would have also the scanning of it; and what would come of it, the emperor could not tell, peradventure dash the matter, and so prejudice his prerogative with them. Yet now where he and his ancestors do, and have always passed treaties with other princes, and bind their subjects thereby without making them privy thereto, it would by this means come to pass, that from henceforth their subjects would look to be privy to every treaty, which were not convenient; marry, for the prince which shall succeed, to confirm the treaty, he thought the emperor could not take it but reasonable, and doubted not to bring a good answer in the same. So as we see for this point, it will come to the confirmation of the king and the prince, and upon any condition or interpretation of the treaty to them also, wherein we intend to go forwards, for so our instruction beareth us, unless that before the conclusion and shutting up of the matter, we hear from your grace to the contrary.

The things being thus far passed, and our open talk at a point, and they ready to depart, monsieur D'Arras taking occasion (as it seemed) to stay because of the rain, took me aside, and asked me if I would command him any other service. I answered, no service, but friendship, and the continuance of his good will to the king's majesty's affairs; whereunto he

making large offers, I began to enter with him, how much your grace, and all the rest, reposed themselves in the friendship of the emperor, and the good ministry of his father and him, to the furtherance of the king's majesty's affairs, to whom, as in that behalf, they shewed themselves great friends, so did they, like good servants to their master, for the prosperous success of the affairs of the one, served the turn of the other, and the contrary. Whereupon I discoursed largely, as far as my poor capacity would extend, how necessary it was for the emperor to aid and assist us in all things, so as we are not oppressed by force, or driven, for want of friendship, to take such ways to keep us in quiet, as both we ourselves would be loth, and our friends should afterwards have, peradventure, cause to forethink.

I repeated first how we entred the wars for your sake; for the king might have made his bargain honourable with France, which no man knew better than I: how long we have endured the war, and how long alone; how favourable they are to our common enemies the Scots; how ungentle the French be to us, and by indirect means think to consume us, to make the emperor the weaker.

I recited the practices of the French with the Turk, with the pope, with the Germans, with Denmark; his aid of the Scots; and all upon intent to impeach the emperor when he seeth time, or at the least attending a good hour, upon hope of the emperor's death; the weaker that we be, the easilier shall he do it; if we forgoe any our pieces on this side, we must needs be the weaker; and that so we had rather do, than alone to keep war against Scotland and France. Wherefore if they will both provide for their own strength, and give us courage to keep still that which we have, the emperor must be content to take 13* into defence, as well as other places comprehended in the treaty; which, I said, we meant not, but upon a reasonable reciproque. What reciproque? (quoth he) roundly. Thereupon advise you reasonably (quoth I). O, (quoth he,) I cannot see how the emperor can honourably make a true treaty for that point, without offence of his treaty with France; and we mean to proceed directly and plain with all men (quoth he). Why (quoth I), we may bring you justly, by and by, with us, if we will advertise you, as I did even now put my case. Yea, if your case be true (quoth he); but herein we will charge your honours and consciences, whether the fact be so or no? for your grace shall understand that I talked in the matter so suspiciously, as though such an invasion had been made, and that you would require common enmity.

In fine, sir, after many motions and perswasions, and long discourses used on my behalf, to induce them to take 13 into defence. His refuge was only, that they would fain learn how they might honestly answer the French; albeit I shewed him some forms of answers, which he seemed not to like; yet in the end I said, he was a great doctor, and as he had put the doubt, so he was learned sufficiently, if he listed, to assail the same. He said, he would open these matters to the emperor, and trusted to bring me such an answer as I should have reason to be satisfied, and so departed; whereof, as soon as we have knowledge, your grace shall be advertised accordingly. And thus we beseech God, to send your grace well to do all your proceedings.

* This is a cipher, and stands, I suppose, for *Bulloign*.

NUMBER XL.

A Letter from Sir William Paget and Sir Philip Hobbey, concerning their negotiation with the Emperor's Ministers.—An Original.

[Cotton Libr. Galba. B. 12.]

It may like your grace be advertised, that yesterday at afternoon, monsieur D'Arras, accompanied with two presidents of the council, St. Maurice and Viglius, came unto the lodging of me the comptroller; and after some words of office passed on either part, D'Arras began to set forth the cause of their coming, saying, that the emperor having at good length considered and debated the things proposed and communed of between us since my coming hither, had sent them to report unto me his final answer and resolution to the same.

And first (quoth he) to your case, that at our being together for the revisitation of the treaty, ye put forth upon the sixth article for the common enmity in case of invasion, his majesty museth much, what ye should mean thereby, for seeing the case is not in ure, he thinketh, that doubting of his friendship, ye go about, by these means, to grope and feel his mind; which ye need not do, he having hitherto shewed himself ready in all things to shew the king, his good brother, pleasure, and to observe the treaty in all points to the uttermost; and if this case should happen to come in ure, then will he not fail to do whatsoever the treaty bindeth him unto, till when he can make no other answer therein.

As to your question, moved upon the sixth article of the treaty, viz. whether mony be not meant as well as men by these words, *Subsidiis Auxiliariis*? his majesty taketh the words to be plain enough, and thinketh they cannot be otherwise interpreted, than to be meant, as well for mony as men, for so doth he understand them.

Unto the order that was communed upon for the administration of justice on both sides, for matter of spoil or piracy upon the sea, his majesty having weighed what is best to be done therein further, he hath good cause first to complain of the over many spoils that your men have made on his poor subjects, and the small justice that hath been hitherto ministered unto them herein, whereof he hath continual complaints, and therefore he thinketh it were meeter, ere ever any further order shall be concluded upon, that his subjects were first recompensed of these wrongs they have sustained, and the matter brought to some equality, and his people put in as much good case as yours are; for I assure you (quoth he) the wrongs our men have sustained are many; among the rest, a poor jeweler, having gotten a safe-conduct of the king that dead is, to bring into England certain jewels, because after he had the king's hand and seal to the license, he had not the same sealed also with the great seal of England, his jewels were taken from him; and he, being not present (although it were so named in the sentence), condemned to lose them by the order of your law, contrary to all equity and justice: which seemeth strange, that the king's hand and seal should not appear to be sufficient for a greater matter than this. The treaties also provide, that the subjects of the one prince may frankly, without impediment, traffique and occupy into the other prince's country; but to shadow the matter with all, one, I cannot tell who, hath been agreed withal, and so the poor man and his heirs put from their right, which his majesty wisheth to be considered. And albeit he thinketh that the king your master, being under age, cannot himself, by the order of the law, conclude upon anything now in his minority, that shall be of due force and strength, able to bind

him and his country when he shall come to his perfect age. Yet taking that his tutors be authorised thereto, by the common assent of your parliament, may go through and conclude upon these, or like things in his name, his majesty thinketh it will do well, when his subjects shall be recompensed of the wrongs they have hitherto sustained, that some order be devised for the administration of justice hereafter in like cases.

As touching the confirmation of the treaty, considering that the same was first made between the emperor and king Henry the Eighth, and not ratified by the king your master since his father's death, his majesty thinketh that he hath most cause to require the same: wherefore because (as I told you even now) he thinketh that these things, the king himself should conclude upon during his minority, cannot be of sufficient force, if his tutors shall be by the authority of your parliament enabled thereto, his majesty is content the treaty be confirmed by them in the king's name, and by the prince of Spain, in such form as shall be thought best for both parties.

As to the comprehension of Bulloign, ye must know, that we have a treaty with France as well as with you, which the emperor cannot, without some touch of his honour, break, without just grounds: and albeit his majesty would be loth to see the king, his good brother, forgoe either that peace, or any other jot of his right, yet can he not enter this defence, unless he would break with France out of hand; which in respect of his other affairs he cannot yet do, howbeit he will gladly assist his good brother in any other thing the best he may, and will not fail to shew him all the pleasure he can with regard to his honour; but with Bulloign he cannot meddle at this time. And here he staying; Is this the emperor's resolute and full answer, monsieur D'Arras? (quoth I). Yea, (quoth he); wherewith he prayeth the king, his good brother, to rest satisfied, and take it in good part. Albeit (quoth I) I have no commission to make any reply thereto, because it was not known to your grace what the emperor's resolution should be; yet in the way of talk I will be bold to say my mind herein. We have, monsieur D'Arras (quoth I), always esteemed the emperor's friendship, and desire the observation of the treaties, and the entertainment of the amity, as a thing necessary and common to both the parties: for the better establishment whereof, and that now and in this time some good fruit, to the benefit of both, might appear to the world to follow of the same, I was sent hither, which was the chiefest cause of my coming: and because that the amity between both princes might be the firmer, and that all doubts being taken away, no cause of quarrel shall be left, we thought best to put you in mind of the confirmation and revisitation of the treaty, to the intent, that by the one, the world might see an establishment of our friendship by our deed; and that by the other, one of us might understand another, and consider whether any thing were to be added for the commodity of both parties, which I suppose standeth you as much upon to desire, as it doth us. And whereas ye say that the king's majesty, because he is under age, cannot conclude or go through with anything that shall be of sufficient force; I must needs tell you plainly, that ye touch his majesty's honour over-near herein, for we think that the majesty of a king is of such efficacy, that he hath even the same authority, and full power, at the first hour of his birth, that he hath thirty years after. And what your laws are, I know not; but sure I am, that by our laws, whatsoever is done by the king in his minority, or by his ministers in his name, is of no less force and strength, than if it had been done in time of his full age and years: if once the great seal of his realm have passed, there is no remedy but needs

must he stand thereto. Marry, let the ministers take heed what they do, and look that they may be able to discharge themselves towards him of their doings, if he shall require account of them when he cometh to age, for it is they must answer him; but he must needs stand to whatsoever they have counseled him to agree unto during his minority. And to prove that our laws giveth him the same authority now, that he shall have when he cometh to his perfect age; if any man, either for instruction of learning, or any other cause, should presume to lay hands on, or touch his majesty in way of correction, he should by law be taken for a traitor. And if the matter were as ye take it, we should then be in a strange and evil case, for neither might we conclude peace, league, or treaty, nor make laws or statutes, during the king's minority, that should be of sufficient force to bind him and his to the observation of the same. But ye mistake the matter much; and therefore if the emperor mind to proceed to this confirmation, he may, or otherwise do as it shall please him.

And as touching my case, (quoth I), ye must understand, I did not move it without some just ground; for remembering that all your commissioners and all ours being together at Utrecht for the esclarcissement of the treaty, although the words of the treaty were plain enough, and could receive none other interpretation than was there plainly written, yet would ye needs understand the article for common enmity, in case of invasion, after your own minds. And whereas, by the words of the treaty, no mention is made of any number, and therefore with howsoever few in number the invasion be made, ought the invaders to be taken for common enemies? Your commissioners did nevertheless interpret the matter at their pleasure, and would needs prescribe a number of 8,000 men; under which number of invasion were made, the treaties in this case should not stand to any force. And like as ye put a doubt here, where none was to be found, so thought I, ye might do in other things were they never so plain; and that moved me to put this case, to see whether ye understood this point as ye ought to do, after the literal sense; and partly to know your minds therein, because perhaps the matter hath been already in ure. This, I say, was the occasion why I put further this question, and not for any mistrust of the emperor's friendship, whom I must confess we have always found our well-willer, and so we doubt not he will continue; and therefore I need not grope his mind herein, neither did I mean any such thing hereby.

As to your answer to the order of justice, I see not that the emperor hath so much cause to complain of lack of justice in his subjects' cases, as ye seem to set forth; for hitherto there hath not any man complained in our country, and required justice, unto whom the same hath been denied. And although some man abiding the order of our law, or having had some sentence that pleased him not, hath complained hither of delay or lack of justice, ye must not therefore, by and by, judge that he saith true, or that there is not uprightness or equity used in our country, for we have there, as ye have here, and elsewhere, ministers that are wise, and well learned in our law, and men of honesty and good conscience, who deal and proceed justly, as the order of the law leadeth them, without respect to favour or friendship to any man.

And as for the jeweller's case that ye moved, ye must understand, that as ye have laws here in your country for the direction of your common-wealth, so have we also in ours; whereby amongst the rest we do forbid, for good respect, the bringing in or transporting forth of certain things without the king's safe conduct or license. And although, as ye alleaged before, the treaty giveth liberty to the subjects of either prince

to traffique into the other's country, it is not for all that meant hereby, that they shall not be bound to observe the law and order of the country whereunto they traffique: for this liberty is only granted for the security of their persons to go and come without impeachment, and maketh them not for all that lawless. And whereas further it is provided by our law, that in certain things to be granted by the king, the same grant must pass under the great seal; then if any of those things pass under any other seal, they be not of due force until they have also passed the great seal of England: wherefore if the jeweller, either by negligence or covetousness, of himself, or of those he put in trust, did not observe this order; but thereto contrary, for sparing a little cost, did presume to bring in his jewels before his license came to the great seal; me thinketh neither he, nor any other, can have just cause to say that he was wronged, if according to our laws he were sentenced to lose the same: and yet, after he was thus condemned, more to gratify the emperor, than for that I took it to be so reasonable, I myself was a suitor to my lord protector's grace, for some recompence to be made to the jeweller's wife, whom we knew, and none other to be party: for she followed the suit, she presented the petitions, in her name were they made; and finally she, and none others, was by the emperor's ambassador commended unto us.

I have seen the sentence, (quoth he,) and do dislike nothing so much therein, as that the man is condemned, and named to have been present at the time of his condemnation, when indeed he was dead a good while before.

He was present, (quoth I,) in the person of his wife, who was his procurator, and represented himself; and I know, that those before whom this matter passed are men both learned and of good conscience, and such as would not have done herein anything against right and order of law.

The sentences that are given in our country by the justices and ministers, they are just and true, and therefore neither can we, nor will we revoke them for any man's pleasure, after they have once passed the higher court, from whence there is no further appellation, no more than you will here call back such final order as hath been in any case taken by your high court of Brabant. And the cause why we for our part misliked not this order of justice, was for the better establishment of the amity, and to avoid the continual arrests that are made on our poor men; to the end also that this sort of suiters might be the sooner dispatched, without troubling either my lord protector in England, or you here, when you are busied in other affairs of more importance.

And as concerning the comprehension of Bulloign, in good faith, because we thought that if the same should happen to be taken from the king's majesty by force, as I trust it shall not, the loss should be common, and touch the emperor almost as near as us! We thought good, for the better security thereof, to move this comprehension, which we take to be as necessary for the emperor as us. And though we are not so wise and well seen in your things as yourselves are, yet do we look towards you, and guess of your affairs afar off, and perhaps do somewhat understand the state of the same, whereof I could say more than I now intend. But ye say this is the emperor's resolution herein. We take it as an answer, and shall do accordingly. Marry, whereas you stick so much upon your honour, in breaking your treaties with the French, I remember monsieur Granvela, your father, at my being with him, did not let to say, that he had his sleeve full of quarrels against the French, whensoever the emperor list to break with them.

Yea, so have we indeed, (quoth he,) but the time is not yet come: we must temporise our things in this case as the rest of our affairs lead us.

Ye say well, (quoth I,) ye have reason to regard chiefly the well-guiding of your own things, and yet me thinketh some respect ought to be given to friends. But seeing this is your answer, I will reply no more thereto.

Yet one thing, monsieur D'Arras, (quoth I,) I moved to your father, which ye make no mention of, and I would gladly know your mind in, which is, the granting of safe-conducts to the common enemy: which the treaty, by plain and express words, forbiddeth either prince to do.

Indeed, monsieur Ambassador, (quoth he,) the words of the treaty are, as ye say, plain enough; and yet the matter were very strait, if it should be taken in such extremity; for hereafter, in time of war, ye might happen to have need of wood, canvas, or wine, and we of the like, and other necessities; and if in such cases the princes should not have prerogative to grant safe-conducts, it shall be a great inconvenience, and a thing not hereafter seen; howbeit the emperor for his part will not, I think, stick much hereupon, but observe the plain meaning of the treaty. Nevertheless, I cannot say anything expressly on his behalf herein, because monsieur Granvela spake nothing thereof. And yet did we move him of it, (quoth I,) and he bad us grant none, and the emperor for his part would not grant any. No more hath he done, (quoth he,) sithence his coming into this country, nor intendeth not hereafter. He needeth not, (quoth I,) for those that have been given out before are sufficient for a great while. Nay, that they are not, (quoth he,) for the longest was granted but for a year, and now are they expired; and whereas a while sithence, one presuming upon his safe-conduct came into this country to traffique, because the time thereof was expired, he was taken and imprisoned.

The said D'Arras, after this talk, touched further unto me two points, which the emperor, he said, desireth may be reformed. The first was, our merchants, contrary to our entercourse, do enhance the prices of their wools, and will not sell at such prices as they are bound by the entercourse; wherewith the merchants here do find themselves aggrieved, and therefore the emperor desireth some order may be taken herein.

Whereunto I answered, that I understood not the matters, and yet I supposed our men did not this but upon some grounds and just occasion, by reason of other breach of order on their parts here. Howbeit I shewed him I would inform your grace thereof, and doubted not, but if anything were amiss on our parts, it shall be reformed; accordingly looking for the semblable on their behalf.

The other, he said, was, that our men have of late begun to build a bulwark, which standeth half on the king's majesty's ground, and half on the emperor's territory. And although monsieur de Rue have viewed the same, and perceiving the emperor to be wronged thereby, hath required our folks to proceed no further therein; yet cease they not to build still, which the emperor marvelleth much at, and thinks we would not take it well that he should attempt the like fortification upon the king's territory; and therefore requireth that some redress may be given in time therein.

I answered, that I knew not of this thing; howbeit, as I went homeward, I would inform myself of the case, and make report thereof to your grace, who I doubted not would take such order therein as should stand with reason.

And here monsieur D'Arras setting forth with many good words the emperor's amity towards the king, and his readiness to shew his majesty's pleasure in all things that he conveniently may; and that in case we proceed to any further treaty with France, he doubted not but we would have regard to them, according to our treaties; and that also, if we grew to any peace with the Scots, seeing that his majesty is entred in enmity chiefly for our sake, whereby his subjects have been sundry ways endangered, he trusteth he will have consideration to see that convenient recompence be made to them by the Scots, ere ever we go through with any conclusion; the rather, because the Scots have, and cease not still to offer, besides a large recompence, very great conditions, if his majesty would fall to any peace with them, which chiefly for our sakes he hath, and will refuse to do;—we answered hereunto generally, that the king's majesty, in such case, we doubted not, would have due respect to the emperor's amity, and proceed herein as appertaineth.

This was the substance of their cold answer, as your grace may see, of small effect, although interlaced with plenty of good words, which we also thought best to use towards them, and requite them with the like. And thus, after I had required of D'Arras a time to take my leave of the emperor, and his promise to procure the same as shortly as he might, we departed. And thus we beseech God to send your grace as well to do as we do wish.

WILLIAM PAGET.
PHILIP HOBBEY.

From Bruges, July 24.

NUMBER XLII.

The Council's Letter to the King against the Protector.—An Original.

[Cotton Libr., Titus, B. 2.]

MOST high and mighty prince, our most gracious sovereign lord. It may please your majesty to be advertised, that having heard such message as it pleased your majesty to send unto us by your highness' secretary, Sir William Petre, like as it was much to our grief and discomfort to understand, that upon untrue informations, your majesty seemed to have some doubt of our fidelities; so do we, upon our knees, most humbly beseech your majesty to think, that as we have always served the king's majesty, your most noble father, and your highness likewise, faithfully and truly, so do we mind always to continue your majesty's true servants, to the effusion of our blood and loss of our lives. And for the surety of your most royal person's safeguard, and preservation of your realms and dominions, have at this time consulted together, and for none other cause, we take God to witness. We have heretofore, by all good and gentle means, attempted to have had your highness' uncle, the Duke of Somerset, to have governed your majesty's affairs, by the advice of us, and the rest of your counsellors; but finding him so much given to his own will, that he always refused to hear reason; and therewith doing sundry things as were, and be most dangerous, both to your most royal person, and to your whole realm; we thought yet again to have gently and quietly spoke with him in these things, had he not gathered force about him, in such sort, as we might easily perceive him earnestly bent to the maintenance of his old wilful and troublous doings. For redress whereof, and none other cause, we do presently remain here ready to live and die your true servants. And the assembly of almost all your council being now here, we have, for the better service of your majesty, caused your secretary to remain here with us, most humbly

beseeking your grace to think in your heart, that the only preservation of your person, and your estate, for the discharge of our duties, enforceth us to devise how to deliver your grace from the peril your highness standeth in, and no other respect; for whatsoever is, or shall be said to your highness, no earthly thing could have moved us to have seemed to stand as a party, but your only preservation, which your majesty shall hereafter perceive, and (we doubt not) repute us for your most faithful servants and counsellors, as our doings shall never deserve the contrary; as God knoweth, to whom we shall diligently pray for your majesty's preservation, and with our bodies defend your person and estate as long as life shall endure.

R. Rich, Cancel; W. St. John, W. Northampton, J. Warwick, Arundel, F. Shrewsbury, Thomas Southampton, T. Cheyne, William Petre, Secretary; Edward North, John Gage, R. Sadler, Nicholas Wotton, Edward Montague, Richard Southwell.

NUMBER XLII.

Articles offered by me the Lord Protector, to the King's Majesty, in the presence of his Highness' Council, and others his Majesty's Lords and Gentlemen, at Windsor, to be declared on my behalf, to the Lords, and the rest of his Highness' Council remaining at London.

[Cotton Libr. Caligula, B. 7.]

FIRST, That I do not, nor did not mean to apprehend any of them, or otherwise to disturb or molest them; but hearing tell of their such meetings and assemblies, and gathering of horsemen, and other powers, out of several countries, not being privy of the causes thereof, to avoid further inconveniences and danger which might ensue to your majesty's person, which by many rumours, certain intelligences, and sundry messages, was declared imminent unto your highness, and to me, the lord protector, was forced to seek this defence, as I at the first beginning declared unto your highness.

Secondly, that this force and power which here is assembled about your majesty at this present, is to do none of them which be there at London, or elsewhere, either in person or goods, any damage or hurt, but to defend only, if any violence should be attempted against your highness.

As for any contention and strife betwixt me, the lord protector, and the council there, I do not refuse to come to any reasonable end and conclusion, that should be for the preservation of your majesty, and tranquillity of the realm, if they will send any two of them with commission on their behalfs, to conclude and make a good end betwixt us.

And I most humbly beseech your majesty to appoint any two of such as be here about your majesty, to join with the same; and whatsoever those four or three of them shall determine, I do and shall wholly and fully submit myself thereunto. And that for more confirmation, if it shall be so thought good to the said persons, their agreement and conclusion to be established and ratified by parliament, or any other order that shall be devised. And I beseech your majesty, that at my humble suit, and by the advice of me, and other of your council here, for the better proceedings herein, and to take away all doubts and fears that might arise, to grant to them four, or any such two of them which they shall send for the purpose above-said, free passage for themselves, and with each of them twenty of their servants, to safely come, tarry here, and return at their pleasure. And I most humbly beseech

your majesty, that this bill, signed with your majesty's hands, and ours, may be a sufficient warrant therefore. Given and exhibited at the castle of Windsor, Octob. 8, 1549.

NUMBER XLIII.

Letters sent from the Lords at London, to the King's

[Ex Libro Concilii.]

MOST high and mighty prince, our most gracious sovereign lord, we have received, by Mr. Hobbey, your majesty's most gracious letters of the 8th of this instant, and heard such further matter as it pleased your majesty to will to be declared by him. And sorry we be, that your majesty should have these occasions to be troubled, especially in this kind of matter; the beginning and only occasion whereof, as we be well able to prove to your majesty, hath proceeded of the duke of Somerset. It is much discomfort to us all, to understand that your royal person should be touched with any care of mind; and most of all it grieveth us, that it should be perswaded your majesty, that we have not that care that becometh us of the pacifying of these uproars, and conservation of your majesty's commonwealth and state from danger; wherein whatsoever is informed your highness, we humbly beseech your majesty to think, we be as careful as any men living may be; and do not, nor (we trust) shall not forget the benefits received of your majesty's most noble father, nor any of our bounden duties of allegiance; the consideration, and the special care whereof, forced us to consult seriously, and to join in this sort: which thing, if we had not presently followed, not only your most royal person (whom Almighty God long preserve), but this your whole estate being already much touched, and in great towardness of ruin, was most like to come, in short time, to most imminent danger and peril; the causes whereof, as we do all well know, and can prove to have proceeded from the said duke, so if we should not earnestly provide for the same, we should not be able to answer to your majesty hereafter for not doing our duties therein; therefore do we nothing doubt, but your majesty, of your great clemency and good nature, will not think that all and every of us, being the whole state of your privy council, one or two excepted, should be led in these things by private affections, or would presume to write to your majesty, that whereof we were not most assured; and much more, we trust that your highness, of your goodness, will, without any jealousy or suspicion, think that most expedient, both for your own most royal person, and all your subjects, that by the body of your council may be thought expedient; to whom, and to no one man, your highness' most grave father appointed, by his last will and testament, the care of your majesty, and all your most weighty affairs. We cannot therefore but think ourselves much wronged, that your said most royal person is in this sort by the duke only detained and shut up from us, to all our great heaviness, and the great fear of all other your majesty's true subjects, and wonder of all the world: sooner may one man intend ill, than a multitude of us, who we take God to witness to be a thousand times more careful of your highness' surety, than for all our own lives. We trust also, that of your majesty's good nature, you will not think that wilfulness, which your whole council doth, or shall agree upon, for your majesty's surety and benefit; where the more agreeable we be, the better opinion we trust your majesty will conceive of us and our doings. It comforteth us much to see the great appearance of your majesty's natural

clemency, even in these your young years; and the assured hope which we have thereof encourageth us to be perswaded, that you both do, and will conceive good opinion of us and all our doings; and that your majesty is, and so will continue, our gracious good lord, with whom (as we trust) we never deserve willingly to be called in the standing of any judgment with your

the end of this matter, touching the duke of Somerset, if he have that respect to your majesty's surety that he pretendeth; if he have that consideration of his duty to God that his promise and oath requireth; if he have that remembrance of the performance of your majesty's father's will, that to the effect of a good executor appertaineth; if he have the reverence to your law that a good subject ought to have, let him first quietly suffer us, your majesty's most humble servants and true counsellors, to be restored to your majesty's presence; let him, as becometh a true subject, submit himself to your majesty's council, and the order of your highness' laws; let the forces assembled be sent away, and then may we do our duties in giving our attendance upon your majesty; and after consult there with your majesty more freely, for such order as may be thought most meet for your grace's surety: by these means your majesty's subjects may be at quiet, and all occasions of stir taken away. And if the said duke refuse to agree hereunto, we must think him to remain in his naughty and detestable determination. The protectorship and governance of your most royal person was not granted him by your father's will, but only by agreement, first amongst us the executors, and and after of others. Those titles and special trust was committed to him during your majesty's pleasure, and upon condition he should do all things by advice of your council. Which condition, because he hath so many times broken, and notwithstanding the often speaking to, without all hope of amendment, we think him most unworthy those honours or trust. Other particular things, too many and too long to be written to your majesty at this time, may at our next access to your royal presence be more particularly opened, consulted upon, and moderated, for the conservation of your majesty's honour, surety, and good quiet of your realms and dominions, as may be thought most expedient.

NUMBER XLIV.

Letters from the Lords at London to the Archbishop of Canterbury and Sir William Paget, &c.

[Ex Libro Concilii.]

My lords, after our most hearty commendations, we have received your letters by Mr. Hobbey, and heard such credence as he declared on the king's majesty's and your behalfs unto us. The answers whereunto, because they may at more length appear to you both, by our letters to the king's majesty, and by report also of the said Mr. Hobbey, we forbear to repeat here again; most heartily praying, and requiring your lordships and every of you, and nevertheless charging and commanding you in the king's majesty's name, to have a continual earnest watch, respect and care, to the surety of the king's majesty, our natural and most gracious sovereign lord's person; and that he be not removed from his majesty's castle of Windsor, as you tender your duties to Almighty God and his majesty, and as you will answer for the contrary at your uttermost perils. We are moved to call earnestly upon you herein, not without great cause, and amongst many others, we cannot but remember unto you, that it appeareth very strange unto us, and a great wonder unto all true subjects, that you will either assist or

suffer his majesty's most royal person to remain in the guard of the duke of Somerset's men, sequestered from his own old sworn servants. It seemeth strange, that in his majesty's own house, strangers should be armed with his majesty's own armour, and be nearest about his highness' person; and those to whom the ordinary charge is committed, sequestered away, so as they may not attend according to their sworn duties. If any ill come hereof, you can consider to whom it must be imputed once; the example is very strange and perilous. And now, my lords, if you tender the preservation of his majesty and the state, join with us to that end: we have written to the king's majesty, by which way things may soon be quietly and moderately compounded. In the doing whereof, we mind to do none otherwise than we would be done to, and that with as much moderation and favour as honourably we may. We trust none of you have just cause to note any one of us, and much less all, of such cruelty as you so many times make mention of. One thing in your letters we marvel much at, which is, that you write that you know more than we know. If the matters come to your knowledge, and hidden from us, be of such weight as you seem to pretend; or if they touch, or may touch, his majesty or the state, we think you do not as you ought, in that you have not disclosed the same unto us, being the whole state of the council. And thus praying God to send you the grace to do that may tend to the surety of the king's majesty's person, and tranquillity of the realm, we bid you heartily farewell, &c.

NUMBER XLV.

An Answer to the former Letter.—An Original.

[Ex Libro Concilii.]

It may like your good lordships, with our most hearty commendations, to understand, that this morning sir Philip Hobbey hath, according to the charge given him by your lordships, presented your letters to the king's majesty, in the presence of us, and all the rest of his majesty's good servants here, which was there read openly, and also the others to them of the chamber, and of the household, much to their comforts, and ours also; and according to the tenours of the same, we will not fail to endeavour ourselves accordingly.

Now touching the marvel of your lordships, both of that we would suffer the duke of Somerset's men to guard the king's majesty's person; and also of our often repeating this word "cruelty;" although we doubt not but that your lordships have been thoroughly informed of our estates here, and upon what occasion the one hath been suffered, and the other proceeded; yet at our convening together (which may be when and where pleaseth you), we will, and are able to make your lordships such an account, as wherewith we doubt not you will be satisfied, if you think good to require it of us. And for because this bearer, master Hobbey, can particularly inform your lordships of the whole discourse of all things here, we remit the report of all other things to him, saving that we desire to be advertised, with as much speed as you shall think good, whether the king's majesty shall come forthwith thither, or remain still here; and that some of your lordships would take pains to come hither forthwith. For the which purpose, I the comptroller will cause three of the best chambers in the great court to be hanged and made ready. Thus thanking God that all things be so well acquited, we commit your lordships to his tuition.

Your lordships' assured loving friends,

T. Cant. William Paget. T. Smith.

From Windsor, the 10th of Octob. 1549.

NUMBER XLVI.

Articles objected to the Duke of Somerset.

1. THAT he took upon him the office of protector, upon express condition that he should do nothing in the king's affairs but by assent of the late king's executors, or the greatest part of them.

2. That contrary to this condition, he did hinder justice, and subvert laws, of his own authority, as well by letters as by other command.

3. That he caused divers persons, arrested and imprisoned for treason, murder, manslaughter, and felony, to be discharged, against the laws and statutes of the realm.

4. That he appointed lieutenants for armies, and other officers, for the weighty affairs of the king, under his own writing and seal.

5. That he communed with ambassadors of other realms alone, of the weighty matters of the realm.

6. That he would taunt and reprove divers of the king's most honourable counsellors, for declaring their advice in the king's weighty affairs against his opinion; sometimes telling them that they were not worthy to sit in council, and sometimes that he need not to open weighty matters to them; and that if they were not agreeable to his opinion, he would discharge them.

7. That against law he held a court of request in his house, and did enforce divers to answer there for their freehold and goods, and did determine of the same.

That being no officer, without the advice of the council, or most part of them, he did dispose offices of the king's gift for money, grant leases, and wards, and presentations of benefices pertaining to the king; gave bishopricks, and made sales of the king's lands.

9. That he commanded alchymie and multiplication to be practised, thereby to abase the king's coin.

10. That divers times he openly said, that the nobility and gentry were the only cause of dearth; whereupon the people rose to reform matters of themselves.

11. That against the mind of the whole council, he caused proclamation to be made concerning inclosures; whereupon the people made divers insurrections, and destroyed many of the king's subjects.

12. That he sent forth a commission, with articles annexed, concerning inclosures, commons, highways, cottages, and such-like matters, giving the commissioners authority to hear and determine those causes, whereby the laws and statutes of the realm were subverted, and much rebellion raised.

13. That he suffered rebels to assemble and lie armed in camp, against the nobility and gentry of the realm, without speedy repressing of them.

14. That he did comfort and encourage divers rebels, by giving them money, and by promising them fees, rewards, and services.

15. That he caused a proclamation to be made against law, and in favour of the rebels, that none of them should be vexed or sued by any for their offences in their rebellion.

16. That in time of rebellion he said that he liked well the actions of the rebels, and that the avarice of gentlemen gave occasion for the people to rise, and that it was better for them to die than to perish for want.

17. That he said the lords of the parliament were loth to reform inclosures and other things, therefore the people had a good cause to reform them themselves.

18. That after declaration of the defaults of Bulloign, and the pieces there, by such as did survey them, he would never amend the same.

19. That he would not suffer the king's pieces of Newhaven and Blackness to be furnished with men and provision; albeit, he was advertised of the defaults, and advised thereto by the king's council, whereby the French king was emboldened to attempt upon them.

20. That he would neither give authority, nor suffer noblemen and gentlemen to suppress rebels in time convenient, but wrote to them to speak the rebels fair, and use them gently.

21. That upon the 5th of October, the present year, at Hampton-Court, for defence of his own private causes, he procured seditious bills to be written in counterfeit hands, and secretly to be dispersed into divers parts of the realm, beginning thus—"Good people,"—intending thereby to raise the king's subjects to rebellion and open war.

22. That the king's privy council did consult at London to come to him, and move him to reform his government; but he hearing of their assembly, declared, by his letters in divers places, that they were high traitors to the king.

23. That he declared untruly, as well to the king as to other young lords attending his person, that the lords at London intended to destroy the king; and desired the king never to forget, but to revenge it; and desired the young lords to put the king in remembrance thereof, with intent to make sedition and discord between the king and his nobles.

24. That at divers times and places he said the lords of the council at London intended to kill me; but if I die, the king shall die; and if they famish me, they shall famish him.

25. That of his own head he removed the king so suddenly from Hampton-Court to Windsor, without any provision there made, that he was thereby not only in great fear, but cast thereby into a dangerous disease.

26. That by his letters he caused the king's people to assemble in great numbers in armour, after the manner of war, to his aid and defence.

27. That he caused his servants and friends at Hampton-Court and Windsor to be appalled in the king's armour, when the king's servants and guards went unarmed.

28. That he intended to fly to Guernsey or Wales, and laid post-horses and men, and a bout, to that purpose.

NUMBER XLVII.

A Letter written by the Council to the Bishops, to assure them, that the King intended to go forward in the Reformation.

[Regis. Cran. Fol. 56.]

By the King.

Right reverend father in God, right trusty and well-beloved, we greet you well. Whereas the book entituled, "The Book of Common Prayers, and Administration of the Sacraments, and other Rites and Ceremonies of the Church, after the use of the Church of England," was agreed upon, and set forth by act of parliament; and by the same act commanded to be used of all persons within this our realm. Yet nevertheless we are informed, that divers unquiet and evil-disposed persons, sithence the apprehension of the duke of Somerset, have noised and bruited abroad, that they should have again their old Latin service, their conjured bread and water, with such-like vain and superfluous ceremonies, as though the setting forth of the said book had been the only act of the said duke. We therefore, by the advice of the body and state of our privy council, not only considering the said book to be our act, and the act of the whole state of our realm assembled together

In parliament, but also the same to be grounded upon the Holy Scripture, agreeable to the order of the primitive church, and much to the re-edifying of our subjects, to put away all such vain expectation, of having the publick service, the administration of the sacraments, and other rites and ceremonies again in the Latin tongue; which were but a preferment of ignorance to knowledge, and darkness to light, and a preparation to bring in papistry and superstition again; have thought good, by the advice aforesaid, to require, and nevertheless straitly do command and charge you, that immediately upon the receipt hereof, you do command the dean and prebendaries of your cathedral church—the parson, vicar, or curat, and church-wardens of every parish, within your diocese, to bring and deliver unto you, or your deputy, any of them for their church or parish, at such convenient place as you shall appoint, all antiphonals, missals, grayles, processionals, manuels, legends, pies, portassies, journals, and ordinals, after the use of Sarum, Lincoln, York, or any other private use: and all other books of service, the keeping whereof should be a lett to the using of the said Book of Common Prayers; and that you take the same books into your hands, or into the hands of your deputy, and them so to deface and abolish, that they never after may serve, either to any such use as they were provided for, or be at any time a lett to that godly and uniform order, which by a common consent is now set forth. And if you shall find any person stubborn or disobedient in not bringing in the said books, according to the tenour of these our letters, that then ye commit the said person to ward, unto such time as you have certified us of his misbehaviour. And we will and command you, that you also search, or cause search to be made, from time to time, whether any book be withdrawn or hid, contrary to the tenour of these our letters, and the same book to receive into your hands, and to use all in these our letters we have appointed. And further, whereas it is come unto our knowledge, that divers froward and obstinate persons do refuse to pay towards the finding of bread and wine for the holy communion, according to the order prescribed in the said book, by reason whereof the holy communion is many times omitted upon the Sunday: these are to will and command you to convent such obstinate persons before you, and then to admonish and command to keep the order prescribed in the said book; and if any shall refuse so to do, to punish them by suspension, excommunication, or other censures of the church. Fail you not thus to do, as you will avoid our displeasure.

Westminst. Decemb. 25, Regni tertio.

T. Cantuarien. Rich. Chanc. W. St. John.
J. Russel. H. Dorset. W. Northampton.

NUMBER XLVIII.

Cardinal Wolsey's Letters to Rome, for procuring the Popedom to himself, upon Pope Adrian's death.

[Ex MS. Col. Cor. C. Cant.]

My lord of Bath, Mr. Secretary, and Mr. Hannibal, I commend me unto you in my right hearty manner; letting you wit, that by letters lately sent unto me from you my lord of Bath, and Mr. Hannibal, dated at Rome the 14th day of September; which letters I incontinently shewed unto the king's grace his highness; and I have been advertised, to our great discomfort, that the said 14th day, it pleased Almighty God to call the pope's holiness unto his infinite mercy, whose soul Jesu pardon: news certainly unto the king's grace and to me right heavy, and for the universal weal or quiet of Christendom, (whereunto his holiness,

like a devout and virtuous father of holy church, was very studious), much displeasing and contrarious; nevertheless conforming ourselves to the pleasure of Almighty God, to whose calling we all must be obedient, the mind and intention of the king's highness, and of me both, is to put some helps and furtherances, as much as conveniently may be, that such a successor unto him may now, by the holy college of cardinals, be named and elected, as may, with God's grace, perform, achieve, and fulfil the good and virtuous purposes and intents, concerning the pacification of Christendom; whereunto our said late holy father, as much as the brevity of the time did suffer, was, as it should seem, minded and inclined; which thing, how necessary it is to the state of Christ's religion, now daily more and more declining, it is facile and easy to be considered; and surely amongst other Christian princes, there is none which as ye heretofore have perfectly understood, that to this purpose more dedicated themselves to give furtherance, advice, and counsel, than the emperor and the king's grace, who as well before the time of the last vacation, as sithence, by mouth and by letters, with report of ambassadors and otherwise, had many sundry conferences, communications, and devices, in that behalf. In which it hath pleased them, far above my merits or deserts, of their goodness, to think, judge, and esteem me to be meet and able for to aspire unto that dignity; persuading, exhorting, and desiring me, that whensoever opportunity should be given, I should hearken to their advice, counsel, and opinion in that behalf; and offering unto me, to interpose their authorities, helps, and furtherances therein to the uttermost. In comprobation whereof, albeit the emperor, now being far distant from these parts, could not, nor might in so brief time, give unto the king's grace new or fresh confirmation of his purpose, desire, and intent herein; yet nevertheless my lady Margaret, knowing the inclination of his mind in this same, hath by a long discourse made unto me semblable exhortation; offering, as well on the emperor's behalf, as on her own, that as much shall by them be done, to the furtherance thereof, as may be possible. Besides this, both by your letters, and also by particular most loving letters of the Cardinals de Medicis, Sanctorum Quatuor, and Campegius, with credence shewed unto me on their behalf, by their folks here resident, I perceive their good and fast minds, which they, and divers other their friends, owe unto me in that matter. And finally, the king's highness doth not cease, by all the gracious and comfortable means possible, to insist, that I, for manifold, notable, urgent, and great respects, in any wise shall consent that his grace and the emperor do set forth the thing with their best manner. The circumstances of whose most entire and most firm mind thereunto, with their bounteous, godly, and beneficial offers for the weal of Christendom, which his grace maketh to me herein, is too long to rehearse. For which causes, albeit I know myself far unmeet and unable to so high a dignity, minding rather to live and die with his grace in this his realm, doing honour, service, good or pleasure to the same, than now (mine old days approaching) to enter into new things; yet nevertheless, for the great zeal and perfect mind which I have to the exaltation of the Christian faith, the honour, weal, and surety of the king's grace, and the emperor, and to do my duty both to Almighty God and to the world, I referring everything to God's disposition and pleasure, shall not pretermitt to declare unto you such things as the king's highness hath specially willed me to signify unto you, on his grace's behalf who most effectually willet and desireth you to set forth the same, omitting nothing that may be to the furtherance thereof, as his special trust is in you.

First, ye shall understand, that the mind and entire desire of his highness, above all earthly things, is, that I should attain to the said dignity, having his perfect and firm hope, that of the same shall ensue, and that in brief time, a general and universal repose, tranquillity, and quietness in Christendom; and as great renown, honour, profit, and reputation to this realm as ever was; besides the singular comfort and rejoice that the king's grace, with all his friends and subjects, should take thereof; who might be well assured thereby, to compone and order their great causes and affairs, to their high benefit, commodity, and most advantage. For this, and other great and urgent causes, the pleasure of his highness is, that like-as ye my lord of Bath, and Mr. Hannibal, have right prudently and discreetly begun, so ye all, or as many of you as be present in the court of Rome, and continue your practices, overtures, motions, and labours, to bring and conduce this the king's inward desire to perfect end and effect.

And because it is not to be doubted, but that before the receipt of these my letters, ye, having former instructions, shall have far entred your devices in this matter, wherein the king's grace trusteth ye do lose no time or opportunity that possibly may be had; I shall therefore briefly and compendiously touch such this thing, as the king's highness would ye should substantially note in this behalf.

One is, that albeit ye both before, and also now, know the king's mind and desire herein, as is aforesaid, taking that for your foundation; yet nevertheless, forasmuch as it appeareth by your said letters, and otherwise, that the cardinal de Medicis, whose preferment (if this may not be had) both the king's grace and I tendereth above all other, mindeth to experiment what may be done for himself, great policy and dexterity is in your labours and communications to be used, so that ye may first, by great ensearch and enquiry, perfectly understand, as nigh as may be, the disposition, mind, affection, and inclination, as well of the said cardinal de Medicis, as of all the residue, if it be possible; which thing, well known, well pondered and considered, ye shall thereby have a great light to the residue of your business, wherein always ye must so order yourselves, that the matter appearing unto you much doubtful and uncertain, your particular practices (the desired intent peradventure failing) shall not be cause of displeasure or unkindness to be noted by any that may be elected; and for your introduction herein, the king's grace sendeth unto you at this time two commissions under his great seal, the one couched under general words, without making mention of any particular person; and in the other, his highness hath made mention of me by special name: besides that, ye shall receive herewith two letters from his grace to the college of cardinals, with the copies of the same; the one in special recommendation of me, and the other in favour of the cardinal de Medicis; beside such other particular letters in my recommendation to certain cardinals, and other, as by the copies of them herewith enclosed ye shall now perceive. After the receipt thereof, if the cardinals before that time shall not be entred into the conclave, ye taking your commodity, as by your wisdom shall be thought most expedient, shall deliver unto the cardinal de Medicis the king's letters, and mine to him addressed, shewing unto him, with as good words and manner as ye can, that for his great vertue, wisdom, experience, and other commendable merits, with the entire love and favour which the king's grace and I bear unto him, thinking and reputing him most meet and able to aspire unto the papal dignity before all other. Ye have commandment, commission, and instruction, specially and most tenderly, to recommend him unto the whole college of

cardinals, having also the king's and my letters to them in his favour; upon which declaration ye shall perceive his answer to be made unto you in that behalf; whereupon, and by knowledge of the disposition of the residue, ye may perceive how to govern yourselves in the delivery of the rest of your said letters; for in case it may evidently appear unto you, that any of the cardinals, to whom the king's letters be directed, have firmly established their minds upon the said cardinal de Medicis, the more circumspection is to be used with any such in the delivery to him of the king's letters, and overtture of the secretness of your minds touching me; considering, that if the king's intent might in no wise take effect for me, his grace would, before all other, advance and further the said cardinal de Medicis. Nevertheless, if either by his answer to be made unto you, or by other good knowledge, ye shall perceive that he hath so many enemies herein, that of likelihood he cannot attain the same, ye may be the more bold to feel his mind how he is inclined towards me; saying, as indeed the king's grace hath written unto him, that in case he should fail thereof, the king's highness would insist, as much as to his grace were possible, for me; which ye may say were in manner one thing, considering that both the cardinal de Medicis and I bear one mind, zeal, and study, to the weal and quiet of Christendom, the increase and surety of Italy, the benefit and advancement of the emperor's and the king's majesty's causes; and I being pope, he in a manner (whom I above all men love, trust, and esteem) were pope, being sure to have everything according to his mind and desire, and as much honour to be put unto him, his friends and family, as might be devised in such wise: that by these and other good words and demonstrations, ye may make him sure, as I think he be, that failing for himself, he with all his friends do their best for me; and seeing no likelihood for him, ye may then right-well proceed to your particular labour and practices for me, delivering the king's letters, both to the college of cardinals, and to the other, apart, as ye shall see the case then to require; and soliciting them, by secret labours, alleading and declaring unto them my poor qualities, and how I having so great experience of the causes of Christendom, with the entire favour which the emperor and the king's grace bear unto me; the knowledge also and deep acquaintance of other princes, and of their great affairs; the studious mind that I have ever been in, both to the surety and weal of Italy, and also to the quiet and tranquillity of Christendom; not lacking, thanked be God, either substance or liberality to look largely upon my friends; besides the sundry great promotions, which by election of me should be vacant, to be disposed unto such of the said cardinals, as by their true and fast friendship had deserved the same; the loving familiarity also which they should find in me; and that of my nature I am not in great disposed to rigour or austereness, but can be contented, thanked be God, frankly, pleasantly, and courteously, to participate, dispose, and bestow, such things as I have, or shall come to my disposition, not having any such faction, family, or kinsman, to whom I might shew any partiality in bestowing the promotions and goods of the church; and, which is highest to be regarded, that is likely and in manner sure, that by my means, not only Italy shall be put in perfect surety for ever, but also a final rest, peace, and quiet, now most necessary, established betwixt all Christian princes; whereupon the greatest and most notable expedition might be made against the infidels that hath been heard of many years. For the king's highness in that case would be contented, and hath fully promised, God willing, to come in person, when God shall send time, unto Rome; whither

also I should not doubt to bring many more of the Christian princes, being determined, if God should send me such grace, to expone mine own person in God's quarrel; by mean of which my presence many things should be stated, that for superiority and otherwise, in times past, hath been occasion of disagreement amongst princes: albeit peradventure the greatest respect shall not now be had hereunto, nor this be the best elective to win the cardinals' favour; wherein you must therefore use yourself by your wisdoms, as far as you shall see the time, season, and care to require; assuring them, for the removing of the doubt in changing of the see, or not speedy repair thither; that after the election once passed and notified to me, I would not fail, by God's grace, within three months to be in Rome; there, and in the parts thereabout, to remain during my life, whereof ye may make faithful assurance. By these, and other good means and promises on the king's behalf of large rewards, which his highness referreth to your discretion, and is contented to perform that which ye do therein, it is not to be doubted but that you shall obtain the favours of many of them; so as if respect may be had to the honour of the see apostolick, and the surety of Italy, the tranquillity of Christendom, the defence of the same against the infidels, the exaltation of the faith, the persecution of Christ's enemies, the increase and weal of the college of cardinals, with their advancement and promotion; gentle, frank, and liberal entertainment of them, and generally to the benefit of all holy church. The king's grace supposeth his mind and desire herein, with your good means, diligence, and solicitations, is not unlike to take good effect; wherein, for the more authority, and better conducting of your purpose, the pleasure of his grace is, that you join with the emperor's ambassadors, as far as you may see and perceive them to favour this the king's intent, like-as his grace thinketh, that according to the often conferences, communications, promises, and exhortations made by the emperor to me in this behalf, and according to my said lady Margaret's desire or offer, they have commandment to do. In the politick handling of all which matters, the king's highness putteth in you his special trust and confidence, so to order yourself in the premises, as you shall perceive to accord with the inward desire of his grace, and the state and disposition of the thing there; for which purpose his grace hath furnished you at this time, jointly or severally, with two sundry commissions, the one general for me, and in my favour, by the which you have ample authority to bind and promise, on the king's behalf, as well gift of promotions, as also as large sums of money to as many, and such as you shall think convenient; and as sure ye may be, whatsoever ye shall promise, bind his grace, and do in that behalf, his highness will inviolably observe, keep and perform, the other special, as afore letters to the college of two effects, the one for the cardinal de Medicis, and the other for me, with other particular letters in my favour; all which his pleasure is, that you shall use in manner and form aforesaid; that is to say, if you shall perceive the affair of the cardinal de Medicis to be in such perfect train that he is like to have the same dignity, ye then proceed to that which may be his furtherance, using nevertheless your particular labour for me, if you think it may do good, after such sort as ye shall not conceive any ingratitude or unkindness therein. And if you may see that the said cardinal de Medicis be not in such great likelihood thereof; then considering, that as the king's grace, and I think verily he will do his best for me, ye shall effectually set forth your practices for attaining and winning as many friends for me as possible may be, delivering your letters for the intent, as you shall see cause. Wherein you being now furnished for both purposes,

and also having one of the commissions general and indifferent, without any person therein specially recommended, things be to be done or omitted, as you shall know to stand with the state or commodity of the affairs there, which the ground of the king's mind to you now declared shall be your best and perfect instruction; and as you shall do or know herein, so the king's grace desireth you often and speedily to advertise me, by your letters, having no doubt but that his highness will see your travels, diligence, and pains in this behalf, so to be considered, as you shall have cause to think the same well employed and bestowed.

And my lord of Bath, as you do know well, because Mr. Pace, at the time of the last vacation, was sent purposely from hence with commission and instruction for that matter; the king, and I, supposing that upon knowledge of this news, he being at Milan, would incontinently repair unto Rome, hath therefore made the aforesaid commissions, and also this letter to be directed unto you, jointly and severally willing you, in such substantial and discreet wise to proceed in that matter, not forbearing anything that may be to the furtherance thereof, as his grace, and my special trust, is in you; and thus most heartily fare you well. At my Mannor of Hampton Court, the 4th day of October.

The rest is the Cardinal's own hand.

My lord of Bath, the king hath willed me to write unto you, that his grace hath a marvellous opinion of you; and you knowing his mind as you do, his highness doubteth not but this matter shall be by your policy set forth in such wise, as that the same may come to the desired effect, not sparing any reasonable offers, which is a thing that amongst so many needy persons is more regarded than per-case the qualities of the person; ye be wise, and ye wot what I mean; trust yourself best, and be not seduced by fair words, and specially of those which (say what they will) desire more their own preferment than mine. Howbeit great dexterity is to be used; and the king thinketh that all the imperials shall be clearly with you, if faith be in the emperor. The young men, which for the most part being needy, will give good ears to fair offers, which shall be undoubtedly performed; the king willeth you neither to spare his authority or his good money, or substance. You may be assured, whatsoever you promise shall be performed; and our Lord send you good speed.

Your loving friend,
T. CARDINALIS EBORAC.

NUMBER XLIX.

A Memorial given by the King's Majesty, with the advice of his Highness' Council, to the Lord Russell, Lord Privy Seal; the Lord Paget of Beaudeisert; Sir William Petre, Kt. and one of his Highness' two Principal Secretaries, and Sir John Mason Kt. his Majesty's Secretary for the French Tongue; being sent at this present in Commission, to treat and conclude upon a Peace, with certain Commissioners sent from the French King at this time for the same purpose.—An Original.

[Cotton. Libr. Caligula, E. 1.]

EDWARD R.—First, as touching the place of their meeting, the same to be at Calais or Bulloign, if it may be so brought to pass; otherwise to be at such convenient place, either within our dominion or the French: or some time in theone, and some time the other, as may be best agreed upon. In the appointing whereof, we would no ceremony to be so much

sticked upon, as the same should be any occasion of hindrance to the good success looked for at this meeting.

Secondly, if the French commissioners shall require Bulloign, with the members, and all such grounds and lands as was of late conquered by our late father, of most noble memory, to be restored to the French king, we be pleased our said commissioners shall on our name agree and assent thereunto; so as the said French commissioners do, and will likewise covenant and agree, in the name of the said French king, to any of our requests hereafter ensuing.

First, our said commissioners shall demand, in recompence for Bulloign, and the members and grounds as aforesaid, that the treaties last made between our said father of famous memory, and the realm of Scotland, may in all things be performed; and the person of the young Scotch queen delivered to us, to the intent the marriage between us and her may be performed. They shall also demand, that the fortifications at Newhaven and Blackness may be utterly ruined, and no fortifications made from henceforth at any of those places. They shall also require the continuance of payment of our perpetual pension, and all the debts due unto us, by force of any former treaties, before the commencement of these last wars. And this for the first degree, which if it may not be obtained, then for

The second degree, we be pleased to accept for a recompence, if they will covenant for performance of the said treaties with Scotland, to deliver the Scotch queen, and continue from henceforth the payment of the perpetual pension.

But if that shall also be refused, then for the third degree, our said commissioners shall require the continuance of payment of our pension, the arrearages due by any former treaties between our said father and the late French king; and that the forts of Newhaven, Hambletue, and Blackness, may be utterly ruined, and no new fortifications commenced at any of the said places hereafter.

And if this may not be obtained, then for the fourth and last degree our pleasure is, that our said commissioners shall require the continuance of payment of our said pension, and all such debts as were due unto our said late father before the commencement of his last war.

In the debating and discoursing whereof, we will that our said commissioners shall employ themselves to their uttermost, to make as good and honourable a bargain for us, and to attain all or as much of the premises as they may; remembering unto the French commissioners, our great charges sustained in these last wars commenced by them contrary to the former treaties.

Touching the place, day, time, and other circumstances to be used, as well in the delivery of Bulloign, the Base Town, the Old Man, the Young Man, with the ground, territories, and members, to the said pieces, or any of them belonging; as also of payment of such sums of money as shall be agreed upon for the same; our said commissioners shall, by their good discretions, devise with the said French commissioners, all such ways as they can or may think most for our honour and surety: and such overtures or discourses as shall be made by the said French commissioners, touching the premises, our said commissioners shall advertise unto us or to our council.

And if any motion shall be made to have Scotland comprehended in this peace, our said commissioners shall say, that forasmuch as the Scots be common enemies to us and the emperor, we may not assent to the comprehension of them, without the emperor's consent; or at the least, without such respect to our

treaties with the emperor and his subjects as the amity between us requireth. And therefore if the Scots will covenant to stand to our arbitrement and judgment for all such matters as be in difference between the said emperor and them, we will be pleased that the Scots shall be comprehended; and one such article, or of like effect, made for comprehension of them, as was made at the conclusion of the last peace. And if the delivery, or razing of any pieces, now by us possessed in Scotland, shall be required, we be pleased that our said commissioners travelling first by all ways and means they may, to induce the other commissioners to assent that all the said pieces, and the lands by us now possessed, may remain to us and our heirs and successors for ever, shall nevertheless, if that may not be received, assent in the end that Borthwickcraig, Lauder, and Dunglass, shall be restored upon a convenient recompence in money, so as the forts of Roxburgh and Haymouth, with their grounds adjoining, may be covenanted to remain to us and our successors for ever.

If the French commissioners shall make any motion of treaty for marriage between us and the lady Elizabeth, eldest daughter to the French king; our said commissioners excusing the present talk thereof, in respect of our young years, and for such other causes as they may think good, shall do all that they may to cut off that talk: but if they shall be much pressed therein in respect of such overtures as have been made already, our pleasure is that our said commissioners shall, by general words, entertain the talk of that matter; and thereof, and of such other matters as shall be proposed touching the same, advertise us, or our council.

In all the treaty it must be remembered, to reserve and have special regard to the preservation of our treaties with the emperor, and other our friends.

And if it shall seem expedient to our said commissioners, for the better expedition of our affairs committed to their charge, that a surceance or abstinence of wars be granted, as well on our behalf, as on the behalf of the French king, we be pleased that our right trusty and right well-beloved cousin, the earl of Huntingdon, our lieutenant-general of that side, shall, by the advice of our said commissioners, grant a surceance or abstinence for such time and in such manner and sort as by our said commissioners shall be thought best, so as the like be also granted on the behalf of the said French king.

Finally, our said commissioners shall advertise us, or our council attendant about our person, from time to time, of their proceedings; and further, do as we or our council shall appoint them, either by our letters or the letters of our said council accordingly.

T. Cant.; R. Rich, cancel.; W. St. John, H. Dorset, W. Northampton, J. Warwick, Thomas Southampton, Thom. Eley., Cuth. Duresm. T. Cheyne, T. Wentworth, Anthony Wingfield, W. Herbert, T. Darcy, N. Wotton, J. Baker, Edward North, Edward Montague, Richard Southwell.

NUMBER L.

Articles devised by the King's Majesty, with the advice of his Highness' Council, answering to certain doubts moved in the Letters, bearing date the 27th of February last past, sent from his Majesty's Commissioners, being on the other side the seas, for the Treaty of Peace.—An Original.

[Cotton. Libr. Caligula, E. 1.]

EDWARD R.—First, if the French deputies require to have Roxburgh and Aymouth to be rendred unto the Scots, we will that our commissioners shall, by

all the best means they can devise, induce them to agree that the said two places may and shall remain to us. And in case the French will not so be persuaded, but require still to have them rendred, our pleasure is, that our commissioners shall stand most stifiy in the denial of it, so far forth, that they shall come to the breaking of that day's talk, rather than to condescend unto it. And in case that move not the French to relent of their request, our commissioners shall afterwards send to the French deputies to meet, or to talk again, and then they shall say, that rather than such a good work of peace should fail, they will grant to the razing and abandoning of both the said pieces; with special capitulation, that neither the Scots nor the French shall re-fortify, nor cause to be re-fortified, in neither of those two places; with the like covenant for our part, if the French deputies do require it.

Item. We are pleased, that the reservance of our rights and titles, mentioned in our former articles sent to our said commissioners, be in general words, so as severally general reservance be made, as well for our rights and titles as to Scotland, as for our matters with France.

Item. We are pleased, that for such sums of money as shall be agreed upon to be paid unto us for the delivery of Bulloign, our said commissioners shall take hostages of the French, according to our former articles sent unto them in that behalf; the said hostages to remain there, till the whole and last sum so agreed upon be fully answered unto us. And likewise in case the French deputies will ask hostages for the sure delivery of the town of Bulloign, with the members, our said commissioners may agree to the assigning of such hostages as shall be thought sufficient for the same; which hostages nevertheless shall not be bound to remain or continue there any longer than till the said town is delivered, but shall thereupon be suffered to return home at their pleasure.

Item. Upon the conclusion between our commissioners and the French deputies for the delivery of Bulloign, our pleasure is, that the term of the delivery of the same be appointed, as short as may be conveniently, having consideration to a reasonable respite for the removing and safe conveyance away of the artillery, munition, armour, and goods belonging to us or our subjects, either by sea or by land, as shall be thought most commodious: and that our men, departing out of the town in the forenoon, the French shall abstain from entry into it till at three or four hours after, for avoiding the inconveniences which may chance upon the coupling of our men with the French.

Item. Forasmuch as our said commissioners, being upon the place, can better consider any other thing not touched in the premises, concerning the manner and fashion of the delivery of Bulloign, or retire of our men, artillery, and other things, other than we can do here, we are pleased to remit that to their wisdoms and discretions.

Item. As for Alderney and Sark, forasmuch as both those places are ours, reason would that the French should raze their fortifications at Sark, and the fortifications at Alderney, being lawfully done by us upon our own ground, to remain at our arbitrement. That in case the French deputies shall make no mention, neither of the one nor of the other, we are pleased that our commissioners shall also pass it over in silence; but if the French deputies shall mention the same, and without the razing the fortifications at Alderney, will not condescend to a peace, we are pleased, our commissioners shall conclude with them upon the razing and abandoning of the one and the other of the afore-

said fortifications; standing first as much in denial of the French deputies' demands herein as they may.

T. Cant; R. Rich, cancel.; W. Wilts, T. Wentworth, A. Wingfield, T. Darcy, N. Wotton, R. Sadler, J. Warwick, W. Northampton, T. Eley., T. Cheyne, W. Herbert, John Gage, Edward North.

NUMBER I.I.

The King's Letters Patents to John à Lasco and the German Congregation.

[Rot. Pat. 4to. Reg. part. 5.]

EDWARDUS Sextus Dei gratia Angliæ, Franciæ, Hiberniæ Rex, Fidei Defensor, et in Terra Ecclesiæ Anglicanæ et Hiberniæ supremum sub Christo Caput, omnibus ad quos præsentis literæ pervenerint salutem. Cum magnæ quædam et graves considerationes nos ad præsens specialiter impulerunt, tum etiam cogitantes illud, quanto studio et charitate Christianos Principes in Sacrosanctum Dei Evangelium et Religionem Apostolicam ab ipso Christo inchoatam, institutam et traditam, animatos et propensos esse conveniat, sine qua haud dubie politia et civile Regnum nec consistere diu, neq; nomen suum tueri potest, nisi principes, ceteriq; præpotentes viri, quos Deus ad Regnorum gubernacula sedere voluit, id in primis operam dent, ut per totum Reipub. Corpus, casta sinceræq; Religio diffundatur, et Ecclesia in vere Christianis et Apostolicis opinionibus et ritibus instituta, atq; adulta per sanctos ac carni et mundo mortuos ministros conservetur: pro eo quod Christiani Principis officium statuimus, inter alias suas gravissimas de Regno suo bene splendideq; administrando cogitationes, etiam Religionis et Religionis causa calamitate fractis et afflictis exilibus consulere. Sciatis, quod non solum præmissa contemplantes et Ecclesiam a Papatus Tyrannide per nos vindicatam in pristina libertate conservare cupientes: verum etiam exulum ac peregrinorum conditionem miserantes, qui jam bonis temporibus in Regno nostro Angliæ commorati sunt voluntario exilio, Religionis et Ecclesiæ causa muletati: quia hospites et externos homines propter Christi Evangelium ex Patria sua profligatos et ejectos, et in Regnum nostrum profugos, præsidii ad vitam degendam necessariis in Regno nostro egere, non dignum esse neq; Christiano homine, neq; principis magnificentia duximus, cujus liberalitas nullo modo in tali rerum statu restricta, clausave esse debet. Ac quoniam multi Germaniæ nationis homines, ac alii peregrini qui confluerunt, et in dies singulos confluent, in Regnum nostrum Angliæ, ex Germania et aliis remotioribus partibus, in quibus Papatus dominatur, Evangelii libertas labefacta et premi cœpta est, non habent certam sedem et locum in Regno nostro ubi conventus suos celebrare valeant, ubi inter suæ gentis et moderni idiomatis homines Religionis negotia et res Ecclesiasticas pro Patriæ ritu et more intelligenter obire et tractare possint: idcirco de gratia nostra speciali, ac ex certa scientia et mero motu nostris, necnon de advisamento Concilii nostri volumus, concedimus et ordinamus quod de cætero sit et erit unum templum, sive sacra ædes in Civitate nostra Londinensi, quod vel quæ vocabitur templum Domini Jesu, ubi Congregatio et conventus Germanorum et aliorum peregrinorum fieri et celebrari possit, ea intentione et proposito, ut a Ministris Ecclesiæ Germanorum aliorumq; peregrinorum Sacrosancti Evangelii incorrupta interpretatio, Sacramentorum juxta Verbum Dei et Apostolicam observationem administratio fiat. Ac Templum illud, sive Sacram ædem illam de uno Superintendente et quatuor verbi ministris erigimus, creamus, ordinamus,

et fundamus per præsentés. Et quod idem Superintendens et ministri in re et nomine sint et erunt unum Corpus corporatum et politicum, de se per nomen Superintendents et Ministrorum Ecclesiæ Germanorum et aliorum peregrinorum ex fundatione Regis Edwardi Sexti in Civitate Londinensi per præsentés incorporamus : ac corpus corporatum et politicum per idem nomen realiter et ad plenum creamus, erigimus, ordinamus, facimus et constituimus per præsentés : et quod successionem habeant.

Et ulterius de gratia nostra speciali, ac ex certa scientia et mero motu nostris, necnon de avasamento Concilii nostri dedimus et concessimus, ac per præsentés damus et concedimus præfato Superintendenti et Ministris Ecclesiæ Germanorum et aliorum peregrinorum in Civitate Londinensi, totum illud templum sive Ecclesiam nuperfratrum Augustinianum in Civitate nostra Londinensi, ac totam terram, fundum et solum Ecclesiæ prædictæ, exceptis toto choro dictæ Ecclesiæ, terris fundo et solo ejusdem habendum et gaudendum, dictum Templum sive Ecclesiam ac cætera præmissa, exceptis præexceptis, præfatis Superintendenti et Ministris et Successoribus suis, tenendum de nobis, hæredibus et successoribus nostris, in puram et liberam elemosynam.

Damus ulterius de avasamento prædicto, ac ex certa scientia et mero motu nostris prædictis per præsentés concedimus præfatis Superintendenti et Ministris et successoribus suis plenam facultatem, potestatem et auctoritatem ampliandi et majorem faciendi numerum minorum et nominandi et appointuandi de tempore in tempus, tales et hujusmodi subministros, ad serviendum in Templo prædicto, quales præfatis Superintendenti et Ministris necessariis visum fuerit. Et quidem hæc omnia juxta beneplacitum regium.

Volumus præterea quod Joannes a Lasco natione Polonus, homo propter integritatem et innocentiam vitæ, ac morum et singularem eruditionem, valde celebris, sit primus et modernus Superintendens dictæ Ecclesiæ, et quod Gualterus Deloenus, Martinus Flandrus, Franciscus Riverius, Richardus Gallus, sint quatuor primi et moderni Ministri. Damus præterea et concedimus præfatis Superintendenti et Ministris et successoribus suis facultatem, auctoritatem, et licentiam, post mortem vel vacationem alicujus Ministri prædictorum, de tempore in tempus eligendi, nominandi, et surrogandi alium, personamabilem et idoneam in locum suum; ita tamen quod persona sic nominatus et electus præsentetur et sistatur coram nobis, hæredibus vel successoribus nostris, et per nos, hæredes vel successores nostros, instituat in Ministerium prædictum.

Damus etiam et concedimus præfatis Superintendenti, Ministris, et successoribus suis, facultatem, auctoritatem, et licentiam, post mortem seu vacationem Superintendents de tempore in tempus eligendi, nominandi, et surrogandi alium, personam doctam et gravem in locum suum; ita tamen quod persona sic nominatus et electus præsentetur et sistatur coram nobis, hæredibus vel successoribus nostris, et per nos, hæredes vel successores nostros, instituat in officium Superintendents prædictum.

Mandamus et firmiter injungendum præcipimus, tam Majori, Vicecomitibus et Aldermanis Civitatis nostræ Londinensis et successoribus suis, cum omnibus aliis Archiepiscopis, Episcopis, Justiciariis, Officiariis et Ministris nostris quibuscunque, quod permittant præfatis, Superintendenti et Ministris, et suis, suos libere et quiete frui, gaudere, uti, et exercere ritus et ceremonias suas proprias, et disciplinam Ecclesiasticam propriam et peculiarem, non obstante quod non convenient cum ritibus et caeremoniis in Regno nostro usitatis, absq; impeditione, perturbatione, aut inquina-

tatione eorum, vel eorum alicujus, aliquo statuto, actu, proclamatione, injunctione, restrictione, seu usu in contrarium inde antehac habitis, factis, editis, seu promulgatis, in contrarium non obstantibus. Eo quod expressa mentio de vero valore annuo, aut de certitudine præmissorum, sive eorum alicujus, aut de aliis donis sive concessionibus per nos præfatis Superintendenti, Ministris et successoribus suis ante hæc tempora factis, in præsentibus minime facta existit, aut aliquo statuto, actu, ordinatione, provisione, sive restrictione inde in contrarium factis, editis, ordinatis seu provisus, aut aliqua alia re, causa vel materia quacunq; in aliquo non obstante. In cujus rei testimonium has literas nostras fieri fecimus Patentes. Teste Meipso, apud Leighe, vicesimo quarto die Julii, Anno Regni nostri quarto, per Breve de privato Sigillo, et de datis prædicta Auctoritate Parlamenti.

R. Southwell. Vn. Harrys.

NUMBER LII.

Injunctions given in the Visitation of the Reverend Father in God, Nicholas, Bishop of London, for an Uniformity in his Diocess of London, in the 4th year of our Sovereign Lord King Edward the Sixth, by the grace of God, King of England, &c.

[Regist. Ridl. Fol. 305.]

London, Anno Dom. 1550.

FIRST, That there be no reading of such injunctions as extoltheth and setteth forth the popish mass, candles, images, chauntries : neither that there be used any superlataries, or trentals of communions.

Item. That no minister do counterfeit the popish mass, in kissing the Lord's board, washing his hands or fingers after the gospel, or the receipt of the holy communion; shifting the book from one place to another; holding up the forefingers; laying down and licking the chalice after the communion; blessing his eyes with the sudarie thereof, or patten, or crossing his head with the same, holding his forefingers and thumbs joined together toward the temples of his head, after the receiving of the sacrament, breathing on the bread or chalice; saying the Agnus before the communion; shewing the sacrament openly before the distribution, or making any elevation thereof; ringing of the sacring bell, or setting any light upon the Lord's board; and finally, that the minister, in the time of the holy communion, do use only the ceremonies and gestures appointed by the Book of Common Prayer, and none other, so that there do not appear in them any counterfeiting of the popish mass.

Item. That none be admitted to receive the holy communion but such as will, upon request of the curat, be ready, with meekness and reverence, to confess the articles of the creed.

Item. That none make a mart of the holy communion, by buying and selling the receipt thereof for money, as the popish mass in times past was wont to be.

Item. Whereas in divers places some use the Lord's board after the form of a table, and some of an altar, whereby dissension is perceived to arise among the unlearned; therefore wishing a godly unity to be observed in all our diocess, and for that the form of a table may more move and turn the simple from the old superstitious opinions of the popish mass, and to the right use of the Lord's Supper, we exhort the curats, churchwardens, and questmen here present, to erect and set up the Lord's board, after the form of an honest table, decently covered, in such place of the quire or chancel as shall be thought most meet by their discretion and agreement, so that the ministers, with the communicants, may have their place sepa-

rated from the rest of the people; and to take down and abolish all other by-altars or tables.

Item. That the minister, in the time of the communion, immediately after the offertory, shall monish the communicants, saying these words, or such-like: "Now is the time, if it please you, to remember the poor men's chest with your charitable almes."

Item. That the homilies be read orderly, without omission of any part thereof.

Item. The Common Prayer be had in every church upon Wednesdays and Fridays, according to the king's grace's ordinance; and that all such as conveniently may, shall diligently resort to the same.

Item. That every curat be diligent to teach the catechism, whensoever just occasion is offered, upon the Sunday or holyday; and at least every six weeks, once shall call upon his parishioners, and present himself ready to instruct and examine the youth of the same parish, according to the book of service touching the same.

Item. That none maintain purgatory, invocation of saints, the Six Articles, bedrowls, images, reliques, rubrick primars, with invocation of saints, justification of man by his own works, holy bread, palms, ashes, candles, sepulchre paschal, creeping to the cross, hallowing of the fire or altar, or any other such-like abuses and superstitions, now taken away by the king's grace's most godly proceedings.

Item. That all ministers do move the people to often and worthy receiving of the holy communion.

Item. That every minister do move his parishioners to come diligently to the church; and when they come, not to talk, or walk, in the sermon, communion, or divine service time, but rather at the same to behave themselves reverently, godly, and devoutly in the church; and that they also monish the churchwardens to be diligent overseers in that behalf.

Item. That the churchwardens do not permit any buying, selling, gaming, outrageous noise or tumult, or any other idle occupying of youth in the church, church-porch, or church-yard, during the time of common prayer, sermon, or reading of the homily.

Item. That no persons use to minister the sacraments, or, in open audience of the congregation, presume to expound the Holy Scriptures, or to preach before they be first lawfully called and authorised in that behalf.

God save the King.

NUMBER LIII.

Dr. Oglethorp's Submission and Profession of his Faith.

I DID never preach or teach openly anything contrary to the doctrine and religion set forth by the king's majesty, and authorised by his grace's laws, since the making and publishing of the same.

I suppose, and think his grace's proceedings (concerning religion) to be good and godly, if they be used accordingly, as his grace hath will'd they should, by his laws and instructions.

And further, I suppose the order and form of doctrine and religion now set forth by his grace, and used, in many things to be better and much nearer the usage of the apostolick and primitive church, than it was before-times: if it be used godly and reverently, accordingly as I think it to be meant by his grace's highness, and his most honourable council.

Namely, in these things, in prohibiting that none should commune alone, in making the people whole communicans, or in suffering them to commune under both kinds, in the catechisation of young chaplains in the rudiments of our faith, in having the Common

VOL. II.

Prayer in English, in setting forth the homilies, and many other things, which I think very good and godly if they be used as is aforesaid.

The lately-received doctrine concerning the sacrament, and namely the attribute of transubstantiation, I do not like, and I think it not consonant to the Scriptures and ancient writers, although I suppose that there is a certain and an ineffable presence of Christ's body there, which I can neither comprehend nor express, because it so far passes the compass and reach of my wit and reason, wherefore I think it ought to be both ministred and received with a godly and reverent fear, and not without great premeditation and examination aforesaid, as well of the minister as of the receiver. 1550.

Your grace's poor well-willer, with his prayer and service, as he is bound,

OWING OGLETHORP.

NUMBER LIV.

A Letter from Dr. Smith to Archbishop Cranmer. An Original.

[Ex MS. Col. Cor. Cant.]

RIGHT HONOURABLE AND MY SPECIAL GOOD LORD—I commend me to your grace most humbly, giving to the same thanks as I am bound, for your grace's kindness toward my sureties; for the which you have (and shall whiles I live) my good word and prayer. *Ignatii Epistola adhuc extant in Gymnasio Magdalene.* If it might please your lordship, I would very gladly see some part of your collection against my book, "*De Cœlibatu Sacerdotum*," which I wrote then to try the truth out, not to the intent it should be printed, as it was, against my will. Would God I had never made it, because I took then for my chief ground, that the priests of England made a vow when they were made, which now I perceive is not true.

My lord, I received my cap-case, &c.—*Sed tribus nummorum meorum partibus sublatis; Quod damnum æquo animo est ferendum, quod furti revinci non possit, qui abstulit.* My lord, I am glad that your grace is reported both gentle and merciful, of all such which have had to do with you for religion of this university. For my part, if ever I may do your grace's basest servant any pleasure, I will do it indeed. *Si aliter, atqui sentio, loquor, dispeream. Ignoscat hæc Honoranda Dominatio tam diutinum silentium mihi, quippe quod crebrioribus literis posthac pensabo. Deus optimus maximus tuam amplitudinem diu servet incolumem Christianæ Pietati propagandæ ac prœvehendæ. Oxonii 28.*

Tibi addictissimus,

SMITHÆUS.

NUMBER LV.

Articles agreed upon by the Bishops and other Learned Men, in the Convocation held at London, in the year 1552, for the avoiding diversities of Opinions, and stablishing Consent touching True Religion.

Published by the King's authority.

With Marginal Notes of the Differences between these and those set out by Queen Elizabeth, anno 1562.

I.—Of Faith in the Holy Trinity.

THERE is but one living and true God everlasting, without body, parts, or passions; of infinite power, wisdom, and goodness; the Maker and Preserver of all things, both visible and invisible. And in the

unity of this godhead, there are three Persons, of one substance, power, and eternity,—the Father, the Son, and the Holy Ghost.

II.—*The Word of God made very Man.*

The Son, which is the Word of the Father, took man's nature in the womb of the blessed Virgin, of her substance: so that two whole and perfect natures, that is to say the Godhead and Manhood, were joined together in one person, never to be divided, whereof is one Christ, very God and very man; who truly suffered, was crucified, dead, and buried, to reconcile his Father to us, and to be a sacrifice, not only for original guilt, but also for actual sins of men.

The Son, which is the Word of the Father, begotten from everlasting of the Father, the very and eternal God, of one substance with the Father, took man's nature in the womb of the blessed Virgin, &c.

III.—*Of the going down of Christ into Hell.*

As Christ died for us, and was buried; so also is it to be believed that he went down into hell: * for his body lay in the grave till his resurrection, but his soul being separate from his body, remained with the spirits which were detained in prison, that is to say in hell, and there preached unto them; as witnesseth that place of Peter.

IV.—*The Resurrection of Christ.*

Christ did truly rise again from death, and took again his body, with flesh, bones, and all things appertaining to the perfection of man's nature, wherewith he ascended into heaven, and there sitteth till he return to judge all men at the last day.

Of the Holy Ghost.

The Holy Ghost, proceeding from the Father and the Son, is of one Substance, Majesty, and Glory with the Father and the Son, very and eternal God.

V.—*The Doctrine of the Holy Scripture is sufficient to Salvation.*

Holy Scripture containeth all things necessary to salvation; so that whatsoever is not read therein, nor may be proved thereby, although sometimes it may be admitted by God's faithful people as pious, and conducing unto order and decency, yet is not to be required of any man that it should be believed as an article of the faith, or be thought requisite or necessary to salvation.

Holy Scripture containeth all things necessary to salvation; so that whatsoever is not read therein, nor may be proved thereby, is not to be required of any man that it should be believed as an article of the faith, or be thought necessary or requisite to salvation.

In the name of the Holy Scripture we do understand those Canonical Books of the Old and New Testament, of whose authority was never any doubt in the Church; that is to say, Genesis, Exodus, Leviticus, Numbers, Deuteronomy, Joshua, Judges, Ruth, 1st of Samuel, 2nd of Samuel, &c. And the other Books (as Hieron saith) the Church doth read for example of life, and instruction of manners, but yet doth it not apply them to establish any doctrine; such are these following:—the 3d of Esdras, the 4th of Esdras, the Book of Tobias, the Book of Judeth, the rest of the Book of Hester, the Book of Wisdom, &c. All the Books of the New Testament, as they are commonly received, we do receive and account them Canonical.

VI.—*The Old Testament is not to be rejected.*

The Old Testament is not to be rejected, as if it were contrary to the New, but to be retained. Forasmuch as in the Old Testament, as in the New, everlasting life is offered to mankind by Christ, who is the

only Mediator betwixt God and man, being both God and man. Wherefore they are not to be heard, who feign that the old fathers did look only for transitory promises.

Although the law given from God by Moses, as touching ceremonies and rites, do not bind Christian men, nor the civil precepts thereof ought of necessity to be received in any commonwealth; yet notwithstanding no Christian man whatsoever is free from the obedience of the commandments which are called moral.

VII.—*The Three Creeds.*

The three creeds,—Nice creed, Athanasius' creed, and that which is commonly called the Apostles' creed, ought thoroughly to be received; † for they may be proved by most certain warrants of the Holy Scripture.

VIII.—*Original Sin.*

Original sin standeth not in the following of Adam, (as the Pelagians do vainly talk, and at this day is affirmed by some Anabaptists,†) but it is the fault and corruption of every man that naturally is engendred of the offspring of Adam, whereby man is very far gone from original righteousness, and is of his own nature inclined to evil; so that the flesh lusteth always contrary to the Spirit; and therefore in every person born into this world it deserveth God's wrath and damnation. And this infection of nature doth remain, yea in them that are regenerated, whereby the lust of the flesh, called in Greek *φρόνημα σάρκος*, which some do expound the wisdom, some sensuality, some the affection, some the desire of the flesh, is not subject to the law of God. And although there is no condemnation for them that believe and are baptized, yet the apostle doth confess that concupiscence and lust hath of itself the nature of sin.

IX.—*Of Free-Will.*

We have no power to do good works, pleasant and acceptable to God, without the grace of God by Christ preventing us, that we may have a good will and working with us when we have that good will.

The condition of man after the fall of Adam is such, that he cannot turn and prepare himself, by his own natural strength and good works, to faith and calling upon God. Wherefore we have no power to do good works pleasant and acceptable unto God, &c.

X.—*Of Grace.*

The grace of Christ, or the Holy Ghost which is given by him, doth take from man the heart of stone, and giveth him a heart of flesh. And though it rendereth us willing to do those good works which before we were unwilling to do, and unwilling to do those evil works which before we did, yet is no violence offered by it to the will of man; so that no man when he hath sinned can excuse himself, as if he had sinned against his will, or upon constraint; and therefore that he ought not to be accused or condemned upon that account.

XI.—*Of the Justification of Man.*

Justification by faith only in Jesus Christ, in that sense wherein it is set forth in the homily of justification, is the most certain and most wholesome doctrine for a Christian man.

We are accounted righteous before God only for the merit of our Lord and Saviour Jesus Christ by faith, and not for our own works or deservings. Wherefore, that we are justified by faith is a most wholesome doctrine, and very full of comfort, as more largely is expressed in the homily of justification.

* These words were left out.

† And believed.

† Left out.

Of Good Works.

Albeit the good works which are the fruits of faith, and follow after justification, cannot put away our sins, and endure the severity of God's judgment, yet are they pleasing and acceptable unto God in Christ, and do spring out necessarily of a true and lively faith, inasmuch that by them a lively faith may be as evidently known as a tree discerned by the fruit.

XII.—Works before Justification.

Works done before the grace of Christ, and the inspiration of his Spirit, are not pleasant to God, forasmuch as they spring not of faith in Jesus Christ; neither do they make men meet to receive grace, or (as the school authors say) deserve grace of congruity; yea rather, for that they are not done as God hath willed and commanded them to be done, we doubt not but they have the nature of sin.

XIII.—Works of Supererogation.

Voluntary works besides, over and above God's commandments, which they call works of supererogation, cannot be taught without arrogancy and impiety; for by them men do declare, that they do not only render unto God as much as they are bound to do, but that they do more for his sake than of bounden duty is required; whereas Christ saith plainly, When you have done all that are commanded to you, say, We are unprofitable servants.

XIV.—None but Christ without Sin.

Christ, in the truth of our nature, was made like unto us in all things, sin only excepted, from which he was clearly void, both in his flesh and in his spirit: he came to be a lamb without spot, who, by sacrifice of himself once made, should take away the sins of the world; and sin (as St. John saith) was not in him: but all we the rest (although baptized and born in Christ), yet offend in many things; and if we say we have no sin, we deceive ourselves, and the truth is not in us.

XV.—Of the Sin against the Holy Ghost.

Not every deadly sin, willingly committed after baptism, is sin against the Holy Ghost, and unpardonable. Wherefore the grant of repentance is not to be denied to such as fall into sin after baptism. After we have received the Holy Ghost, we may depart from grace given, and fall into sin, and by the grace of God (we may) arise again and amend our lives. And therefore they are to be condemned which say, they can no more sin as long as they live here, or deny the * place of penance to such as truly repent.

XVI.—The Blasphemy against the Holy Ghost.

The blasphemy against the Holy Ghost is then committed when any man, out of malice and hardness of heart, doth wilfully reproach and persecute in an hostile manner the truth of God's word, manifestly made known unto him. Which sort of men, being made obnoxious to the curse, subject themselves to the most grievous of all wickednesses; from whence this kind of sin is called unpardonable, and so affirmed to be by our Lord and Saviour.

XVII.—Of Predestination and Election.

Predestination unto life is the everlasting purpose of God, whereby (before the foundations of the world were laid) he hath constantly decreed by his counsel, secret unto us, to deliver from curse and damnation those whom he hath chosen† out of mankind, and to bring them by Christ to everlasting salvation, as vessels made to honour. Wherefore they which be endued with so excellent a benefit of God, be called according to

God's purpose, by his Spirit working in due season, they through grace obey the calling, they be justified freely, they are made sons of ‡ adoption, they are made like the image of § the only begotten Jesus Christ; they walk religiously in good works; and at length, by God's mercy, they attain to everlasting felicity.

As the godly consideration of predestination and election in Christ is full of sweet, pleasant, and unspeakable comfort to godly persons, and such as feel in themselves the working of the spirit of Christ, mortifying the works of the flesh, and their earthly members, and drawing up their mind to high and heavenly things, as well because it doth greatly establish and confirm their faith of eternal salvation, to be enjoyed through Christ, as because it doth fervently kindle their love towards God: so for curious and carnal persons, lacking the spirit of Christ, to have continually before their eyes the sentence of God's predestination, is a most dangerous downfall, whereby the devil doth thrust them either into desperation, or into wretchedness of most unclean living, no less perilous than desperation.

Furthermore, *though the decrees of predestination be unknown to us*, yet || must we receive God's promises in such wise as they be generally set forth to us in Holy Scripture; and in our doings, that will of God is to be followed, which we have expressly declared unto us in the word of God.

XVIII.—Everlasting Salvation to be obtained only in the Name of Christ.

They also are to be had accursed, that presume to say, that every man shall be saved by the law or sect which he professeth, so that he be diligent to frame his life according to that law, and the light of nature: for Holy Scripture doth set out unto us only the name of Jesus Christ, whereby men must be saved.

XIX.—All Men are bound to keep the Precepts of the Moral Law.

Although the law given from God by Moses, as touching ceremonies and rites, do not bind Christian men, nor the civil precepts thereof ought of necessity to be received in any common-wealth; yet, notwithstanding, no Christian man whatsoever is free from the obedience of the commandments which are called moral. Wherefore they are not to be heard which teach, that the Holy Scriptures were given to none but to the weak, and brag continually of the Spirit, by which they do pretend, that all whatsoever they preach is suggested to them, though manifestly contrary to the Holy Scripture.

XX.—Of the Church.

The visible church of Christ is a congregation of faithful men, in which the pure word of God is preached, and the sacraments be duly ministered, according to Christ's ordinance, in all those things that of necessity are requisite to the same.

As the church of Jerusalem, Alexandria, and Antioch have erred, so also the church of Rome hath erred, not only in their livings, and manner of ceremonies, but also in matters of faith.

XXI.—Of the Authority of the Church.

It is not lawful for the church to ordain any that is contrary to God's word written; neither may it so expound one place of Scripture, that it be repugnant to another: wherefore although the church be a witness and keeper of Holy Writ, yet as it ought not to decree any thing against the same, so besides the same ought it not to enforce any thing to be believed for necessity of salvation.

The church hath power to decree rites and ceremonies, and authority in controversies of faith. It is not lawful for the church, &c.

* Place of forgiveness.

† In Christ.

‡ God by.

§ His.

|| Left out.

Of the Authority of General Councils.

General councils may not be gathered together without the commandment and will of princes. And when they are gathered together, forasmuch as they be an assembly of men, (whereof all be not governed with the Spirit and word of God,) they may err, and sometimes have erred, even in things pertaining unto God. Wherefore things ordained by them, as necessary to salvation, have neither strength nor authority, unless it may be declared, that they be taken out of Holy Scripture.

XXIII.—*Of Purgatory.*

The doctrine of the school-men concerning purgatory, pardons, worshipping, and adoration, as well of images as of reliques, and also invocation of saints, is a fond thing vainly invented, and grounded upon no warranty of Scripture, but rather perniciously repugnant to the word of God.

XXIV.—*No Man to minister in the Church except he be called.*

It is not lawful for any man to take upon him the office of publick preaching, or ministring the sacraments in the congregation, before he be lawfully called and sent to execute the same. And those we ought to judge lawfully called and sent, which be chosen and called to this work by men, who have publick authority given unto them in the congregation, to call and send ministers into the Lord's vineyard.

XXV.—*All things to be done in the Congregation in such a Tongue as is understood by the People.*

It is most fit, and most agreeable to the word of God, that nothing be read or rehearsed in the congregation, in a tongue not known unto the people; which Paul hath forbidden to be done, unless some be present to interpret.

It is a thing plainly repugnant to the word of God, and the custom of the primitive church, to have publick prayers in the church, or to minister the sacraments, in a tongue not understood by the people.

XXVI.—*Of the Sacraments.*

Our Lord Jesus Christ gathered his people into a society, by sacraments very few in number, most easy to be kept, and of most excellent signification; that is to say, baptism, and the supper of the Lord.

The sacraments were not ordained of Christ to be gazed upon, or to be carried about, but that we should duly use them: and in such only as worthily receive the same, they have a wholesome effect or operation; not as some say, *Ex opera operato*, which terms, as they are strange and utterly unknown to the Holy Scripture, so do they yield a sense which savoureth of little piety, but of much superstition: but they that receive them unworthily receive to themselves damnation.

The sacraments ordained by the word of God be not only badges or tokens of Christian men's profession; but rather they be certain sure witnesses, effectual signs of grace and God's good will towards us, by the which he doth work invisibly in us; and doth not only quicken, but also strengthen and confirm our faith in him.

Sacraments ordained of Christ, be not only badges and tokens of Christian men's profession, but rather they be certain sure witnesses and effectual signs of grace and God's good will towards us, by the which he doth work invisibly in us, and doth not only quicken, but also strengthen and confirm our faith in him.

There are two sacraments ordained of Christ our Lord in the gospel, that is to say, baptism, and the supper of the Lord.

Those five commonly called sacraments, that is to say, confirmation, penance, orders, matrimony, and extreme unction, are not to be counted for sacraments of the gospel,

being such as have grown partly of the corrupt following of the Apostles, partly are states of life allowed in the Scriptures, but yet have not like nature of sacraments, with baptism and the Lord's supper, for that they have not any visible sign or ceremony ordained of God.

The sacraments were not ordained of Christ to be gazed on, or to be carried about, but that we should duly use them. And in such only as worthily receive the same, they have a wholesome effect or operation; but they that receive them unworthily purchase to themselves damnation, as St. Paul saith.

XXVII.—*The Wickedness of the Ministers takes not away the Efficacy of Divine Institutions.*

Although in the visible church the evil be ever mingled with the good, and sometimes the evil have chief authority in the ministration of the word and sacraments; yet forasmuch as they do not the same in their own name, but in Christ's, and do minister by his commission and authority, we may use their ministry both in hearing the word of God, and in receiving of the sacraments: neither is the effect of Christ's ordinance taken away by their wickedness, nor the grace of God's gifts diminished from such as by faith rightly do receive the sacrament, ministred unto them, which be effectual because of Christ's institution and promise, although they be ministred by evil men.

Nevertheless it appertaineth to the discipline of the church, that inquiry be made after * them, and that they be accused by those that have knowledge of their offences; and finally, being found guilty, by just judgment be deposed.

XXVIII.—*Of Baptism.*

Baptism is not only a sign of profession, and mark of difference, whereby Christian men are discerned from others that be not christened; but it is also a sign of regeneration, or new birth, whereby, as by an instrument, they that receive baptism rightly are grafted into the church; the promises of forgiveness of sin, and of our adoption to be the sons of God by the Holy Ghost, are visibly signed and sealed; faith is confirmed, and grace increased, by virtue of prayer unto God. The custom of the Church for baptizing young children is both to be commended, and by all means to be retained in the church.

The baptism of young children is in any wise to be retained in the church, as most agreeable to the institution of Christ.

XXIX.—*Of the Lord's Supper.*

The supper of the Lord is not only a sign of the love that Christians ought to have amongst themselves one to another; but rather it is a sacrament of our redemption by Christ's death: insomuch that to such as rightly, worthily, and with faith receive the same, the bread which we break is a partaking of the body of Christ, and likewise the cup of blessing is a partaking of the blood of Christ.

Transubstantiation (or the change of the substance of bread and wine) in the supper of the Lord, cannot be proved by Holy Writ; but it is repugnant to the plain words of Scripture, and hath given occasion to many superstitions.

But it is repugnant to the plain words of Scripture, overthroweth the nature of a sacrament, and hath given occasion to many superstitions.

Since the very being of human nature doth require, that the body of one and the same man cannot be at one and the same time in many places, but of necessity must be in some certain and determinate place; therefore the body of Christ cannot be present in many different places at the same time. And since (as the

* Evil ministers,

Holy Scriptures testify) Christ hath been taken up into heaven, and there is to abide till the end of the world; it becometh not any of the faithful to believe or profess, that there is a real or corporeal presence (as they phrase it) of the body and blood of Christ in the holy eucharist.

The body of Christ is given, taken, and eaten in the supper, only after an heavenly and spiritual manner. And the mean whereby the body of Christ is received and eaten in the supper, is faith.

The sacrament of the Lord's supper was not by Christ's ordinance reserved, carried about, lifted up, or worshipped.

XXIX.—*Of the Wicked which eat not the Body of Christ in the Lord's Supper.*

The wicked, and such as be void of a lively faith, although they do carnally and visibly press with their teeth (as St. Austin saith) the sacrament of the body and blood of Christ; yet in no wise are they partakers of Christ, but rather to their condemnation do eat and drink the sign or sacrament of so great a thing.

XXX.—*Of both kinds*] The cup of the Lord is not to be denied to the lay-people: for both the parts of the Lord's sacrament (by Christ's ordinance and commandment) ought to be ministered to all Christian people alike.

XXX.—*Of the one Oblation of Christ finished upon the Cross.*

The offering of Christ once made, is a perfect redemption, propitiation, and satisfaction for all the sins of the whole world, both original and actual, and there is none other satisfaction for sin but that alone: wherefore the sacrifices of masses, in which it was commonly said that the priests did offer Christ for the quick and the dead, to have remission of pain or guilt, were fables*, and dangerous deceits.

XXXI.—*A Single Life is imposed on none by the Word of God.*

Bishops, priests, and deacons, are not commanded by God's law, either to vow the estate of a single life, or to abstain from marriage.

Therefore it is lawful for them, as for all other Christian men, to marry at their own discretion, as they shall judge the same to serve better to godliness.

XXXII.—*Excommunicated Persons are to be avoided.*

That person, which by open denunciation of the church, is rightly cut off from the unity of the church, and excommunicated, ought to be taken of the whole multitude of the faithful, as an heathen and publican, until he be openly reconciled by penance, and received into the church, by a judge that hath authority thereunto.

XXXIII.—*Of the Tradition of the Church.*

It is not necessary that traditions and ceremonies be in all places one and utterly alike; for at all times they have been divers, and may be changed according to the diversities of countries, times, and men's manners, so that nothing be ordained against God's word. Whosoever through his private judgment willingly and purposely doth openly break the traditions and ceremonies of the church, which be not repugnant to the word of God, and be ordained and approved by common authority, ought to be rebuked openly, (that others may fear to do the like,) as he that offendeth against the common order of the church, and hurteth the authority of the magistrate, and woundeth the consciences of the weak brethren.

Every particular or national church hath authority to ordain, change, or abolish ceremonies or rites of the church, ordained only by man's authority, so that all things be done to edifying.

* Blasphemous.

XXXIV.—*Of the Homilies.*

The homilies lately delivered and commended to the church of England by the king's injunctions, do contain a godly and wholesome doctrine, and fit to be embraced by all men; and for that cause they are diligently, plainly, and distinctly to be read to the people.

The second book of homilies, the several titles whereof we have joined under this article, doth contain a godly and wholesome doctrine, and necessary for the times; as doth the former book of homilies, which were set forth in the time of Edward the Sixth: and therefore we judge them to be read in churches by the Ministers, diligently and distinctly, that they may be understood of the people.

The Names of the Homilies.

Of the right use of the church. Of repairing churches. Against the peril of idolatry. Of good works, &c.

XXXV.—*Of the Book of Common Prayer, and other Rites and Ceremonies of the Church of England.*

The book lately delivered to the church of England by the authority of the king and parliament, containing the manner and form of public prayer, and the ministration of the sacraments, in the said church of England, as also the book published by the same authority for ordering ministers in the church, are both of them very pious, as to truth of doctrine, in nothing contrary but agreeable to the wholesome doctrine of the gospel, which they do very much promote and illustrate. And for that cause they are by all faithful members of the church of England, but chiefly of the ministers of the word, with all thankfulness and ss of mind, to be received, approved, and commended to the people of God.

The book of consecration of archbishops and bishops, and ordering of priests and deacons, lately set forth in the time of King Edward the Sixth, and confirmed at the same time by authority of parliament, doth contain all things necessary to such consecration and ordering. Neither hath it any thing that of itself is superstitious and ungodly; and therefore whosoever are consecrated and ordered according to the rites of that book, since the second year of the afore-named King Edward, unto this time, or hereafter shall be consecrated or ordered, according to the same rites, we decree all such to be rightly, orderly, and lawfully consecrated and ordered.

XXXVI.—*Of the Civil Magistrates.*

The king of England is, after Christ, the suprem head on earth of the church of England and Ireland.

The bishop of Rome hath no jurisdiction in this realm of England.

The civil magistrate is ordained and approved by God, and therefore is to be obeyed, not only for fear of wrath, but for conscience' sake.

Civil or temporal laws may punish Christian men with death for heinous and grievous offences.

It is lawful for Christian men, at the commandment of the magistrate, to wear weapons, and to serve in the wars.

The queen's majesty hath the chief power in this realm of England, and other her dominions, unto whom the chief government of all estates of this realm, whether they be ecclesiastical or civil, in all cases doth appertain, and is not, nor ought to be, subject to any foreign jurisdiction.

Where we attribute to the queen's majesty the chief government, by which titles we understand the minds of some slanderous folks to be offended, we give not to our princes the ministry, either of God's word, or of the sacraments; the which thing the injunctions lately set forth by Elizabeth our queen do most plainly testify; but that only prerogative which we see to have been given always to all godly princes in Holy Scriptures by God himself,—that is, that they should rule all estates committed to their charge by God, whether they be

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ecclesiastical or temporal, and restrain with the civil sword the stubborn and evil-doers.

The bishop of Rome hath no jurisdiction in this realm of England.

The laws of this realm may punish Christian men with death, &c.

XXXVII.—*The Goods of Christians are not common.*

The riches and goods of Christians are not common, as touching the right, title, and possession of the same, as certain Anabaptists do falsely boast. Notwithstanding every man ought, of such things as he possesseth, liberally to give alms to the poor, according to his ability.

XXXVIII.—*It is lawful for a Christian to take an oath.*

As we confess that vain and rash swearing is forbidden Christian men, by our Lord Jesus Christ, and James his apostle; so we judge that Christian religion doth not prohibit, but that a man may swear when the magistrate requireth, in a cause of faith and charity, so it be done according to the prophet's teaching, in justice, judgment, and truth.

THESE ARTICLES WERE LEFT OUT IN QUEEN
ELIZABETH'S TIME.

XXXIX.—*The Resurrection of the Dead is not past already.*

The resurrection of the dead is not past already, as if it belonged only to the soul, which by the grace of Christ is raised from the death of sin, but is to be expected by all men in the last day; for at that time (as the Scripture doth most apparently testify) the dead shall be restored to their own bodies, flesh, and bones; to the end that man, according as either righteously or wickedly he hath passed this life, may, according to his works, receive rewards or punishments.

XL.—*The souls of men deceased do neither perish with their bodies, nor sleep idly.*

They who maintain that the souls of men deceased do either sleep, without any manner of sense, to the day of judgment, or affirm that they die together with the body, and shall be raised therewith at the last day, do wholly differ from the right faith and orthodox belief, which is delivered to us in the Holy Scriptures.

XLI.—*Of the Millenarians.*

They who endeavour to revive the fable of the Millenarians are therein contrary to the Holy Scriptures, and cast themselves down headlong into Jewish dotages.

XLII.—*All men not to be saved at last.*

They also deserve to be condemned, who endeavour to restore that pernicious opinion, that all men (though never so ungodly) shall at last be saved, when for a certain time, appointed by the divine justice, they have endured punishment for their sins committed.

NUMBER LVI.

Instructions given by the King's Highness to his right trusty and right well-beloved Cousin and Counsellor, Francis Earl of Salop, and Lord President of his Grace's Council, resident in the north parts; and to all others hereafter named and appointed by his Highness to be of his said Council, to be observed by the said Counsellors, and every of them, accordingly as the same hereafter is declared.

[Ex MS. Dr. Johnson.]

First, his majesty much desiring the quietness and good governance of the people and inhabitants in the north parts of this realm of England, and for the good,

speedy, and indifferent administration of justice to be there had, betwixt party and party, intendeth to continue in the said north parts his right honourable council, called, *The King's Majesty's Council in the North Parts*. And his highness knowing the approved wisdom and experience of his said cousin, with his assured discretion and dexterity in the execution of justice, hath appointed him to be lord president of the said council; and by these presents doth give unto him the name of lord president of the said council, with power and authority to call together all such as be, or hereafter shall be, named and appointed to be of the said council, at all times, when he shall think expedient: and otherwise by his letters to appoint them, and every of them, to do such things for the advancement of justice, and for the repression and punishment of malefactors, as, by the advice of such of the said council as then shall be present with him, he shall think meet, for the furtherance of his grace's affairs, and for the due administration of justice between his highness' subjects.

And further, his majesty giveth unto the said lord president, by these presents, a voice negative in all councils, where things shall be debated at length for the bringing forth of a most perfect truth or sentence, which his highness would have observed in all cases that may abide advisement and consultation, to the intent that doubtful matters should as well be maturely consulted upon, as also that the same should not pass without the consent and order of the said lord president.

And his highness willeth and commandeth, that all and every of the said counsellors, named and to be named hereafter, shall exhibit and use to the said lord president all such honour, reverend behaviour, and obedience, as to their duty appertaineth; and shall receive and execute in like sort all the precepts and commandments to them, or any of them, for any matter touching his majesty, to be addressed, or any process to be done or served in his grace's name.

And his highness' pleasure is, that the said lord president shall have the keeping of his grace's signet, therewith to seal letters, processes, and all such other things as shall be thought convenient by the said lord president, or by two of the council, being bound by those articles to daily attendance upon the said lord president, with his assent thereunto.

And to the intent the said lord president thus established, for the above-said purposes, may be furnished with such numbers and assistants, as be of wisdom, experience, gravity, and truth, meet to have the name of his grace's counsellors; his majesty, upon good advisement and deliberation, hath elected those persons whose names ensue hereafter to be his counsellors, joined in the said council in the north parts, with the said lord president; that is to say, the right trusty and well-beloved cousins, Henry earl of Westmoreland, Henry earl of Cumberland; his right trusty and well-beloved Cuthbert bishop of Duresm; William lord Dacres of the north; John lord Conyers; Thomas lord Wharton; John Hind, kt., one of his majesty's justices of the common pleas; Edmond Moleneux, kt., serjeant at law; Henry Savel, kt.; Robert Bowes, kt.; Nicholas Fairfax, kt.; George Conyers, kt.; Leonard Becquith, kt.; William Balthorp, kt.; Anthony Nevill, kt.; Thomas Gargrave, kt.; Robert Mennel, serjeant at law; Anthony Bellasis, esquire; John Rockely, doctor of law; Robert Chaloner, Richard Morton, and Thomas Eymis, esquires.

And his highness, by these presents, doth appoint the said Thomas Eymis to be secretary to the said council, diligently and obediently to exercise the same room as he shall be appointed by the said lord president, or by two of the council, whereof the one to be of the

quorum, with the assent of the lord president. And his highness' pleasure is, that the said lord president, and two others of the said council, being of the quorum, shall be sworn masters of the chancery, to the intent that every of them may take recognisance in such cases as by the said lord president, or by two of the said council, being of the quorum, shall be thought convenient, and the case so requiring. All which number of counsellors before specified, as his majesty doubteth not but that they, and every of them, according to his grace's expectation and trust reposed in them, will be, at all times, diligent and willing towards, and ready to do unto his grace such service as they can devise or imagine may be best to his contentation, and to the discharge of their duties towards his highness, leaving apart all respects and affections in all matters that may touch their highest kinsman, friend, servant, tenant, or others, when the same shall come in question before the same lord president or council: so his grace trusteth that every of the same will have such regard to malefactors as appertaineth, and to bring all such unto the said lord president and council, when they shall be thereunto appointed, or may otherwise do it of themselves; informing the said lord president and council of their offences, as the same shall happen, in place where they have rule and authority, within the limits of their commission.

And forso much as it should be very chargeable to many of the said counsellors, if they should continually attend upon the said lord president and council, therefore his highness, of his grace's goodness, minding to ease that charge, and to instruct every of the said counsellors how to demean themselves for their attendance; that is, to wit, who shall be bound to continual attendance upon the same council, and who shall attend but at times most requisite, at their pleasures, unless the same lord president shall require them to remain for a time, for some weighty affairs or purposes; the which requests, in such cases, every of them shall accomplish. His majesty therefore ordaineth that his cousins, the earls of Westmoreland and Cumberland, the bishop of Duresm, the lord Dacres, the lord Conyers, the lord Wharton, sir John Hinde, sir Edmond Molineux, sir Henry Savell, sir Nicholas Fairfax, George Conyers, Anthony Nevil, knights; Robert Mennel, serjeant at law; Anthony Bellasis; John Rockbey, doctor of law, and Richard Norton, shall not be bound to continual attendance, but to go and come at their pleasures, unless they be required by the said lord president to remain with him for a time, for some weighty and great causes which then they shall accomplish.

And further, his grace's pleasure is, that they shall be present at such of the general sittings as shall be kept near unto their dwelling-places, and at other sittings and places, where they shall be commanded by the said lord president, all excuses set apart as appertaineth. And because it shall be convenient that a number shall be continually abiding with the said lord president, with whom he may consult and commit the charge and hearing of such matters as shall be exhibited unto him for the more expedition of the same, his highness, by these presents, doth ordain, that sir Robert Bowes, sir William Babthorp, sir Leonard Becquith, sir Thomas Gargrave, knights; Robert Chaloner, and Thomas Eymis, secretary, esquires, shall give their continual attendance on the said lord president, or at the least two of them; and that none of them, appointed to continual attendance on the said lord president, shall depart at any time from him, without his special license, and the same not to exceed above six weeks at one season.

And his highness, by these presents, for the better

entertainment of the said lord president and council of both sorts, when they are, or any of them, shall be present, doth give a yearly stipend of 1000*l.* by the year to the said lord president, towards the furniture of the diet of himself and the rest of the said counsellors, with such number of servants as hereafter shall be appointed and allowed to every of them; that is, to wit, every knight, being bound to continual attendance, four servants; and every esquire, being bound to like attendance, three servants. And his highness ordaineth every of the said counsellors to sit with the said lord president at his table, or in some other place in his house, to be by him conveniently prepared for their degrees and behaviours; and their servants allowed, as is before said, to have sitting and diet in the said lord president's hall, or in some other convenient place in his house.

And further, his highness, of his mere goodness, and great benignity, for the better entreatment, as well of such of the said council as be not well able to forbear their own affairs, and attend upon the said council, without further help for the charge of the horse-meat and lodgings, when they shall attend in council to serve his highness, as for such others that might better themselves with their learning and policies, if they were not detained there about his grace's affairs, doth by these presents limit and appoint, to divers of the aforesaid counsellors hereafter named, certain particular fees, as ensueth; that is to say, to sir Robert Bowes, kt. in respect of his attendance, and towards his horse-meat and other charges, 100 merks yearly; to sir William Babthorp, kt. for the like, 50*l.* yearly; to sir Leonard Becquith, for the like causes, 100 merks yearly; to sir Thomas Gargrave, kt. for the like, 50*l.* yearly; to Robert Chaloner, esquire, for the like, 50*l.* yearly; to Richard Norton, esquire, for his fee, 40*l.*; to Thomas Eymis, secretary, for the like yearly fee, 33*l.* 6*s.* 8*d.* And further, his grace doth appoint one messenger to serve the said council, who shall give continual attendance upon the said lord president, and have his meat, drink, and lodging in the said lord president's house, and to have yearly for his fee 6*l.* 13*s.* 4*d.* And further, his grace's pleasure is, that the said 1000*l.* for the lord president, and all the said other fees, shall be paid yearly at the feasts of the Annunciation of our Lady, and St. Michael the Archangel, by even portions, of the revenues of his grace's lands in those parts; and that for that purpose an assignment and warrant to be made to the receiver-general of his grace's revenues there.

And to furnish the said lord president and council in all things with authority sufficient to execute justice, as well in causes criminal, as in matters of controversy between party and party, his majesty hath commanded and appointed two commissions to be made out, under his grace's great seal of England, by virtue whereof they shall have full power and authority, in either case, to proceed as the matter occurrent shall require.

And for the more speedy expedition to be used in all causes of justice, his majesty's pleasure is, that the said lord president and council shall cause every complainant and defendant that shall have to do before them, to put and declare their whole matter in their bill of complaint and answer, without replication, rejoinder, or other plea or delay to be had or used therein; which order the said lord president and council shall manifest unto all such as shall be counsellors in any matter to be intreated and defined before them; charging and commanding the said counsellors and pleaders to observe this order, upon such penalties as they shall think convenient, as they will eschew the danger of the same; and not in any ways to break it, without the special license of the said lord president, and that only in some special causes.

And further, his highness, by these presents, doth give full power and authority to the said lord president and council, as well to punish such persons as in anything shall neglect, contemn, or disobey their commandments, or the process of the council, as all other that shall speak seditious words, invent rumors, or commit such-like offences (not being treason), whereof any inconvenience might grow, by pillory, cutting their ears, wearing of papers, imprisonment, or otherwise at their discretions. And the said lord president and council, at their discretions, shall appoint counsellors, and other requisites, to poor suitors having no money, without paying fees or other things for the same. And his highness giveth full power and authority to the said lord president and council being with him, or four of them at the least; whereof the said lord president, sir John Hind, sir Edmond Molineux, sir Robert Bowes, sir Leonard Becquith, sir Anthony Nevill, sir Thomas Gargrave, knights; Robert Mennell and Robert Chaloner, to be two with the lord president, to assess fines of all persons that shall be convict or indicted of any riot, how many soever they be in number, unless the matter of such riot shall be thought unto them of such importance, as the same shall be meet to be signified unto his majesty, to be punished in such sort, by the order of his council attending upon his grace's person, as the same may be noted for an example to others. And his grace giveth full power and authority to the said lord president and council, or four of them at the least, whereof the lord president and two others bound to continual attendance to be three, to award and assess costs and damages, as well to the plaintiffs as to the defendants, by their discretions, and to award execution of their decrees and orders; and to punish the breakers of the same, being parties thereunto, by their discretions: all which decrees and orders, the secretary shall be bound incontinently, upon the promulgation of the same, to write, or cause to be written, in one fair book, which shall remain in the hands and custody of the said lord president.

And to the intent it may appear to all persons there what fees shall be paid and taken for all processes and writings to be used by the said council, his majesty therefore appointeth, that there shall be a table affixed in every place where the said Lord President and council shall sit, at any sessions; and a like table to hang openly, that all men may see it, in the office where the said secretary and the clerks shall commonly sit and expedite the said writings; wherein shall be declared what shall be paid for the same. That is to say, for every recognisance, wherein one alone or more standeth bounden, 12*d*. For the cancelling of every like recognisance, 12*d*. For the entering of every decree, 6*d*. For the copy of the same, if it be asked, 6*d*. For every letter, commission, attachment, or other precept or process sent to any person, 4*d*. For every dismission before the said council (if it be asked), 4*d*. For the copies of bills, and answers, and other pleas, for every ten lines, reasonably writ, 1*d*. For the examination of every witness, 4*d*. And his grace's pleasure is, that the examination of witnesses, produced in matters before the said council, shall be examined by such discreet person and persons as shall be thought convenient and meet by the said lord president, and two of the said council, bound to continual attendance; and that the said lord president, with such-like two of the said council, shall reform, appoint, and allow such persons to write bills, answers, copies, or other process in that court, as they shall think convenient, over and beside the said secretary and his two clerks; which clerks also the said lord president and council shall reform and correct, as they shall have cause and occasion. In which reformation and appoint-

ments, the said lord president shall have a voice negative.

And for the more certain and brief determination of matters in those parts, his majesty, by these presents, ordaineth, that the said lord president and council shall keep four general sittings or sessions in the year, every of them to continue by the space of one whole month; whereof one to be at York, another at Kingston upon Hull, one at Newcastle, and another at Duresme; within the limits whereof, the matters rising there shall be ordered and decreed, if they conveniently so may be. And they shall, in every of the same places, keep one good delivery; before their departure from thence, his grace nevertheless referring it to their discretions, to take and appoint such other place and places for their said four general sittings, as they, or the said lord president, with three of the council, bounden to continual attendance, shall think most convenient for the time and purpose; so that they keep the full term of one month in every such place, if they may in any wise conveniently so do.

And forso much as a great number of his majesty's tenants and farmers have been heretofore retained with sundry persons by wages, livery, badge, or connysance; by reason whereof, when his grace should have had service of them, they were rather at commandment of other men, than (according to their duties of allegiance) of his highness, of whom they have their livings; his majesty's pleasure and express commandment is, that none of his said council, nor others, shall by any means retain or entertain any of his grace's tenants or farmers in such sort, as they, or any of them, should account themselves bounden to do him or them any other service, than as to his highness' officers, having office, or being appointed in service there: unless the same farmers and tenants be continually attendant in the house of him that shall retain them. And the said lord president and council shall, in every their general sittings, give special notice and charge, that no nobleman, nor other, shall retain any of the said tenants and farmers, otherwise than is aforesaid; charging also the said farmers and tenants, upon pain of the forfeiture of their farms and holds, and incurring of his majesty's further displeasure and indignation, in nowise to agree to any such retainers, other than is before said, but wholly to depend upon his highness, and upon such as his highness hath, or shall appoint to be officers, rulers, or directors over them.

And his grace's pleasure further is, that in every such sitting, and in all other places where the said lord president and council shall have any notable assemblies before them, they shall give strait charge and commandment to the people, to conform themselves in all things to the observation of such laws, ordinances, and determinations, as be made, passed, and agreed upon by his grace's parliament touching religion, and the most godly service, set forth in their own mother tongue, for their comforts: And likewise to the laws touching the abolishing of the usurped and pretended power of the Bishop of Rome, whose abuses they shall so beat into their heads, by continual inculcation, as they may smell and understand the same; and may perceive the same to be declared with their hearts, and not with their tongues only for a form.

And likewise they shall declare the order and determination taken and agreed upon, for the abrogation of certain vain holy days, being appointed by the Bishop of Rome to blind the world; and to persuade the same, that they might make saints at their pleasures; and thereby, through idleness, do give occasion of the increase of many and great vices and inconveniences: which points his majesty doth earnestly require and

straitly command the said lord president and council to set forth with all dexterity, and to punish extremely, for example, all offenders in the same.

And his majesty willett the said council, as he doubteth not but they will most earnestly set forth all such other things and matters, as for the confirmation of the people in those matters, and other the king's majesty's proceedings, and things convenient to be remembered, be, or shall be set forth or devised, and sent unto them for that purpose.

Further, his highness' pleasure is, that the said lord president and council shall, from time to time, make diligent inquisition of the wrongful taking in and inclosing of commons, and other grounds, and who be extreme therein ; and in taking and exacting of unreasonable fines and gressomes, and overing or raising of rents ; and to call the parties that have so evil used themselves therein before them ; and leaving all respects and affections apart, they shall take such order for the redresses of enormities used in the same, as the poor people be not oppressed ; but that they may live after their sorts and qualities.

And if it shall chance that the said lord president and council shall vary in opinion, either in the law, or for any order to be taken in any matter or fact before them, if the case be of very great weight and importance, then the opinion of the greater, or more part of the number of counsellors appointed to give continual attendance, shall take place, and determine the doubt ; and if they be of like number of counsellors, bounden to continual attendance, then that party whereunto the lord president shall give his assent shall be followed and take place. And if the case and matter be of great importance, and the question of the law, then the lord president and council shall signify the case and matter to the judges at Westminster, who shall, with diligence, advertise them again of their opinions therein. And if the matter be of great importance, and an order to be taken upon the fact, then the said lord president and council, attendant upon his person upon the same, whereupon they shall have knowledge again how to use themselves in that behalf.

And the said lord president and council shall take special regard, upon complaint of spoil, extortions, or oppressions, to examine the same speedily, that the party grieved may have due and undelayed remedy and restitution. And for want of ability in the offenders thereunto, they to be punished to the example of others. And if any man, of what degree soever he be, shall, upon a good, lawful, and reasonable cause or matter, and so appearing to the lord president and council, by information, or otherwise, demand surety of peace or justice against any great lord or nobleman of that country, the said lord president and council shall, in that case, grant the petition of the poorest man against the richest or greatest lord, being of the council or no, as they should grant the same (being lawfully asked) against men of the meanest sort, degree, and behaviour.

And forasmuch as it may chance the said lord president to be sometime diseased, that he shall not be able to travel, for the direction of such matters as then shall occur ; or to be called to the parliament, or otherwise to be employed in the king's majesty's affairs, or about other business, for good reformation or order within this rule, or for other reasonable cause by his discretion ; to the intent therefore that the said council may be and remain ever full and perfect, and that they may be at all times in the same, one person to direct and use all things in such and the same order, sort, and form, as the said lord president should and might do, by virtue of the aforesaid's commissions, and these injunctions, his majesty's pleasure is, that

when the said lord president shall be so diseased, absent, or letted, as is before said, that he cannot conveniently supply his room himself, that then he shall name and appoint one of the said commissioners, being appointed, to give continual attendance, to supply his room for that season, during his said disease, absence, or lett ; and shall deliver the signet to the person so appointed to keep, during the same time. And the king's highness, during the same time, giveth unto the said person so appointed the name of vice-president ; which name nevertheless he shall no longer continue, than during the time that the said lord president shall so be sick, absent, or letted, as is before said. And his majesty's pleasure is, that for the time only that any of the said council, as is before said, shall occupy the said room and place as a vice-president, that all the rest of the council shall in all things use him in like sort, and with like reverence, as they be bound by those injunctions to use the lord president himself ; whereunto his grace doubteth not but every of them will conform themselves accordingly.

And further, his majesty by these presents giveth full power and authority to the said lord president and council, that when the condition of any recognisance taken before them shall be fulfilled, they shall, in open court, cause the same to be cancelled for the discharge of the parties : provided that no recognisance be in any wise cancelled but before the lord president, or vice-president, and three others at the least, sitting in open court with him.

And further, his highness ordaineth, that no attorney shall take, in one sitting or sessions, for one matter, above 12*d.*, nor no counsellor above 20*d.*

The rest are wanting.

NUMBER LVII.

The Memorial of the Charge committed by the King's Majesty to Sir Richard Morison, Kt., his Majesty's Ambassador with the Emperor, the 24th September.—An Original.

[Cotton. Libr. Galba. B. 12.]

FIRST, you, Sir Richard Morison, shall, with all diligence, procure audience of our good brother the emperor ; and at your access to him, deliver our letters of credence herewith sent to you, with our most hearty commendations, and earnest declaration, that we be most glad to have understanding of his good estate and health. After the same delivery and salutation, you shall further say, that we understanding his good and honourable advancement towards his Low Countries, to the great comfort of the same ; and having also the same love and good-will towards the prosperous success of his said countries, that our late father and our other progenitors have had these many years passed ; have willed you expressly in our names to congratulate this his coming thitherward, and to shew him, that the good success which we wish to him, and his affairs and enterprises, is as much as we would to ourselves, and our own countries and patri-monies.

Item. When you shall have opened this much, with as good words as you may devise, ye shall begin to descend to this that followeth, using therein your earnestness and frankness, as ye shall see by the former sayings occasion given to you by our said brother's acceptance thereof, either by his good words, or other behaviour in his gesture. Ye shall say, that where we have lately understood of the great murders, spoils, and cruelties done and committed, both in Hungary, and upon the coasts of Naples, and in other parts of Italy, by the Turks, the old common enemy to the

name and religion of all Christianity ; likeas, we cannot but from our very heart lament the same, so we will, for our part, as may be thought expedient for the weal-publick of Christendom, shew ourself willing to accord with our said good brother, and other Christian princes and states, for the repulse of the said Turk. And if any such good means may, by the great wisdom and policy of our said good brother the emperor, be thought good and devised to bring the same to some good purpose and effect ; we for our part will shew ourself so ready and well-willing thereto, as our said good brother shall well perceive, that we have not only that zeal to the conservation and surety of Christendom, which in a Christian prince is duly required ; but also such consideration and regard to our said good brother, and our ancient amity with the house of Burgundy, as to honour and reason appertaineth.

Thus much being declared in such good sort as you shall see occasion doth require, we would that you should stay and pause awhile, as it were, looking for some answer to be made hereto by our said good brother ; and if you shall perceive he taketh it in thankful part, then may you entertain the talk modestly, with such good words as may seem to your wisdom best to confirm our good affection to the continuance of the amity, and our great offence and grief, with the entry of the Turks in Christendom.

And if you shall perceive that the emperor doth in so good part receive this our overture, that he shall shew himself willing to enter any further talk, or devise for the further proceeding in the same, you may, as of yourself, shew your readiness and goodwill to do all that you any ways well may, as a good minister, for the bringing this purpose to some profitable effect ; which you may say, in your own opinion, shall the better take good entry and success, if, by some special man to be sent hither, we might understand more fully our said good brother's mind in this matter.

Item. If ye shall perceive that the emperor doth not regard this overture, either in not liking the matter itself, or not so regarding our amity as reason would, and as it is on our part offered, then may you use yourself more coldly, and diminish the declaration of our earnestness, in like sort as our said brother sheweth himself ; and conclude, that thus having done the message committed to your charge, you will leave the consideration hereof to him as he shall think good.

And if, in the opening of the premises, our said brother shall make any mention or interpretation against the French king, referring the Turk's invasions to the said French king as some occasion thereof ; and so shall demand, directly or indirectly, whether this our overture be meant to extend against the French king, or any others of Christian name that shall join in league or amity with the said Turks ; you may thereto say, that you had no more in charge presently than ye have said ; and therefore, for further opening of our mind therein, you think the same might be best had here.

And if at any time of this your talk, our said brother shall gather occasion to ask you, what we will do for giving aid against these invasions made by the French king upon the Low Countries ? you may answer, you have nothing to say therein, but that you think the answer that was declared to his ambassador here resident upon the letters sent to us from our good sister the queen of Hungary hath both been signified to him long before his time, and also as ye trust in reason contented her. And in this point, although ye know what was answered, yet would we not ye should enter into the dispute thereof, meaning in this and the rest of

things to be treated with our said brother, that ye would rather procure the sending of some special man hither, than to treat anything by his ambassador here, who hitherto hath not appeared the fittest man to increase or enlarge the amity betwixt us and our said brother.

Finally, our pleasure is, that you shall, in the execution of this present charge, wholly extend your good policy and wisdom, to mark and well-advise all such words of moment, as the emperor shall utter to you in this talk, by what order, behaviour, gesture, or other passion of joy or grief the same shall be spoken, so as we may simply, plainly, and very orderly have the true declaration thereof from you ; wherein we desire so express and special a report of this matter, as upon the same we may better conceive what shall be expedient to be further done in this, and other our weighty affairs.

Winchester. Northumberland. J. Bedford. F. Huntingdon. E. Clinton. W. Northampton. J. Cobham. T. Darcy. Richard Cotton. John Gate.

NUMBER LVIII.

A Letter written by B. Ridley, setting out the sins of that time.

[Regist. Ridl. Fol. 239.]

To this well-beloved, the preachers within the diocess of London.

AFTER hearty commendations, having regard, especially at this time, to the wrath of God, who hath plagued us diversly, and now with extreme punishment of sudden death poured upon us, for causes certain, known unto his high and secret judgment, and as may seem unto man for our wicked living ; daily encreasing unto such sort, that not only in our conversations the fear of God is, alas, far gone from before our eyes, but also the world is grown into that uncharitableness, that one, as it appeareth plainly, goeth about to devour another ; moved with insatiable covetousness, both contrary to God's word and will, and to the extreme peril and damnation of Christ's flock, bought so dearly with his precious blood, and to the utter destruction of this whole common-wealth, except God's anger be shortly appeased ; wherein, as according to my bounden duty I shall, God willing, in my own person be diligent and labour ; so I exhort and require you, first in God's name, and by authority of him committed unto me in that behalf, and also in the king's majesty's name, from whom I have authority and special commandment thus to do, that as you are called to be setters forth of God's word, and to express in your livings the same, so now in your exhortations and sermons you do most wholesomely and earnestly tell unto men their sins, *Juxta illud annuncia populo meo scelera eorum*, with God's punishments lately poured upon us for the same, now before our eyes ; and specially to beat down and destroy, with all your power and wit, that greedy and devouring serpent of covetousness, that doth so now universally reign : calling upon God for repentance, and provoking to common prayer, and amendment of life, with most earnest petitions, that hereby God's hands may be stayed, the world amended, and obedience of subjects and faithfulness of ministers declared accordingly. Thus I bid you heartily well to fare. From London, July 25, 1551.

Yours in Christ,

NIC. LONDON.

NUMBER LIX.

Bishop Ridley's Letter to the Protector, concerning the Visitation of the University of Cambridge.

[Ex Chartophylacro Regio.]

RIGHT HONOURABLE—I wish your grace the holy and wholesome fear of God, because I am persuaded your grace's goodness to be such unfeignedly, that even wherein your grace's letters doth sore blame me, yet in the same the advertisement of the truth shall not displease your grace; and also perceiving that the cause of your grace's discontentation was wrong information, therefore I shall beseech your grace to give me leave to shew your grace wherein it appeareth to me that your grace is wrong informed.

Your grace's letters blameth me, because I did not (at the first, before the visitation began, having knowledge of the matter) shew my mind: the truth is, before God, I never had, nor could get any foreknowledge of the matter, of the uniting of the two colleges, before we had begun, and had entred two days on the visitation, and that your grace may plainly thus well perceive.

A little before Easter, I being at Rochester, received letters from Mr. secretary Smith, and the dean of Paul's, to come to the visitation of the university, and to make a sermon at the beginning thereof; whereupon I sent immediately a servant up to London, to the dean of Paul's, desiring of him to have had some knowledge of things there to be done, because I thought it meet that my sermon should somewhat have savoured of the same.

From Mr. Dean I received a letter, instructing me only that the cause of the visitation was to abolish statutes and ordinances, which maintained papistry, superstition, blindness, and ignorance; and to establish and set forth such as might further God's word and good learning; and else, the truth is, he would shew me nothing, but had me be careless, and said there was informations how all things was for to be done, the which, I take God to witness, I did never see, nor could get knowledge what they were, before we were entred in the visitation two days, although I desired to have seen them in the beginning.

Now, when I had seen the instructions, the truth is, I thought peradventure the master and company would have surrendered up their college; but when their consent, after labour and travel taken therein two days, could not be obtained, and then we began secretly to consult (all the commissioners thinking it best that every man should say his mind plainly, that in execution there might appear but one way to be taken of all), there when it was seen to some, that without the consent of the present incumbents, by the king's absolute power, we might proceed to the uniting of the two colleges, I did in my course simply and plainly declare my conscience, and that there only secretly, among ourselves alone, with all kind of softness, so that no man could be justly offended. Also, I perceive by your grace's letters I have been noted of some for my barking there; and yet to bark, lest God should be offended, I cannot deny; but indeed it is a part of my profession, for God's word condemneth the dumb dogs that will not bark and give warning of God's displeasure.

As for that that was suggested to your grace, that by my aforesaid barking I should dishonour the king's majesty, and dissuade others from the execution of the king's commission, God is my judge, I intended according to my duty to God and the king, the maintenance and defence of his highness' royal honour and dignity. If that be true, that I believe is true, which the prophet saith, *Honor Regis Judicium diligit*; and as the com-

missioners must needs, and I am sure will all testify, that I dissuaded no man, but contrariwise, exhorted every man (with the quiet of other) to satisfy their own conscience; desiring only, that if it should otherwise be seen unto them, that I might, either by my absence or silence, satisfy mine. The which my plainness, when some, otherwise than according to my expectation did take, I was moved thereupon (both for the good opinion I had, and yet have, in your grace's goodness; and also specially, because your grace had commanded me so to do) to open my mind, by my private letters, freely unto your grace.

And thus I trust your grace perceiveth now, both that anon, after knowledge had, I did utter my conscience; and also that the matter was not opened unto me before the visitation was two days begun.

If in this I did amiss, that before the knowledge of the instructions I was ready to grant to the execution of the commission, truly, I had rather herein acknowledge my fault, and submit myself to your grace's correction, then after knowledge had, then wittingly and willingly commit that thing wherunto my conscience doth not agree, for fear of God's displeasure.

It is a godly wish that is wished in your grace's letters, that flesh, and blood, and country, might not more weigh with some men than godliness and reason; but the truth is, country in this matter (whatsoever some men do suggest unto your grace) shall not move me; and that your grace shall well perceive; for I shall be as ready as any other first thence to expel some of my own country, if the report which is made of them can be tried true.

And as for that your grace saith of flesh and blood, that is, the favour or fear of mortal man. Yea, marry, sir, that is a matter of weight indeed, and the truth is, (alas! my own feebleness,) of that I am afraid; but I beseech your grace, yet once again, give me good leave, wherein here I fear my own frailty, to confess the truth.

Before God, there is no man this day (leaving the king's majesty for the honour only excepted) whose favour or displeasure I do either seek or fear, as your grace's favour or displeasure; for of God, both your grace's authority and my bound duty for your grace's benefits bind me so to do. So that if the desire of any man's favour, or fear of displeasure, should weigh more with me than godliness and reason,

Truly, if I may be bold to say the truth, I must needs say, that I am most in danger to offend herein, either for desire of your grace's favour, or for fear of your grace's displeasure. And yet I shall not cease (God willing) daily to pray God so to stay and strengthen my frailty with holy fear, that I do not commit the thing for favour or fear of any mortal man, whereby my conscience may threaten me with the loss of the favour of the living God, but that it may please him, of his gracious goodness, (howsoever the world goes,) to blow this in the ears of my heart, *Deus dissipavit ossa eorum qui hominibus placuerint*. And this, *Horrendum est incidere in manus Dei viventis*. And again, *Nolite timere eos qui occidunt corpus*.

Wherefore I most humbly beseech your grace, for God's love, not to be offended with me for renewing of this my suit unto your grace, which is that whereunto my conscience cannot well agree; if any such thing chance in this visitation, I may, with your grace's favour, have license, either by mine absence or silence, or other-like means, to keep my conscience quiet. I wish your grace, in God, honour and endless felicity. From Pembroke-hall in Cambridge, June 1, 1549.

Your grace's humble and daily orator,

NICH. ROFFEN.

NUMBER LX.

The Protector's Answer to the former Letter.

[Ex Chartophylac. Regio.]

AFTER our right hearty commendations to your lordship, we have received your letters of the first of June, again replying to those which we last sent unto you. And as it appeareth, ye yet remaining in your former request, desires, if things do occur so, that, according to your conscience, ye cannot do them, that you might absent yourself, or otherwise keep silence. We would be loth anything should be done by the king's majesty's visitors, otherwise than right and conscience might allow and approve: and visitation is to direct things to the better, not to the worse; to ease consciences, not to clog them. Marry, we would wish that executors thereof should not be scrupulous in conscience, otherwise than reason would. Against your conscience it is not our will to move you, as we would not gladly do, or move any man to that which is against right and conscience; and we trust the king's majesty hath not in this matter. And we think in this ye do much wrong, and much discredit the other visitors, that ye should seem to think and suppose that they would do things against conscience. We take them to be men of that honour and honesty, that they will not. My lord of Canterbury hath declared unto us, that this maketh partly a conscience unto you, that divines should be diminished. That can be no cause; for, first, the same was meant before in the late king's time, to unite the two colleges together; as we are sure ye have heard, and sir Edward North can tell: and for that cause, all such as were students of the law, out of the new-erected cathedral church, were disappointed of their livings, only reserved to have been in that civil college. The king's hall being in manner all lawyers, canonists were turned and joined to Michael-house, and made a college of divines, wherewith the number of divines was much augmented, civilians diminished. Now at this present also, if in all other colleges, where lawyers be by the statutes or the king's injunctions, ye do convert them, or the more part of them, to divines, ye shall rather have more divines upon this change than ye had before. The King's college should have six lawyers; Jesus college some; the Queen's college, and other, one or two apiece; and as we are informed by the late king's injunctions, every college in Cambridge one at the least: all these together do make a greater in number than the fellows of Clare-hall be, and they now made divines, and the statutes in that reformed divinity shall not be diminished in number of students, but increased, as appeareth, although these two colleges be so united. And we are sure ye are not ignorant how necessary a study that study of civil law is to all treaties with foreign princes and strangers, and how few there be at this present to do the king's majesty's service therein; for we would the encrease of divines as well as you. Marry, necessity compelleth us also to maintain the science; and we require you, my lord, to have consideration how much you do hinder the king's majesty's proceedings in that visitation, if now you, who are one of the visitors, should thus draw back and discourage the other, ye should much hinder the whole doings; and peradventure that thing known, maketh the master and fellows of Clare-hall to stand the more obstinate; wherefore we require you to have regard of the king's majesty's honour, and the quiet performings of that visitation, most to the glory of God and benefit of that university; the which thing is only meant in your instructions. To the performing of that, and in that

manner, we can be content you use your doings as ye think best, for the quieting of your conscience. Thus we bid you right heartily farewell.—From Richmond, the 10th of June, 1549.

Your loving friend,

E. SOMERSET.

NUMBER LXI.

A Letter of Cranmer's to King Henry the Eighth, concerning a further Reformation, and against Sacrilege.

[Ex Chartophylac. Regio.]

It may please your highness to be advertised, that forasmuch as I might not tarry myself at London, because I had appointed, the next day after that I departed from your majesty, to be at Rochester, to meet the next morning all the commissioners of Kent at Sittingbourn; therefore the same night that I returned from Hampton-Court to Lambeth, I sent for the bishop of Worcester incontinently, and declared unto him all your majesty's pleasure, in such things as your majesty willed me to be done. And first, where your majesty's pleasure was, to have the names of such persons as your highness, in times past, appointed to make laws ecclesiastical for your grace's realm; the bishop of Worcester promised me, with all speed, to enquire out their names, and the book which they made, and to bring the names, and also the book, unto your majesty, which I trust he hath done before this time.

And as concerning the ringing of bells upon Alhallow-day at night, and covering of images in Lent, and creeping to the cross, he thought it necessary that a letter of your majesty's pleasure therein should be sent by your grace unto the two archbishops, and we to send the same to all other prelates within your grace's realm. And if it be your majesty's pleasure so to do, I have for more speed herein drawn a minute of a letter, which your majesty may alter at your pleasure. Nevertheless, in my opinion, when such things be altered or taken away, there would be set forth some doctrine therewith, which should declare the cause of the abolishing or alteration, for to satisfy the conscience of the people: for if the honouring of the cross, as creeping and kneeling thereunto, be taken away, it shall seem to many that be ignorant that the honour of Christ is taken away, unless some good teaching be set forth withal to instruct them sufficiently therein; which if your majesty command the bishops of Worcester and Chichester, with other your grace's chaplains to make, the people shall obey your majesty's commandment willingly, giving thanks to your majesty that they know the truth, which else they would obey with murmuration and grutching. And it shall be a satisfaction unto all other nations, when they shall see your majesty do nothing but by the authority of God's word, and to the setting forth of God's honour, and not diminishing thereof. And thus Almighty God keep your majesty in his preservation and governance. From my manor at Beckisbourn, the 24th of January, 45.

Your grace's most bounden chaplain and beadsman.

Postscript.

I beseech your majesty that I may be a suitor unto the same, for your cathedral church of Canterbury, who to their great unquietness, and also great charges, do alienate their lands daily, and, as it is said, by your majesty's commandment. But this I am sure, that other men have gotten their best lands, and not

your majesty. Wherefore this is mine only suit, that when your majesty's pleasure shall be to have any of their lands, that they may have some letter from your majesty, to declare your majesty's pleasure, without the which they be sworn, that they shall make no alienation. And that the same alienation be not made at other men's pleasures, but only to your majesty's use. For now every man that list to have any of their lands makes suit to get it into your majesty's hands; not that your majesty should keep the same, but by sale, or gift from your majesty, to translate it from your grace's cathedral church unto themselves.

T. CANTUARIEN.

The Draught of a Letter which the King was to send Cranmer against some superstitious practices.

To the Archbishop of Canterbury.

Forasmuch as you, as well in your own name as in the name of the bishops of Worcester and Chichester, and other our chaplains and learned men, whom we appointed with you to peruse certain books of service, which we delivered unto you, moved us, that the vigil and ringing of bells all the night long upon Allhallow-day at night, and the covering of images in the church in the time of Lent, with the lifting up the veil that covereth the cross upon Palm-Sunday, with the kneeling to the cross at the same time, might be abolished and put away, for the superstition, and other enormities and abuses of the same. First, forasmuch as all the vigils of Our Lady, and the apostles, and all other vigils, which in the beginning of the church were godly used, yet for the manifold superstition and abuses which after did grow, by means of the same, they be many years past taken away throughout all Christendom, and there remaineth nothing but the name of the vigil in the calendar, the thing clearly abolished and put away, saving only upon Allhallows-day at night; upon which night is kept vigil, watching, and ringing of bells all the night long. Forasmuch as that vigil is abused as other vigils were, our pleasure is, as you require, that the said vigil shall be abolished as the other be, and that there shall be no watching nor ringing but as be commonly used upon other holy-days at night. We be contented and pleased also, that the images in churches shall not be covered, as hath been accustomed in times past, nor no veil upon the cross, nor no kneeling thereto upon Palm-Sunday, nor any other time. And forasmuch as you make no mention of creeping to the cross, which is a greater abuse than any of the other; for there you say, *Crucem tuam adoramus, Domine*; and the ordinal saith, *Procedant Clerici ad crucem adorandum nudis pedibus*; and after followeth in the same ordinal, *Ponatur Crux ante aliquod Altare, ubi a populo adoretur*; which by your own book, called "A Necessary Doctrine," is against the second commandment. Therefore our pleasure is, that the said creeping to the cross shall likewise cease from henceforth, and be abolished, with the other abuses before rehearsed. And this we will, and straitly command you to signify unto all the prelates and bishops of your province of Canterbury, charging them, in our name, to see the same executed, every one in his diocese, accordingly.

BOOK II.

NUMBER I.

*The Proclamation of Lady Jane Gray's Title to the Crown.**

JANE, by the grace of God queen of England, France, and Ireland, defender of the faith, and of the church of England, and also of Ireland, under Christ in earth the supreme head. To all our most loving, faithful, and obedient subjects, and to every of them, greeting. Whereas our most dear cousin Edward the 6th, late King of England, France, and Ireland, defender of the faith; and in earth supreme head, under Christ, of the church of England and Ireland; by his letters patents, signed with his own hand, and sealed with his great seal of England, bearing date the 21st day of June, in the seventh year of his reign; in the presence of the most part of his nobles, his counsellors, judges, and divers other grave and sage personages, for the profit and surety of the whole realm, thereto assenting and subscribing their names to the same, hath, by the same his letters patents, recited, that forasmuch as the imperial crown of this realm, by an act made in the 35th year of the reign of the late king, of worthy memory, king Henry the 8th, our progenitor, and great uncle, was, for lack of issue of his body lawfully begotten; and for lack of issue of the body of our said late cousin king Edward the 6th, by the same act, limited and appointed to remain to the lady Mary his eldest daughter, and to the heirs of her body lawfully begotten: and for default of such issue, the remainder thereof to the lady Elizabeth, by the name of the lady Elizabeth his second daughter, and to the heirs of her body lawfully begotten; with such conditions as should be limited and appointed by the said late king of worthy memory, king Henry the 8th, our progenitor, our great uncle, by his letters patents under his great seal, or by his last will in writing, signed with his hand. And forasmuch as the said limitation of the imperial crown of this realm being limited, as is aforesaid, to the said lady Mary, and lady Elizabeth, being illegitimate, and not lawfully begotten, for that the marriage had, between the said late king, king Henry the 8th, our progenitor, and great uncle, and the lady Katherine, mother to the said lady Mary; and also the marriage had between the said late king, king Henry the 8th, our progenitor, and great uncle, and the lady Ann, mother to the said lady Elizabeth, were clearly and lawfully undone, by sentences of divorce, according to the word of God, and the ecclesiastical laws; and which said several divorcements have been severally ratified and confirmed by authority of parliament, and especially in the 28th year of the reign of king Henry the 8th, our said progenitor, and great uncle, remaining in force, strength, and effect, whereby, as well the said lady Mary, as also the said lady Elizabeth, to all intents and purposes, are, and been clearly disabled, to ask, claim, or challenge the said imperial crown, or any other of the honours, castles, manours, lordships, lands, tenements, or other hereditaments, as heir or heirs to our said late cousin king Edward the 6th, or as heir or heirs to any other person or persons whatsoever, as well for the cause before rehearsed, as also for that the said lady Mary, and lady Elizabeth, were unto our said late cousin but of the half-blood, and therefore by the ancient laws, statutes, and customs of this realm, be not inheritable unto our said late cousin, although they had been born

* This seems not to be the proclamation declaring Jane Grey to be queen, but rather her letters-patent declarative of her right of succession.—STRYPE'S CORRECT.

in lawful matrimony ; as indeed they were not, as by the said sentences of divorce, and the said statute of the 28th year of the reign of king Henry the 8th, our said progenitor, and great uncle, plainly appeareth. And forasmuch also, as it is to be thought, or at the least may be doubted, that if the said lady Mary, or lady Elizabeth, should hereafter have or enjoy the said imperial crown of this realm, and should then happen to marry with any stranger born out of this realm, that then the said stranger, having the government and imperial crown in his hands, would adhere and practise, not only to bring this noble, free realm into the tyranny and servitude of the bishops of Rome, but also to have the laws and customs of his or their own native country or countries, to be practised and put in ure within this realm, rather than the laws, statutes, and customs here of long time used ; whereupon the title of inheritance, of all and singular the subjects of this realm do depend, to the peril of conscience, and the utter subversion of the common-weal of this realm : whereupon our said late dear cousin, weighing and considering within himself which ways and means were most convenient to be had for the stay of the said succession, in the said imperial crown, if it should please God to call our said late cousin out of this transitory life, having no issue of his body ; and calling to his remembrance, that we, and the lady Katherine, and the lady Mary, our sisters (being the daughters of the lady Frances, our natural mother, and then, and yet, wife to our natural and most loving father, Henry duke of Suffolk ; and the lady Margaret, daughter of the lady Elianor, then deceased, sister to the said lady Frances, and the late wife of our cousin Henry earl of Cumberland) were very nigh of his grace's blood, of the part of his father's side, our said progenitor, and great uncle ; and being naturally born here, within the realm ; and for the very good opinion our said late cousin had of our said sisters' and cousin Margaret's good education, did therefore, upon good deliberation and advice herein had, and taken, by his said letters patents, declare, order, assign, limit, and appoint, that if it should fortune himself, our said late cousin king Edward the Sixth, to decease, having no issue of his body lawfully begotten, that then the said imperial crown of England and Ireland, and the confines of the same, and his title to the crown of the realm of France ; and all and singular honours, castles, prerogatives, privileges, preeminencies, and authorities, jurisdictions, dominions, possessions, and hereditaments, to our said late cousin king Edward the Sixth, or to the said imperial crown belonging, or in any-wise appertaining, should, for lack of such issue of his body, remain, come, and be to the eldest son of the body of the said lady Frances, lawfully begotten, being born into the world in his life-time, and to the heirs males of the body of such eldest son lawfully begotten ; and so from son to son, as he should be of vicinity of birth of the body of the said lady Frances, lawfully begotten, being born into the world in our said late cousin's life-time, and to the heirs male of the body of every such son lawfully begotten. And for default of such son born into the world in his life-time, of the body of the said lady Frances, lawfully begotten ; and for lack of heirs males of every such son lawfully begotten, that then the said imperial crown, and all and singular other the premises, should remain, come, and be to us, by the name of the lady Jane, eldest daughter of the said lady Frances, and to the heirs males of our body lawfully begotten, and for lack of such issue, then to the lady Katherine aforesaid, our said second sister, and the heirs male of her body lawfully begotten, with divers other remainders, as by the same letters-patents more plainly and at large it may and doth appear. Sithence the making of our letters

patents, that is to say, on Thursday, which was the 6th day of this instant month of July, it hath pleased God to call unto his infinite mercy our said most dear and entirely beloved cousin Edward the Sixth, whose soul God pardon ; and forasmuch as he is now deceased, having no heirs of his body begotten ; and that also there remaineth at this present time no heirs lawfully begotten, of the body of our said progenitor, and great uncle, king Henry the Eighth ; and forasmuch also as the said lady Frances, our said mother, had no issue male begotten of her body, and born into the world, in the life-time of our said cousin king Edward the Sixth, so as the said imperial crown, and other the premises to the same belonging, or in any-wise appertaining, now be, and remain to us, in our actual and royal possession, by authority of the said letters patents : we do therefore by these presents signify, unto all our most loving, faithful, and obedient subjects, that like- as we for our part shall, by God's grace, shew ourself a most gracious and benign sovereign queen and lady to all our good subjects, in all their just and lawful suits and causes ; and to the uttermost of our power, shall preserve and maintain God's most holy word, Christian policy, and the good laws, customs, and liberties of these our realms and dominions ; so we mistrust not but they, and every of them, will again, for their parts, at all times, and in all cases, shew themselves unto us, their natural liege queen and lady, most faithful, loving, and obedient subjects, according to their bounden duties and allegiance, whereby they shall please God, and do the things that shall tend to their own preservation and sureties ; willing and commanding all men, of all estates, degrees, and conditions, to see our peace and accord kept, and to be obedient to our laws, as they tender our favour, and will answer for the contrary at their extreme perils. In witness whereof, we have caused these our letters to be made patents. Witness ourself, at our Tower of London, the tenth day of July, in the first year of our reign.

God save the Queen.

NUMBER II.

A Letter sent by Queen Katherine, to the Lady Mary her Daughter.

[Ex MS. Norfolkianis in Col. Cresham.]

DAUGHTER, I heard such tidings this day, that I do perceive (if it be true) the time is near that Almighty God will provide for you, and I am very glad of it, for I trust that he doth handle you with a good love ; I beseech you agree to his pleasure with a merry heart, and be you sure, that without fail he will not suffer you to perish, if you beware to offend him. I pray God, you good daughter, to offer yourself to him ; if any pangs come to you, shrive yourself, first make yourself clean ; take heed of his commandments, and keep them as near as he will give you grace to do, for then are you sure armed. And if this lady do come to you, as it is spoken, if she do bring you a letter from the king, I am sure, in the self-same letter, you shall be commanded what you shall do. Answer you with few words, obeying the king your father in every thing, save only that you will not offend God, and lose your soul, and go no further with learning and disputation in the matter ; and wheresoever, and in whatsoever company you shall come, obey the king's commandments, speak few words, and meddle nothing. I will send you two books in Latin, one shall be, "De Vita Christi," with the declaration of the gospels ; and the other, "The Epistles of St. Hierome," that he did write always to Paula and Eustochium, and in them trust you shall see good things. And sometimes, for your recre-

ation, use your virginals, or lute, if you have any. But one thing specially I desire you, for the love that you owe unto God and unto me, to keep your heart with a chaste mind, and your body from all ill and wanton company, not thinking or desiring any husband, for Christ's passion; neither determine yourself to any manner of living, until this troublesome time be past, for I dare make you sure that you shall see a very good end, and better than you can desire. I would God, good daughter, that you did know with how good a heart I do write this letter unto you: I never did one with a better, for I perceive very well that God loveth you; I beseech him of his goodness to continue it: and if it shall fortune that you shall have nobody to be with you of your acquaintance, I think it best you keep your keys yourself, for whosoever it is, so shall be done as shall please them. And now you shall begin, and by likelihood I shall follow, I set not a rush by it, for when they have done the uttermost they can, then I am sure of the amendment. I pray you recommend me unto my good lady of Salisbury, and pray her to have a good heart, for we never come to the kingdom of heaven but by troubles. Daughter, wheresoever you become, take no pain to send to me, for if I may I will send to you.

By your loving mother,

KATHERINE THE QUEEN.

NUMBER III.

A humble Submission made by Queen Mary to her Father. Anno 1536.—An Original.

[Cotton Libr. Otho. C. 10.]

Most humbly prostrate before the feet of your most excellent majesty, your most humble, faithful, and obedient subject, which hath so extremely offended your most gracious highness, that mine heavy and fearful heart dare not presume to call you father, nor your majesty hath any cause by my deserts, saving the benignity of your most blessed nature, doth surmount all evils, offences, and trespasses, and is ever merciful and ready to accept the penitent, calling for grace in any convenient time. Having received, this Thursday at night, certain letters from Mr. Secretary, as well advising me to make my humble submission immediately to yourself; which because I durst not, without your gracious license, presume to do before, I lately sent unto him; as signifying that your most merciful heart, and fatherly pity, had granted me your blessing, with condition, that I should persevere in that I had commenced and begun, and that I should not afterwards offend your majesty by the denial or refusal of any such articles and commandments, as it may please your highness to address unto me, for the perfect trial of my heart and inward affection. For the perfect declaration of the bottom of my heart and stomach:

First, I acknowledge myself to have most unkindly and unnaturally offended your most excellent highness, in that I have not submitted myself to your most just and virtuous law. And for mine offences therein, which I must confess were in me a thousand fold more grievous than they could be in any other living creature, I put myself wholly and entirely to your gracious mercy, at whose hand I cannot receive that punishment for the same that I have deserved.

Secondly, to open mine heart to your grace, in these things which I have heretofore refused to condescend unto, and have now written with mine own hand, sending the same to your highness herewith, I shall never beseech your grace to have pity and compassion of me, if ever you shall perceive that I shall privily or apertly vary or alter from one piece of that I have written and

subscribed, or refuse to confirm, ratify, or declare the same, where your majesty shall appoint me.

Thirdly, as I have, and shall, knowing your excellent learning, virtue, wisdom, and knowledge, put my soul into your direction; and by the same hath, and will in all things from henceforth direct my conscience, so my body I do wholly commit to your mercy and fatherly pity, desiring no state, no condition, nor no meaner degree of living, but such as your grace shall appoint me: knowledge and confessing, that my state cannot be so vile, as either the extremity of justice would appoint unto me, or as mine offences have required or deserved.

And whatsoever your grace shall command me to do, touching any of these points, either for things past, present, or to come, I shall as gladly do the same, as your majesty shall command me. Most humbly therefore beseeching your mercy, most gracious sovereign lord and benign father, to have pity and compassion of your miserable and sorrowful child, and with the abundance of your inestimable goodness so to overcome mine iniquity towards God, your grace, and your whole realm, as I may feel some sensible token of reconciliation, which, God is my judge, I only desire, without other respect; to whom I shall daily pray for the preservation of your highness, with the queen's grace, and that it may please him to send you issue.—From Hunsdon, this Thursday, at eleven of the clock at night.

Your grace's most humble and obedient daughter and handmaid,

MARY.

NUMBER IV.

Another of the same strain, confirming the former. An Original.

[Cotton Libr. Otho. C. 10.]

Most humbly, obediently, and gladly lying at the feet of your most excellent majesty, my most dear and benign father, and sovereign lord, I have this day perceived your gracious clemency and merciful pity to have overcome my most unkind and unnatural proceedings towards you, and your most just and virtuous laws. The great and inestimable joy whereof, I cannot express, nor have anything worthy to be again presented to your majesty for the same your fatherly pity extended towards me, most ingratly on my part abandoned, as much as in me lies, but my poor heart, which I send unto your highness to remain in your hand, to be for ever used, directed, and framed, whiles God shall suffer life to remain in it at your only pleasure, most humbly beseeching your grace to accept and receive the same; being all that I have to offer, which shall never alter, vary, or change, from that confession and submission which I have made unto your highness, in the presence of your council, and other attending upon the same; for whose preservation, with my most gracious mother the queen, I shall daily pray to God, whom oft-soons I beseech to send you issue, to his honour, and the comfort of your whole realm.—From Hunsdon, the 26th day of June.

Your grace's most humble and obedient daughter and handmaid,

MARY.

NUMBER V.

Another Letter written to her Father, to the same purpose.—An Original.

[Cotton Libr. Otho. C. 10.]

My bounden duty most humbly remembered to your most excellent majesty: whereas I am unable and insufficient to render and express to your highness those

most hearty and humble thanks for your gracious mercy and fatherly pity, surmounting mine offences at this time extended towards me, I shall prostrate at your most noble feet, humbly and with the very bottom of my stomach, beseech your grace to repute that in me, which in my poor heart remaining in your most noble hand, I have conceived and professed towards your grace, whiles the breath shall remain in my body; that is, that as I am now in such merciful sort recovered, being more than almost lost with mine own folly, that your majesty may as well accept me justly your bounden slave by redemption, as your most humble, faithful, and obedient child and subject, by the course of nature planted in this your most noble realm; so shall I for ever persevere and continue towards your highness, in such uniformity and due obedience, as I doubt not but, with the help of God, your grace shall see and perceive a will and intent in me, to redouble again that hath been amiss on my behalf, conformably to such words and writings as I have spoken and sent unto your highness, from the which I will never vary during my life, trusting that your grace hath conceived that opinion of me, which to remember is mine only comfort. And thus I beseech our Lord to preserve your grace in health, with my very natural mother the queen, and to send you shortly issue, which I shall as gladly and willingly serve with my hands under their feet, as ever did poor subject their most gracious sovereign.—From Hundson, the 8th day of July.

Your grace's most humble and obedient daughter
and handmaid,

MARY.

NUMBER VI.

A Letter written by her to Cromwell, containing a full Submission to the King's Pleasure, in all the Points of Religion.—An Original.

[Cotton Libr. Otho. C. 10.]

Good Mr. Secretary, how much am I bound unto you, which have not only travelled, when I was almost drowned in folly, to recover me before I sunk, and was utterly past recovery, and so to present me to the face of grace and mercy; but also desisteth not thence, with your good and wholesome counsels, so to arm me from any relapse, that I cannot, unless I were too wilful and obstinate, (whereof now there is no spark in me,) fall again into any danger. But leaving the recital of your goodness apart, which I cannot recount; for answer to the particularities of your credence, sent by my friend Mr. Wriothsley; first, concerning the princess, (so I think I must call her yet, for I would be loth to offend,) I offered, at her entry to that name and honour, to call her sister; but it was refused, unless I would also add the other title unto it; which I denied not then more obstinately than I am now sorry for it, for that I did therein offend my most gracious father and his just laws. And now that you think it meet, I shall never call her by other name than sister. Touching the nomination of such women as I would have about me; surely, Mr. Secretary, what men or women soever the king's highness shall appoint to wait on me, without exception, shall be to me right-heartily, and without respect, welcome; albeit, to express my mind to you, whom I think worthy to be accepted for their faithful service done to the king's majesty, and to me, since they came into my company, I promise you, on my faith, Margaret Baynton and Susanna Clarencieux have, in every condition, used themselves as faithfully, painfully, and diligently, as ever did women in such a case; as sorry when I was not so conformable as became me, as glad when I inclined anything to my duty as could be devised. One other

there is that was sometime my maid, whom, for her virtue, I love, and could be glad to have in my company, that is, Mary Brown, and here be all that I will recommend; and yet my estimation of this shall be measured at the king's highness, my most merciful father's pleasure and appointment, as reason is.

For mine opinion touching pilgrimages, purgatory, reliques, and such-like, I assure you I have none at all, but such as I shall receive from him that hath mine whole heart in keeping, that is, the king's most gracious highness, my most benign father, who shall imprint in the same touching these matters, and all other, what his inestimable virtue, high wisdom, and excellent learning shall think convenient, and limit unto me; to whose presence I pray God I may once come ere I die, for every day is a year till I may have the fruition of it. Beseeching you, good Mr. Secretary, to continue mine humble suit for the same, and for all other things whatsoever they be, to repute my heart so firmly knit to his pleasure, that I can by no means vary from the direction and appointment of the same; and thus mostly heartily fare you well.—From Hundson, this Friday, at ten of the clock at night.

Your assured loving friend, during my life,
MARY.

NUMBER VII.

Letter of Bonner's, upon his being restored to his Bishoprick.—An Original.

To my most loving and dearly beloved friends, my cousin Thomas Shirley, the worshipful Richard Leechmore, and Roger Leechmore his brother.

In most hearty wise I commend me unto you, as-certaining, that yesterday I was, by sentence, restored again to my bishoprick, and reposed in the same, even as fully as I was at any time before I was deprived; and by the said sentence, my usurper, Dr. Ridley, is utterly repulsed; so that I would ye did order all things at Kidmery and Bushley at your pleasures, not suffering Sheeps-head, or Ships-side, to be any medler there, or to sell or carry away anything from thence; and I trust, at your coming up now at the parliament, I shall so handle both the said Sheeps-heads, and the other Calves-heads, that they shall perceive their sweet shall not be without sour sauce. This day is looked that Mr. Canterbury must be placed where is meet for him; he is become very humble and ready to submit himself in all things, but that will not serve; in the same predicament is Dr. Smith, my friend, and the dean of Paul's, with others. Commend me to your bed-fellows most heartily, and remember the liquor that I wrote to you for; this bearer shall declare the rest, and also put you in remembrance for beeves and mutons for my house-fare. And thus our blessed Lord long and well keep you all.—Written in haste, this 6th of September.

Assuredly all your own,
EDMOND LONDON.

NUMBER VIII.

A Manifesto set out by Cranmer, declaring his readiness to maintain the Reformation in a public dispute.

[From the Copy printed that year.]

Purgatio Reverendissimi in Christo Patris ac Domini D. Thomæ Archiepiscopi Cantuariensis, adversus infames sed vanos rumores a quibusdam sparsos, de Missa restituta Cantuariæ.

QUANQUAM Satan vetus Christi hostis, mendax ipse atq; mendacii parens, nullis unquam temporibus abs-

tinuit suis armandis mancipiis et membris adversus Christum et veram ipsius Religionem, variis subinde excogitatis mendaciis: idem tamen his nostris temporibus agit sane perquam sedulo. Nam cum Rex Hen. 8. Princeps illustrissimæ memoriæ deprehensis erroribus atq; infandis abusibus Latine Missæ, ipsam aliquousq; cæpisset corrigere, deindeq; filius qui proxime secutus est supremus Dominus noster Rex Edwardus 6. non ferens hos tantos, tamq; manifestos errores atq; abusus omnes penitus sustulisset, restituta Sacros. Christi cæna et plane ad ipsius institutum atq; Apostolorum et Ecclesiæ Primitivæ exemplum; Diabolus contra tentavit nuper si posset, rursum ejecta dominica cæna, Latinam ac Satisfactoriam Missam (suum ipsius inventum et institutum scilicet) rursum hominibus nostris obtrudere. Atq; id quod facilius posset effici, ausi sunt quidam abuti nomine nostro Thomæ Cantuarien. Archiepiscopi, spargentes in vulgum Missam meo jussu Cantuariæ restitutam, meq; adeo cantaturum fuisse Missam in funere nuper Principis nostri summi Edwardi 6. Regis, imo idem quoq; facturum recepissem coram Majestate Regineæ, et ad Paulum, et nescio ubi præterea.

Porro tametsi jam 20. ab hinc annis multos ejusmodi rumores de me vanos et falsos pertulerim, utcumq; fortiter et modeste, nunquam data hæcenus significatione ulla commoti animi ob res ejusmodi; Attamen si quando in fraudem atq; injuriam veritatis Dei talia jactarentur, haud quaquam diutius perferri posse judico. Quæ res me impulit*, ut scripto hoc testatum universo orbi facerem nunquam me autore Missam Cantuariæ cantatam, sed vanum quendam adulatorem, mendacem atq; hypocritam Monachum, me nec consultore, neq; consilio ibidem hoc ausum fuisse: Dominus illi reddat in die illo. Quod porro meipsum obtulerim ad legendam Missam coram Majestate Regineæ aut usquam alibi, quam id vanum sit satis novit ipsius Majestas; A qua si potestatem impetro, palam omnibus faciam, contraq; omnes diversum putantes probabo, omnia, quæ in Communione (quam restituit innocentissimus idemque optimus Princeps Rex Edwardus 6. in Comitibus Regni) leguntur respondere institutioni Christi atq; Apostolorum et Primitivæ Ecclesiæ: exemplo, multis annis observato. Missam contra in plurimis non tantum hoc fundamento carere Christi et Apostolorum et Primitivæ Ecclesiæ, sed imo adversari prorsus atq; ex diametro pugnare, undiquaq; erroribus atq; abusibus refertissimam. Quamvis autem a nonnullis imperitis et malevolis Dicatur D. Petrus Martyr indoctus, si tamen nobis hanc libertatem det Majestas Regineæ, ego cum Petro Martyre atq; aliis quatuor, aut quin; quos mihi delegero, favente Deo confido, nos idem omnibus approbaturus, non solum preces communes Ecclesiasticas, Administrationem Sacram, cum cæteris Ritibus et Ceremoniis: Verum Doctrinam quoq; universam, ac religionis ordinem constitutum a supremo nostro Domino Rege Edwardo sexto, puriora hæc esse et Verbo Dei magis consentanea, quam quidquid mille retro annis in Anglia usurpatum novimus. Tantummodo judicentur omnia per Verbum Dei, ac describantur partis utriusq; argumenta, quo primum possit orbis Universus ea examinare et Judicare, deinde nequeat pars ulla dicta factave sic descripta inficiari.

Quoniam vero gloriantur illi et jactant Ecclesiæ fidem quæ fuit 1500. abhinc annis, nos hæc quoq; in parte cum illis periclitari audebimus quod eadem doctrina atq; idem ordo ab omnibus servari debeat, qui fuit illo seculo ante Annos 1500. ac præterea docebimus argumentis firmis, totam rationem cultus divini Ecclesiastici, quæ nunc in hoc Regno servatur, Autoritate

Comitiolum eandem esse, atq; illam ipsam quæ fuit ante Annos 1500. id quod alii de suis nunquam probaverint.

Finis.

Lecta publice in vico Mercatorum ab amico qui clam Autographum surripuerat 5. Septemb. Anno Dom. 1553.

NUMBER IX.

The Conclusion of Cardinal Pole's Instructions to Mr. Goldwell, sent by him to the Queen.—An Original.

[Cotton. Libr. Titus. B. 2.]

For the conclusion of all that is comprised in your instruction, as that the which containeth the whole sum of my poor advice and counsel, it pleaseth her grace to ask of me, you shall say, that my most humble desire is, that in all deliberation her grace shall make touching the maintenance of her state, the same will ever well ponder and consider, what the providence of God hath shewed therein, above that which hath been shewed in her predecessors, kings of this realm, in this one point; which is to have the crown, not only as a king's daughter and heir, but hath ordered, that this point of right inheritance shall depend as it doth, of the authority he hath given to his church, and of the see of Rome, which is the see apostolick, approving her mother to be legitimate wife of king Henry the Eighth; whereby she is bound, afore God and man, as she will show herself the very daughter of the said king Henry the Eighth, right heir of the crown; so also to shew herself right daughter of the church, and of them that be resident in the see apostolick, who be the right heirs to Peter; to whom, and his successors, Christ, chief head of the church in Heaven and in earth, hath given in earth to bear his place, touching the rule of the same church, and to have the crown thereof; which well considered and pondered, her grace shall soon see how in her person, the providence of God hath joined the right she hath by her father in the realm, with the right of the church, that she cannot prevail by the one, except she join the other withal; and they that will separate these two, take away not only half her right, but her whole right, being not so much heir, because she is king Henry's only daughter, without issue male, as she is his lawful daughter, which she hath by the authority of the church.

Which thing, prudently and godly considered, she cannot but see what faithful counsel this is, that above all acts that in this parliament shall be made, doth advertise her grace to establish that, the which pertaineth to the establishing of the authority of the church, and the see of the same; what rendering to him that is right successor to Peter therein, his right title of head in the church in Earth, without the which she cannot be right head in the realm; and this established, all controversy is taken away; and who will repine unto this, he doth repine unto her right of the crown.

Wherefore this is my first advice, that this point, above all other, should be entreated and enacted in the parliament; and so, I know her grace's full mind was, and is, that it should be: but she feareth difficulties, and hereupon dependeth, that her grace asketh my poor advice, how these difficulties may be taken away.

Unto this you may say, that they must be taken away by the help of him, that by his high providence, above man's expectance, hath given her already the crown. Which will have as well this second act known, of the maintenance thereof to depend of him, as the first in attaining thereto. And to have his help, the mean is by humble prayer, wherein I would advertise her highness, not only to give herself to prayer, but also, by

* Thortoneus Suffraganeus Dovorensis.

alms to the needy, excitate the minds of others to prayer; these be the means of most efficacy; and with this to take that ardent mind, to establish the authority of the church, casting away all fear of man, that she took to have her crown; and not so much for her own sake, as for the honour of God which gave her the crown. And if any difficulty should be feared in the parliament herein, leave the honour to take away the difficulty thereof to none other, but assume that person to herself, as most bound thereto; and to propone that herself, which I would trust to be of that efficacy, that if inwardly any man will repugn; outwardly the reasons be so evident for this part, that joined with the authority of her person, being propounder, none will be so hardly, temerarious, nor impious, that will resist. And if in this deliberation it should seem strange to put forth these matters in the parliament, as I have said in the instructions, without communicating the same with any of her council, I would think it well her grace might confer it with two of the chiefest that be counted of the people most near her favour, one spiritual, and another temporal; with declaring to them, first, how touching her conscience afore God, and her right afore the world, she can never be quiet until this matter be established touching the authority of the church, requiring their uttermost help in that, as if she should fight for the crown, her majesty may be sure, she putting the same forth with that earnest manner, they will not lack to serve her; and they may serve quickly in the parliament, after her grace hath spoken to prosecute and justify the same, with efficacy of words, to give all others example to follow her grace; leaving this part unto them, that if the name of obedience to the pope should seem to bring, as it were, a yoke to the realm, or any other kind of servitude beside, that it should be profitable to the realm, both afore God and man, that her grace that bringeth it in again, will never suffer it, nor the pope himself requireth no such thing. And herein also, that they say, that my person being the mean to bring it in, would never agree to be an instrument thereof, if I thought any thraldom should come thereby, they shall never be deceived of me. And if they would say beside, I would never have taken this enterprize upon me, except I thought by the same to bring great comfort to the country; wherein the pope's authority being accepted, I would trust, should be so used, that it might be an example of comfort, not only to that country, but to all other that have rejected it afore, and for that cause hath been ever since in great misery.

This is the sum of all my poor advice at this time in this case; whereof I beseech Almighty God so much may take effect, as shall be to his honour, and wealth to her grace, and the whole realm besides. Amen.

A Copy of a Letter, with Articles sent from the Queen's Majesty unto the Bishop of London; and by him and his Officers, at her gracious Commandment, to be put in speedy execution with effect in the whole Diocess, as well in places exempt, as not exempt whatsoever, according to the Tenour and Form of the same.

Sent by the Queen's Majesty's Commandment, in the Month of March, Anno Dom. 1553.

By the Queen.

Right reverend father in God, right trusty and well-beloved, we greet you well. And whereas heretofore, in the time of the late reign of our most dearest brother, king Edward the Sixth, (whose soul God pardon) divers notable crimes, excesses, and faults, with divers

kinds of heresies, simony, advowtry, and other enormities, have been committed within this our realm, and other our dominions; the same continuing yet hitherto in like disorder, since the beginning of our reign, without any correction or reformation at all; and the people, both of the laity and clergy, and chiefly of the clergy, have been given to much insolence and ungodly rate, greatly to the displeasure of Almighty God, and very much to our regret and evil contentation, and to the no little slander of other christian realms, and in a manner to the subversion and clear defacing of this our realm. And remembering our duty to Almighty God, to be to foresee, as much as in us may be, that all vertue and godly living should be embraced, flourish, and encrease. And therewith also, that all vice and ungodly behaviour should be utterly banished and put away; or at the least wise, so nigh as might be, so bridled and kept under, that godliness and honesty might have the overhand: understanding, by very credible report, and publick fame, to our no small heaviness and discomfort, that within your diocess and jurisdictions, as well in not exempted as in exempted places, the like disorder and evil behaviour hath been done and used; like also to continue and encrease, unless due provision be had and made to reform the same, (which earnestly in very deed we do mind and intend) to the uttermost all the ways we can possible, trusting of God's furtherance and help in that behalf. For these causes, and other most just considerations us moving, we send unto you certain articles of such special matter, as among other things be most special and necessary to be now put in execution by you and your officers, extending to the end by us desired, and the reformation aforesaid; wherein ye shall be charged with our special commandments, by these our letters, to the intent you and your officers may the more earnestly and boldly proceed thereunto, without fear of any presumption to be noted on your part, or danger to be incurred of any such our laws, as by your doings, of that is in the said articles contained, might anywise grieve you, whatsoever be threatened in any such case; and therefore we straitly charge and command you, and your said officers, to proceed to the execution of the said articles, without all tract and delay, as ye will answer to the contrary.—Given under our signet, at our palace of Westminster, the 4th day of March, the first year of our reign.

Articles.

1. That every bishop, and his officers, with all other having ecclesiastical jurisdiction, shall, with all speed and diligence, and all manner and ways to them possible, put in execution all such canons and ecclesiastical laws, heretofore in the time of king Henry the Eighth used, within this realm of England, and the dominions of the same, not being direct and expressly contrary to the laws and statutes of this realm.

2. *Item.* That no bishop, or any his officer, or other person aforesaid hereafter, in any of their ecclesiastical writings, in process, or other extra-judicial acts, do use to put in this clause or sentence, *Regia Auctoritate fulcitus.*

3. *Item.* That no bishop, or any his officers, or other person aforesaid, do hereafter exact or demand in the admission of any person to any ecclesiastical promotion, orders, or office, any oath touching the primacy, or succession, as of late in few years passed hath been accustomed and used.

4. *Item.* That every bishop, and his officers, with all other persons aforesaid, have a vigilant eye, and use special diligence and foresight, that no person be admitted or received to any ecclesiastical function, benefit, or office, being a sacramentary, infected or

defamed with any notable kind of heresy, or other great crime; and that the said bishop do stay, and cause to be stayed, as much as lieth in him, that benefices, and ecclesiastical promotions, do not notably decay, or take hinderance, by passing or confirming of unreasonable leases.

5. *Item.* That every bishop, and all other persons aforesaid, do diligently travel for the repressing of heresies, and notable crimes, especially in the clergy, duly correcting and punishing the same.

6. *Item.* That every bishop, and all other persons aforesaid, do likewise travel for the condemning and repressing of corrupt and naughty opinions, unlawful books, ballads, and other pernicious and hurtful devices, engendering hatred among the people, and discord amongst the same: and that school-masters, preachers, and teachers, do exercise and use their offices and duties, without teaching, preaching, or setting forth any evil corrupt doctrine; and that doing the contrary, they may be, by the bishop and his said officers, punished and removed.

7. *Item.* That every bishop, and all the other persons aforesaid, proceeding summarily, and with all celerity and speed, may and shall deprive, or declare deprived, and amove, according to their learning and discretion, all such persons from their benefices and ecclesiastical promotions, who contrary to the state of their order, and the laudable custom of the church, have married, and used women as their wives, or otherwise, notably and slanderously disordered or abused themselves; sequestering also, during the said process, the fruits and profits of the said benefices, and ecclesiastical promotions.

8. *Item.* That the said bishop, and all other persons aforesaid, do use more lenity and clemency with such as have married, whose wives be dead, than with other, whose women do yet remain in life. And likewise such priests, as with the consents of their wives, or women, openly, in the presence of the bishop, do profess to abstain, to be used the more favourably; in which case, after penance effectually done, the bishop, according to his discretion and wisdom, may, upon just consideration, receive, and admit them again to their former administration, so it be not in the same place, appointing them such a portion to live upon, to be paid out of their benefice, whereof they be deprived, by discretion of the said bishop, or his officers, as they shall think may be spared of the said benefice.

9. *Item.* That every bishop, and all persons aforesaid, do foresee, that they suffer not any religious man, having solemnly professed chastity, to continue with his woman, or wife: but that all such persons, after deprivation of their benefice, or ecclesiastical promotion, be also divorced, every one from his said woman, and due punishment otherwise taken for the offence therein.

10. *Item.* That every bishop, and all other persons aforesaid, do take order and direction, with the parishioners of every benefice, where priests do want, to repair to the next parish for Divine Service; or to appoint, for a convenient time, till other better provision may be made, one curat to serve *Alternis Vicibus*, in divers parishes; and to allot to the said curat, for his labour, some portion of the benefice that he so serveth.

11. *Item.* That all and all manner of processions of the church be used, frequented, and continued, after the old order of the church, in the Latin tongue.

12. *Item.* That all such holydays and fasting days be observed and kept, as was observed and kept in the late time of king Henry the Eighth.

13. *Item.* That the laudable and honest ceremonies which were wont to be used, frequented, and observed in the church, be also hereafter frequented, used, and observed.

14. *Item.* That children be christened by the priest, and confirmed by the bishops, as heretofore hath been accustomed and used.

15. *Item.* Touching such persons as were heretofore promoted to any orders, after the new sort and fashion of orders, considering they were not ordered in very deed, the bishop of the diocese finding otherwise sufficiency and ability in those men, may supply that thing which wanted in them before, and then, according to his discretion, admit them to minister.

16. *Item.* That by the bishop of the diocese an uniform doctrine be set forth by homilies, or otherwise, for the good instruction and teaching of all people; and that the said bishop, and other persons aforesaid, do compel the parishioners to come to their several churches, and there devoutly to hear divine service, as of reason they ought.

17. *Item.* That they examine all schoolmasters and teachers of children, and finding them suspect in any ways to remove them, and place catholick men in their rooms, with a special commandment to instruct their children, so as they may be able to answer the priest at the mass, and so help the priest to mass as hath been accustomed.

18. *Item.* That the said bishop, and all persons aforesaid, have such regard, respect, and consideration of and for the setting forth of the premises, with all kind of vertue, godly living, and good example, with repressing also and keeping under of vice and unchristianness, as they and every of them may be seen to favour the restitution of true religion; and also to make an honest account and reckoning of their office and cure, to the honour of God, our good contentation, and the profit of this realm, and dominions of the same.

NUMBER XI.

A Commission to turn out some of the Reformed Bishops.

[Rot. pat. prim. Maria pars septim.]

REGINA Dei Gratia, &c. per dilectis et fidelibus Consiliariis suis, Stephano Winton Episcopo, summo suo Angliæ Cancellario et Cudberto Dunelm. Episcopo, necnon Reverend. et dilectis sibi in Christo Edmund. London. Episcopo, Roberto Assaven. Episcopo, Georgio Ciestren. Episcopo, et Antonio Landaven. Episcopo salutem. Quia omne animi vitium tanto conspectius in se crimen habet, quanto qui peccat major habetur, et quoniam certis et indubitatis testimoniis, una cum facti notorietate et fama publica referente, luculenter intelleximus et manifesto compertimus Robertum Archiepiscopum Ebor. Robertum Meneven. Joan. Cestren. et Paulum Bristol. Episcopos, aut certe pro talibus se gerentes, Dei et animarum suarum salutis immemores, valde gravia et enormia dudum commisisse et perpetrasse scelera atque peccata, et inter cetera quod dolenter certe, et magna cum amaritudine animæ nostræ proferimus, post expressam professionem castitatis, expresse, rite et legitime emissam, cum quibusdam mulieribus nuptias de facto, cum de jure non deberent, in Dei contemptum et animarum suarum peccatum manifestum necnon in grave omnium ordinum, tam Clericorum quam Laicorum scandalum; Denique ceterorum Omnium Christi fidelium perniciosissimum exemplum contraxisse et cum illis tanquam cum Uxoribus cohabitasse. Ne igitur tantum scelus remaneat impunitum ac multos alios pertrahat in ruinam, vobis tenore presentium committimus et mandamus, quatenus vos omnes, aut tres saltem vestrum qui præsentem Literas Commissionales duxerint exequendi, dictos Archiepiscopum Ebor. Episc. Meneven. Episc. Cestren. et

Episc. Bristollen. diebus, horis et locis, vestro, aut trium vestrum arbitrio, eligend. et assignand. ad comparand. coram vobis, ceu tribus vestrum, vocetis aut vocari faciatis, vocent, aut vocari faciant, tres vestrum (ceu saltem) : si ita vobis aut tribus vestrum videatur, eodem Archiep. et Episc. prædict. aedeatis, aut tres vestrum adeant et negotio illis summarie et de plano sine ullo strepitu et figura iudicii exposito et declarato, si per summariam examinationem et discussionem negotii per vos aut tres vestrum fiendam eundem Archiep. et Episc. prædictos sic contraxisse, aut fecisse constiterit ; eodem a dignitatibus suis prædictis, cum suis iuribus pertinen. Universis, omnino amoveatis, deprivetis et perpetuo excludatis, ceu tres vestrum sic amoveant, deprivent, perpetuo excludant : poenitentiam salutarem et congruam pro modo culpæ vestro aut trium vestrum arbitrio imponend. eisdem injungentes, cæteraq; in prædictis cum eorum incidentibus emergentes annexis et connexis quibuscunq; facientes que necessaria fuerint, ceu quomodolibet opportuna. Que omnia et singula faciend. expedient. et finiend. Nos tam Autoritate nostra Ordinaria, quam absoluta, ex mero motu certaq; scientia nostra, vobis et tribus vestrum potestate, Autoritatem et licentiam concedimus, et impertimur per præsentem cum cujuslibet coercionis et castigationis severitate et potestate in contrarium facientes non obstant. quibuscunq; In cujus rei, &c.—Apud Westm. 16 die Martii.

NUMBER XII.

Another Commission to turn out the rest of them.

MARY, by the grace of God, &c. To the right reverend fathers in God, our right trusty and right well-beloved counsellors, Stephen, bishop of Winchester, our chancellor of England ; Cuthbert, bishop of Duresm ; Edmund, bishop of London ; Robert, bishop of St. Asaph ; George, bishop of Chichester ; our almoner ; and Anthony, bishop of Landaff, greeting. Whereas John Tailour, doctor of divinity, naming himself bishop of Lincoln ; John Hooper, naming himself bishop of Worcester and Gloucester ; John Harley, bishop of Hereford ;—having these said several pretended bishopricks given to them by the letters-patents of our late deceased brother, king Edward the Sixth, to have and to hold the same during their good behaviours, with the express clause, (*quamdiu se bene gesserint*.) have sithence, as hath been credibly brought to our knowledge, both by preaching, teaching, and setting forth of erroneous doctrine, and also by inordinate life and conversation, contrary both to the laws of Almighty God and use of the universal Christian church, declared themselves very unworthy of that vocation and dignity in the church.

We minding to have these several cases duly heard and considered, and thereupon such order taken with them as may stand with justice and the laws, have, for the special trust we have conceived of your wisdoms, learning, and integrity of life, appointed you, four, three, or two of you, to be our commissioners in this behalf : giving unto you four, three, or two of you, full power and authority to call before you, if ye shall think so good, the said John Tailour, John Hooper, John Harley, and every of them. And thereupon, either by order of the ecclesiastical laws, or of the laws of our realm, or of both, proceed to the declaring the said bishoprics to be void, as they be already indeed void. To the intent some such other meet personages may be elected thereunto, as for their godly life, learning, and sobriety, may be thought worthy the places. In witness, &c. Apud Westm. 15 die Martii.

NUMBER XIII.

Bonner's Certificate that Bishop Scory had put away his Wife.

[Regist. Bon. Fol. 347.]

EDMUNDUS permissione Divina London. Episcopus, Universis et singulis Christi fidelibus, ad quos præsentis literæ nostræ testimoniales pervenerint ; ac eis præsertim quos infra scripta tangunt, seu tangere poterint quomodolibet in futurum, salutem in Auctore salutis et fidem indubiam præsentibus adhibere. Quia boni Pastoris officium tunc nos rite exequi arbitramur, cum ad exemplar Christi errantes oves ad caulam dominici gregis reducimus, et Ecclesiæ Christi, que redeunti gremium non claudit, restituimus : et quia dilectus Confrater noster Joannes nuper Cicestrien. Episcopus in Dioc. et jurisdictione nostris London. ad præsens residentiam et moram faciens ; qui olim laxatis Pudicitie et castitatis habenis, contra Sacros Canones et Sanctorum Patrum decreta ad illicitas et prohibitas convolvit nuptias ; se ea ratione non solum Ecclesiasticæ Sacrament. pertractand. omnino indignum ; verum etiam a publica officii sui pastoralis functione privatum et suspensum reddens, transactæ licentiosæ vitæ valde poenitentem et deplorantem, plurimis Argumentis se declaravit, ac pro commissis poenitentiam alias per nos sibi injunctam salutarem, aliquo temporis tractu in cordis sui amaritudine et animi dolore peregit, vitam hæcenus degens laudabilem, spemq; faciens id se in posterum facturum atq; ob id ad Ecclesiasticæ ac Pastoralis Functionis statum, saltem cum quodam temperamento, justitia exigente, reponend. hinc est quod nos præmissa ac, humilem dicti confratris nostri petitionem pro reconciliatione sua habenda et obtinenda considerantes, ejus precibus, favorabiliter inclinati, eundem Confratrem nostrum ad publicam Ecclesiasticæ Ministerii et Officii sui Pastoralis Functionem et Executionem, infra Dioc. nostram London. exercend. quatenus de jure possumus et absq; cujusq; prejudicio restituimus, rehabilitavimus et redintegravimus, prout tenore præsentium sic restituimus, rehabilitamus, et redintegramus ; Sacrosanctæ Ecclesiæ clementia et Christiana Charitate id exigentibus. Vobis igitur universis et singulis supradictis præfatum confratrem nostrum, sic ut premissitur restitutum, rehabilitatum et reintegratum fuisse, et esse ad omnes effectus supradictos significamus et notificamus per præsentem sigillo nostro sigillat. Dat in Manerio nostro de Fulham die mensis Julii Anno Dom. 1551, et nostræ Transla. Anno 15.

NUMBER XIV.

A Letter of the Queen's, to the Justices of the Peace in Norfolk.

MARY THE QUEEN—Trusty and well-beloved, we greet you well. And whereas we have heretofore signified our pleasure, both by our proclamation general, and by our letters to many of you, particularly for the good order and stay of that our county of Norfolk, from rebellions, tumults, and uproars ; and to have a special regard to vagabonds, and to such as did spread any vain prophesies, seditious, false, or untrue rumours, and to punish them accordingly ; we have nevertheless, to our no small grief, sundry intelligences, of divers and sundry lewd and seditious tales, forged and spread by certain malicious persons, touching the estate of our person ; with many other vain and slanderous reports, tending to the moving of sedition and rebellion, whose fault, and passing unpunished, seemeth either to be winked at, or at least little considered, which is to us

very strange. We have therefore thought good, effectuous, to require and command you, to be not only more circumspect in the good ordering of that our county, according to our trust conceived of you, but also to use all the best means and ways ye can, in the diligent examining and searching out, from man to man, the authors and publishers of these vain prophecies, and untrue bruits, the very foundation of all rebellions : and the same being found, to punish them as the quality of their offence shall appear to you to deserve ; whereby the malicious sort may be the more feared to attempt the like, and our good loving subjects live in more quiet. And for our better service in this behalf, we think good that ye divide yourselves unto several parts of that our county, so that every of you have some part in charge, whereby ye may the better butt out the malicious ; and yet nevertheless to meet often together for the better conferring herein. And that ye signify your doings, and the state of that shire, by your general letters, once every month at least, to our privy council. And like-as we shall consider such of you to your advancements, whose diligence shall set forwards our service in this part, so shall we have good cause to note great negligence and fault in them that shall omit their duty in this behalf.—Given under our signet, at our mannor of St. James, the 23rd of May, in the first year of our reign.

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The Title of Bonner's whole Book.

Articles to be enquired of in the general visitation of Edmund, bishop of London, exercised by him in the year of our Lord 1554, in the city and diocess of London ; and set forth by the same, for his own discharge towards God, and the world, to the honour of God, and his catholick church ; and to the commodity and profit of all those, that either are good, (which he would were all) or delighteth in goodness, (which he wisheth to be many) without any particular grudge or displeasure to any one, good or bad, within this realm ; which articles he desireth all men, of their charity, especially those that are of his diocess, to take, with as good intent and mind, as the said bishop wisheth and desireth, which is to the best. And the said bishop withal, desireth all people to understand, that whatsoever opinion, good or bad, hath been received of him, or whatsoever usage or custom hath been heretofore, his only intent and purpose, is to do his duty charitably, and with that love, favour, and respect, both towards God and every christian person, which any bishop should shew to his flock in anywise.

Article 1.

WHETHER the clergy, to give example to laity, have in their living, in their teaching, and in their doing, so behaved themselves, that they (in the judgment of indifferent persons) have declared themselves to search principally the honour of God and his church, the health of the souls of such as are committed to their cure and charge, the quietness of their parishioners, and the wealth and honour of the king and queen of this realm ?

Article 2.

Item. Whether your parson, vicar, or any other ministering as priest within your parish, have been, or is married, or taken for married, not yet separated from his concubine, or woman taken for wife ? or whether the same woman be dead, or yet living ; and being living, whether the one resorteth to the other, openly, secretly, or slanderously, maintaining, supporting, or finding the same in anywise to the offence of the people ?

Article 3.

Item. Whether there be any person, of what estate, condition, or degree he be, that doth, in open talk, or privily, defend, maintain, or uphold the marriage of priests, encouraging or bolding any person to the defence thereof ?

Article 4.

Item. Whether you have your parson or vicar resident continually with you upon his benefice, doing his duty in the serving of the cure ; and whether being able to do, keep hospitality upon the same, feeding his flock with his good living, with his teaching, and his relieving of them to his power ?

Article 5.

Item. Whether your parson, or vicar, being absent, have a sufficient dispensation and license therein ; and whether, in his absence, he do appoint an honest, able, and sufficient learned curat to supply his room and absence to serve his cure ?

Article 6.

Item. Whether your parson, or vicar, by himself, or his good and sufficient deputy for him, do relieve such poor parishioners ; repair and maintain his house, or mansion, and things thereunto appertaining ; and otherwise do his duty, as by the order of the law, and custom of this realm, he ought to do ?

Article 7.

Item. Whether the said curat, appointed in the absence of your parson, or vicar, do in all points, the best he can, to minister the sacraments, and sacramentals, and other his duty, in serving the same cure, specially in celebrating Divine Service at convenient hours, chiefly upon Sundays, and holy-days, and procession days, and ministering the said sacraments, and sacramentals, as of duty and reason he ought, moving and exhorting earnestly his parishioners to come unto it, and devoutly to hear the same : and whether he himself do reverently celebrate, minister, and use the same as appertaineth ?

Article 8.

Item. Whether he the said curat, parson, or vicar, have been or is of suspect doctrine, erroneous opinion, misbelief, or evil judgment ; or do set forth, preach, favour, aid, or maintain the same, contrary to the catholick faith, and order of this realm ?

Article 9.

Item. Whether they, or any of them, do haunt or resort to ale-houses, or taverns, otherwise than for his or their honest necessity and relief ; or repair to any dicing-houses, common bowling-allies, suspect houses, or places ; or do haunt and use common games, or plays, or behave themselves otherwise unpriestly and unseemly ?

Article 10.

Item. Whether they, or any of them, be familiar, or keep company, and be conversant with any suspected person of evil conversation and living, or erroneous opinion or doctrine, or be noted to aid, favour, and assist the same in anywise, contrary to the good order of this realm, and the usage of the catholick church ?

Article 11.

Item. Whether there be dwelling within any your parishes, any priest, foreigner, stranger, or other, who not presented to the bishop of the diocess, or his officers, examined and admitted by some one of them, doth take upon him to serve any cure, or to minister any sacraments, or sacramentals, within the said parish ?

Article 12.

Item. Whether there be dwelling within any your parishes, or repairing thither, any priest, or other naming himself minister, which doth not come diligently to the church to hear the divine service, or

sermons there ; but abstenteth himself, or discourageth others by his example, or words, to come unto the same, expressing their name and sir-name, with sufficient knowledge of them ?

Article 13.

Item. Whether there be any married priests, or naming themselves ministers, that do keep any assemblies, or conventicles, with such-like as they are, in office or sect, to set forth any doctrine or usage not allowed by the laws, and laudable customs of this realm ; or whether there be any resort of any of them to any place, for any privy letters, sermons, plays, games, or other devices, not expressly in this realm by laws allowed ?

Article 14.

Item. Whether there be any of them, which is a common brawler, scolder, a sower of discord among his parish-churches, a hawker, a hunter, or spending his time idly or unthrifely ; or being a fornicator, an adulterer, a drunkard, a common swearer or blasphemor of God or his saints, or an unruly or evil-disposed person ; or that hath come to his benefice or promotion, by simony, unlawful suit, or ungodly means, in any ways ?

Article 15.

Item. Whether they, and every each of them, to the best of their powers, at all times have exhorted and stirred the people to quietness and concord, and to the obedience of the king and queen's majesty's and their officers, rebuking all sedition and tumult, with all unlawful assemblies, moving the people to charity and good order ; and charging the fathers and mothers, masters and governors of youth, to keep good rule, and to instruct them in virtue and goodness, to the honour of God, and of this realm ; and to have them occupied in some honest art and occupation, to get their living thereby ?

Article 16.

Item. Whether they, or any of them, do admit any person to receive the blessed Sacrament of the altar, who are openly known or suspected to be adversaries and speakers against the said sacrament, or any other article of the catholick faith ; or to be a notorious evil person in his conversation or doctrine ; an open oppressor, or evil-doer to his neighbour, not being confessed, reconciled, and having made satisfaction in that behalf ?

Article 17.

Item. Whether they, or any of them, have of their own authority admitted and licensed any to preach in their cure, not being authorised and admitted thereunto, or have denied and refused such to preach as have been lawfully licensed : and whether they, or any of them, having authority to preach within their cures, doth use to preach, or at the least doth procure other lawful or sufficient persons to do the same, according to the order of this realm ?

Article 18.

Item. Whether they, or any of them, since the queen's majesty's proclamation, hath, or doth use to say, or sing, the Divine Service, minister the sacraments, or sacramentals, or other things, in English, contrary to the order of this realm ?

Article 19.

Item. Whether they, or any of them, in their suffrages, collects, and prayers, doth use to pray for the king and queen's majesty, by the names of king Philip and queen Mary, according to a letter and commandment therein lawfully given now of late unto them by their ordinary ?

Article 20.

Item. Whether they, and every of them, have diligently moved and exhorted their parishioners, how and

in what manner children should be baptised in time of necessity ; and they the said parishioners, reverently and devoutly to prepare themselves to receive and use the sacraments, especially the sacrament of the altar, or to be confessed and receive at the priest's hand, the benefit of absolution, according to the laudable custom of this realm ?

Article 21.

Item. Whether they, and every each of them, hath diligently visited his and their parishioners, in the time of sickness and need, and ministered sacraments and sacramentals to them accordingly ; and whether they have exhorted and monished them to have due respect to their souls' health ; and also to set an order in their temporal lands and goods, declaring their debts perfectly, and what is owing unto them ; and they so to make their testaments, and last wills, that as much as may be, all trouble and business may be excluded ; their wives and children, with their friends, may be holpen and succoured, and themselves decently buried and prayed for ; and to have an honest memory and commendations for their so doing ?

Article 22.

Item. Whether they, and every of them, have solemnized matrimony, between his parishioners, or any other persons, the banns not before asked, three several Sundays, or holy-days ; or without certificate of the said banns, from the curat of any other parish, if any of them be of another parish : and whether touching the solemnization and use of this sacrament of matrimony, and also of all other the sacraments of the church, they have kept and observed the old the laudable custom of the church, without any innovation or alteration in any of the same ?

Article 23.

Item. Whether they, or every each of them, upon the Sunday at the service-time, doth use to set forth, and to declare unto the people, all such holy-days, and fasting-days, as of godly usage and custom hath heretofore laudably been accustomed to be kept and observed in the week following and ensuing ; and whether they, and every of them, doth observe and keep themselves the said holy-days, and fasting-days ?

Article 24.

Item. Whether the parson, or vicar, doth repair and maintain his chancel, and mansion-house, in sufficient reparation ; and the same being in decay, whether he doth bestow yearly the fifth part of his benefice, till such time the same be sufficiently repaired ; doing also further his duty therein, and otherwise, as by the law he is charged and bound in that behalf, distributing and doing as he is bound by the law ?

Article 25.

Item. Whether there be any person that doth serve any cure, or minister any sacraments, not being priest ; or if any do take upon them to use the room and office of the parson, or vicar, or curat, of any benefice or spiritual promotion, receiving the fruits thereof, not being admitted thereunto by the ordinary ?

Article 26.

Item. Whether they, and every each of them, doth go in priestly apparel and habit, having their beards and crowns shaven, or whether any of them doth go in lay-men's habits and apparel, or otherwise disguise themselves, that they cannot easily be discovered or known from lay-men ?

Article 27.

Item. Whether they, or any of them, have many promotions and benefices ecclesiastical, cures, secular services, yearly pensions, annuities, farms, or other revenues, now in title or possession ; and what the

names of them be, and where they lie, giving all good instruction, and perfect information therein?

Article 28.

Item. Whether such as have churches or chappels appropriated, or mansions or houses thereto appertaining, do keep their chancels and houses in good and sufficient reparations; and whether they do all things in distributions and alms, or otherwise, as by law and good order they ought to do?

Item. Whether any such as were ordered schismatically, and contrary to the old order and custom of the catholick church, or being unlawfully and schismatically married, after the late innovation and manner, being not yet reconciled nor admitted by the ordinary, have celebrated or said, either mass or divine service, within any cure or place of this city or diocese?

Article 30.

Item. Whether any parson, or vicar, or other, having ecclesiastical promotion, doth set out the same to farm, without consent, knowledge, and license of his ordinary, especially for an unreasonable number of years, or with such conditions, qualities, or manners, that the same is to the great prejudice of the church, and the incumbent of the same, and especially of him that shall succeed therein?

Article 31.

Item. Whether there be any parson or vicar, curat or priest, that occupieth buying and selling as a merchant, or occupieth usury, or layeth out his money for filthy lucre's sake and gain, to the slander of the priesthood?

Article 32.

Item. Whether they, or any of them, do wear swords, daggers, or other weapons, in times or places not convenient or seemly?

Article 33.

Item. Whether any priest, or ecclesiastical person, have reiterated or renewed baptism, which was lawfully done before, or invented or followed any new fashion or forms, contrary to the order of the catholick church?

Article 34.

Item. Whether the parson, vicar, or curat, do (according to the law) every quarter in the year, upon one solemn day, or more, that is to wit, upon the Sunday, or solemn feast (when the parishioners, by the order of the church do come together), expound and declare by himself, or some other sufficient person, unto the people, in the vulgar, or common tongue, plainly, truly, and fruitfully, the articles of the catholick faith, the Ten Commandments expressly in the old law, the Two Commandments of the gospel, or new law; that is, of earnest love to God, and to our neighbour; the seven works of mercy; the seven deadly sins, with their offspring, progeny, and issue; the seven principal virtues, and the seven sacraments of the church?

Article 35.

Item. Whether that every priest, having cure, do admonish the women, that are with child, within his cure, to come to confession, and to receive the sacrament, especially when their time draweth nigh, and to have water in readiness to christen the child, if necessity so require it?

Article 36.

Item. Whether stipendiary priests do behave themselves discreetly and honestly, in all points, towards their parson, or vicar, giving an oath, and doing according to the law, and ecclesiastical constitutions, ordinances, and laudable customs in that behalf?

Article 37.

Item. Whether any parson, vicar, or other, having any ecclesiastical promotion, have made any alienation of anything pertaining to their church, benefice, or promotion; what it is, and what warrant they had so to do?

NUMBER XVI.

An Address made by the Lower House of Convocation to the Upper House.

[Ex MS. Col. Col. C. Cant.]

RIGHT REVEREND FATHERS IN GOD—We the clergy of the province of Canterbury, of the lower house, do most humbly pray your good lordships, that touching the submission and order of the lands and possessions which sometimes did appertain to divers bishops, cathedral churches, and to the late suppressed monasteries, priories, colleges, chauntries, and free chapels and other churches within this realm, and be now in the possession of the temporality, that it may please your good lordships, by your discreet wisdoms, to foresee and provide, that by this our grant, nothing pass which may be prejudicial or hurtful to any bishop, or other ecclesiastical person, or their successors, for or concerning any action, right, title, or interest, which by the laws of this realm are already grown, or may hereafter grow or rise to them, or any of them, and their successors, for any lands, tenevements, pensions, portions, tithes, rents, reversions, service, or other hereditaments, which sometime appertained to the said bishops, or other ecclesiastical persons, in the right of their churches, or otherwise, but that the same right, title, and interest, be safe and reserved to them, and every of them and their successors, according to the said laws.

And further, whereas in the statute passed in the first year of Edward the Sixth, for the suppressing of all colleges, &c., proviso was made by the said statute in respect of the same surrender, that schools and hospitals should have been erected and founded in divers parts of this realm, for the good education of youth in vertue and learning, and the better sustentation of the poor; and that other works, beneficial for the common-weal, should have been executed, which hitherto be not performed, according to the meaning of the said statute, it may please your good lordships to move the king's and the queen's most royal majesty, and the lord cardinal, to have some special consideration for the due performance of the premises; and that as well the same may the rather come to pass, as the church of England, which heretofore hath been honourably endowed with lands and possessions, may have some recovery of so notable damages and losses which she hath sustained.

It may please their highness, with the assent of the lords and commons in this parliament assembled, and by authority of the same, to repeal, make frustrate and void, the statute of mortuayn, made in the seventh year of Edward the First, otherwise intituled "De Religiosis," and the statute concerning the same, made the fifteenth year of king Richard the Second. And all and every other statute and statutes at any time heretofore made concerning the same. And forasmuch as tithes and oblations have been at all times assigned and appointed for the sustentation of ecclesiastical ministers; and in consideration of the same, their ministry and office, which as yet cannot be executed by any lay person, so it is not meet that any of them should perceive, possess, or enjoy the same; that all impropriations, now being in the hands of any lay person or persons, and impropriations made to any secular use, other than for the mainte-

speramus, succedant: Tuq; per sollicitudinem tuam præter æternæ retributionis præmium, possis apud nos et sedem eandem merito commendari. Nos autem, ut ipsi expectati fructus quantocius emanent, et tu erga Personas Regni, Provinciarum, Civitatum, Terrarum, Castrorum, et Locorum prædictorum, necnon familiares tuos continuos, commensales, undecunq; originem et ubicunq; Domicilium habentes, tuis obsequiis insistentes, et tibi servientes, te possis reddere gratiosum, Circumspectioni tuæ Matrimoniales et Beneficiales, ac alias Ecclesiasticas necnon spirituales et prophanas causas quaslibet, ad forum Ecclesiasticum quomodolibet pertinentes, tam primæ instantiæ, quem Appellatione quorumcunque, etiam a quibuscunq; Judicibus, Ordinariis et Delegatis, etiam per nos et sedem prædictam, seu quoscunq; alios etiam a Latere Legatos, et Judices interpositarum pro tempore, et durante dicta Legatione interponendarum, etiam Summarie, simpliciter, et de plano sine strepitu et figura Judicii, sola facti veritate inspecta; cum potestate citandi, et inhibendi, ac sequestrandi, et exequendi, etiam per edictum publicum constituto, summarie et extrajudicialiter, de non tuto accessu, etiam sub censuris et penis Ecclesiasticis etiam pecuniariis, tuo vel morum Delegatorum arbitrio moderandis, exigendis et applicandis, per te, vel alium seu alios, audiendas, cognoscendas, et sine debito terminandas, delegandi; aliasq; etiamsi per nos aut alios Autoritate Apostolica delegatæ forent, seu alias coram quocunq; penderent, cum tibi placuerit, ad te advocandi, et aliis etiam simpliciter committendi, et adversus quascunq; sententias, et res Judicatas, ac Contractus, et Læsiones quascunq; dictis tuis familiaribus Beneficium Restitutionis in integrum concedendi. Ac Officium Tabellionatus quibuscunq; personis idoneis, recepto ab eis in forma solita juramento, concedendi: illosq; Tabellionis creandi, et Notariatus Officio investiendi, alias juxta formam in Quinterno Cancellariæ Apostolicæ descriptam: Ac Milites auratos, Comitesq; Palatinos, et Poetas Laureatos creandi, constituendi, et deputandi: Ac personas sufficientes et idoneas ad Doctoratus, seu Licentiaturæ, et Baccalaureatus in utroq; vel altero Juri, et etiam ad Magisterium tam in Theologia quam Artibus, et Medicina, vel alios gradus hujusmodi promovendi; eisq; insignia solita et debita, conferendi, et exhibendi, seu exhiberi et conferri faciendi, eisq; quod omnibus et singulis Gratiis, Privilegiis, Libertatibus, immunitatibus, exemptionibus, et indultis, quibus alii Milites aurati, Poetæ Laureati, et Comites Palatini, per nos et sedem prædictam, creati et instituti, necnon ad hujusmodi Gradus in Universitatibus Studiorum generalium, juxta illos actus et mores, ac servatis servandis promoti utuntur, potiuntur et gaudent; seu uti, potiri, et gaudere poterunt, quomodolibet in futurum, uti, potiri et gaudere, libere et licite possint, et debeant indulgendi. Ac cum Nobilibus et Graduatis, ut quæcunq; Tria, et si cum eis ad Duo incompatibilia Beneficia Ecclesiastica, insimul ad vitam obtinenda dispensatum foret; cum eis ut quocunq; Tertium, cum aliis vero non Nobilibus aut Graduatis, ut quæcunq; Duo Curata, seu alias invicem incompatibilia, etiam si dignitas, Personatus, Administrationes, vel Officia in Cathedralibus, etiam Metropolitanis, vel Collegiatis, et Dignitates ipsæ in Cathedralibus, etiam Metropolitanis, post Pontificales Majores, seu Collegiatis Ecclesiis hujusmodi Principales, aut duo ex eisdem Parochiales Ecclesiæ, vel earum perpetuæ Vicariæ fuerint: Et ad dignitates, personatus, administrationes, vel officia hujusmodi consueverint, qui per electionem assumi, eisq; cura imminere nimirum, necnon quæcunq; duo dissimilia, vel similia, sub uno, duobus vel tribus tectis dictarum vel aliarum Ecclesiarum consistentia: Ac cum quibusvis Personis, cujusvis Ordinis, Monachis, Canonicis, et Religiosis, ut quæcunq; duo Beneficia Ecclesiastica, cum cura vel

sine cura regularia, et cum eorum altero, seu sine illis, unum curatum seculare, et cum quibusvis Clericis Secularibus, ut unum Beneficium Ecclesiasticum cum cura, vel sine cura cujusvis Ordinis regulare, etiam si beneficia regularia hujusmodi Prioratus, præposituræ, præpositatus, Dignitates, Personatus, Administrationes vel Officia fuerint; et ad illos illas vel illa consueverint, qui per electionem assumi, eisq; cura imminere animarum: Regulares, videlicet unum ex dictis regularibus beneficiis quod maluerint, si Prioratus, præpositura, aut alia Dignitas Conventualis, aut officium claustrale fuerit, in titulum et ipsi regulares reliquum, ac seculare vel alterius Ordinis regulare: necnon Clerici Seculares unum quod Conventuale aut Claustrale non sit, in commendam quoad vixerint, vel ad tempus de quo tibi videbitur retinere, ac de ipsis commendandi beneficii, fructibus, redditibus, et proventibus disponere, et ordinare, sicuti illud in titulum pro tempore obtinentes, de illis disponere et ordinare poterunt, seu etiam debuerunt; Alienatione tamen quorumcunque bonorum immobilium, et preciosorum mobilium, dicti Beneficii in Commendam retinendi, eis penitus interdicta: Necnon cum petentibus defectum Natalium etiam regularibus, ut ad omnes etiam Sacros Ordines promoveri, et quæcumque, quocumque, et quacumque Beneficia Ecclesiastica cum cura vel sine cura, ac se invicem compatientia, etiam si Canonicatus, et Prebendæ in Cathedralibus, etiam Metropolitanis vel Collegiatis Ecclesiis, hujusmodi ac alias ut præfatur qualificata fuerint; dummodo dignitates in Metropolitanis vel aliis Cathedralibus, post Pontificales Majores, et in Collegiatis Ecclesiis hujusmodi Principales non existant; ac etiam cum eis si graduati non fuerint, ut præfatur, ad duo, si vero graduati fuerint, ad tria incompatibilia beneficia hujusmodi, non tamen dignitates majores ut præfatur, nec Principales, vel cum dispensatis ad duo ut tertium Curatum, vel alias incompatibile ut supradictum est, et cum regularibus etiam ad beneficia regularia ut præfatur, qualificata, et competentibus, ætatis defectum etiam regularibus, supra decimum septimum suæ ætatis Annum, et seculare quocunq; Beneficium Ecclesiasticum Curatum, vel alias incompatible, etiam si dignitas, personatus, administratio, vel Officium in Cathedrali, vel Metropolitana vel Collegiati, etiam si dignitas ipsa in Cathedrali vel Metropolitana post Pontificalem majorem, et in Collegiati Ecclesia hujusmodi Principalem seu Parochiales Ecclesia, vel ejus perpetua Vicaria fuerit; et ad dignitates, personatus, administrationes, vel officia tam secularia quam regularia, hujusmodi consueverunt, quæ per electionem assumi, eisq; cura imminere animarum, Regulares vero beneficium etiam seculare ut præfatur qualificatum, si eis alias canonice conferatur, aut ipsi eligantur, præsententur, vel alias assumantur ad illa et instituantur, in eis recipere et insimul quoad vixerint retinere, illaq; simul vel successive, simpliciter vel ex causa permutationis, quoties sibi placuerit dimittere, et commendæ hujusmodi cedere, ac loco dimissi vel dimissorum, aliud vel alia, simile vel dissimile, ut similia vel dissimilia, beneficium seu beneficia, Ecclesiasticum vel Ecclesiastica, quæcumque, quocumque et quacumque compatientia, seu duo aut tria vel tertium curata, seu alias invicem incompatibilia, ac duo alia similia vel dissimilia, sub uno vel duobus aut tribus tectis consistentia, ac quæcumque, quocumque et quacumque cum cura vel sine cura, se invicem et cum prædictis compatientia, aut supra dictum decimum septimum Annum agentes, curatum vel alias incompatible Beneficium Ecclesiasticum respective similiter recipere, et dummodo inter ipsa tria incompatibilia plures quam duæ Parochiales Ecclesiæ, vel earum perpetuæ Vicariæ, aut duo Canonicatus et Prebendæ, seu due dignitates, personatus, administrationes, vel officia, sub eodem tecto ac pro dictis patientibus, defectum

Natalium, dignitates ipsæ in eisdem Cathedralibus etiam Metropolitanis post Pontificales Majores, aut Collegiatis Ecclesiis hujusmodi modo Principales non existent, insimul quoad vixerint vel ad tempus retinere. Quodq; constituto in sexto decimo, ut ad Subdiaconatus, et in decimo octavo ad Diaconatus, ac in vigesimo primo suarum ætatis Annis, etiam si ratione Beneficiorum Ecclesiasticorum pereos obtentorum arctati fuerint, ad Presbyteratus Ordines, et tam ipsi quam quicumq; alii in ætate legitima constituti, et similiter arctati, promoveri volentes, ut ad omnes ordines prædictos, etiam extra tempora a jure Statuta, quibusvis diebus Dominicis, vel Festivis, et prout necessitas exegerit, ad duos ex ordinibus prædictis eodem die a quocunq; maluerint, Catholico Antistite, gratiam et communionem dictæ sedis habente, alias tamen rite promoveri libere et licite possunt. Quodq; obtinentes Beneficia Ecclesiastica curata, seu alias Sacros et Presbyteratus Ordines hujusmodi, tam de jure quam ex Statuto, fundatione, vel alias requirement, ut ratione illorum, Usque ad septennium a fine Anni eis a jure prefixi computandum, ad aliquem ex Diaconatus et Presbyteratus Ordinibus hujusmodi, dummodo infra primum dicti septennii Biennium ad dictum Subdiaconatus Ordinem promoti fuerint, se promoveri facere minime teneantur, nec ad id a quoquam, quavis Auctoritate inviti valeant coartari; etiam unum, duo, vel plura septennia, vel alia tempora ad id per nos aut sedem eandem pluries concessa, et prorogata fuerint, et pendeant: Et cum quibusvis Personis tertio aut quarto, aut mixtim, tertio et quarto, etiam multiplice consanguinitatis seu affinitatis gradibus invicem conjunctis, et quocunq; impedimento publicæ honestatis, aut cum his qui per Adulterium se polluisent, dummodo in mortem defuncti conjugis quicquam machinati non fuissent, ut invicem matrimonialiter copulari, et in contractis per eos scienter vel ignoranter Matrimonii, cum absolutione a censuris quas sic scienter contrahendo incurrissent, remanere possint, etiam prolem exinde susceptam legitimam decernendo, dispensandi. Ac Personis quibuscunque, Ecclesiasticis Secularibus et Regularibus, ut quoad vixerint, vel ad aliud tempus in Romana Cura, vel altero Beneficiorum Ecclesiasticorum per eos obtentorum residendo, aut Literarum Studio in Loco ubi illud vigeat generale insistendo, fructus, redditus et proventus omnium et singulorum Beneficiorum Ecclesiasticorum, cum cura vel sine cura, que in quibusvis Ecclesiis sive Locis pro tempore obtineant, etiam si ut præfertur, qualificata fuerint cum ea integritate, quotidianis distributionibus duntaxat exceptis, libere percipere valeant, cum qua illos perciperent, si in eisdem Ecclesiis sive locis personaliter residerent, et ad residendum interim in eisdem minime teneantur, nec ad id a quoquam valeant coartari. Provisio quod beneficia prædicta debitis propterea non fraudenter obsequiis, et animarum Cura in eis quibus illa imminet nullatenus negligatur; sed per bonos et sufficientes Vicarios, quibus de ipsorum beneficiorum proventibus necessaria congrue ministrantur, diligenter exercentur, et deserviant inibi laudabiliter in divinis. Ac quibuscunq; personis liceat habere Altare portatile, cum debitis Reverentia, et honore, super quo in locis ad id congruentibus et honestis sive alieni juris præjudicio: Et cum qualitas negotiorum pro tempore ingruentium id exegerit, antequam elucescat dies, circa tamen diurnam lucem, ita quod id nec eis, nec Sacerdoti taliter celebranti ad culpam valeat imputari, et cum eos ad loca Ecclesiastica interdicta supposita contigerit declinare, in illis clausis Januis, Excommunicatis et interdictis exclusis, non pulsatis Campanis, et submissa voce possint etiam per se ipsos, si Ecclesiastici et ad Presbyteratus ordinem rite promoti fuerint, aut per proprium vel alium Sacerdotem, Missas et alia Divina Officia in sua et famulorum

suorum domesticorum presentia celebrare, et celebrari facere; dummodo ipsi vel illi causam non dederint interdicto, nec id ipsis vel illis contigerit specialiter interdicti: Provisio etiam quod parce hujusmodi concessionem ante diem, celebrandi et celebrari facienda utantur; quia cum in Altaris Ministerio immoletur Dominus noster Jesus Christus Dei Filius, qui Candor est Lucis æternæ, convenit hoc non noctis tenebris fieri, sed in Luce. Ac quibuscunq; Personis ut Confessorum seu Confessores idoneos eligere possint, qui eos et eorum quemlibet juxta formam in quinterno dictæ Cancellariæ annotatam, poterit absolvere. Necnon quibusvis Personis Ecclesiasticis secularibus ut quoad vixerint, et quoties eis placuerit, perseipsas aut cum uno Presbytero, seu Clerico, socio seu familiari, horas Canonicas diurnas et nocturnas, ac alia divina officia secundum usum et morem Romanæ Ecclesiæ, etiam juxta ritum Breviarii noviter impressi, extra tamen chorum Ecclesiæ, dicere et recitare, libere et licite valeant; et ad alium usum super hoc observandam, etiam ratione beneficiorum per eas obtentorum, minime teneantur, nec ad id compelli possint, indulgendi. Quodq; quilibet Sacerdos aut Religiosus Ecclesiasticus. Sacramenta ministrare valeat, Jura Parochialis Ecclesiæ, et cujuslibet alterius in omnibus semper salvo. Concedendi, ac Mulieribus honestis quibuscunque, ut quæcunq; Monasteria, et domos Monialium quarumcunque, etiam observantia regularis exempta et non exempta quomodocunq; reclusa, cum aliquibus Matronis etiam honestis, de consensu eorum qui dictis Monasteriis et Domibus præfuerint, dummodo inibi non pernoctent, Devotionis causa ingredi valeant: Ac Rectoribus Parochialium Ecclesiarum, et aliorum Beneficiorum Ecclesiasticorum, Curatorum, vel quoscunq; eorum, Parochianos utriusq; sexus, ab omnibus et singulis eorum peccatis, et Criminibus, in Casibus in quibus Ordinarii locorum de Jure vel consuetudine, aut alias absolvere possint; Et in illis qui sede prædictæ reservati non fuerint, absolvere, Ac vota quæcunque per eos pro tempore emissas, præterquam sedi prædictæ reservata, in alia pietatis opera commutare valeant: Ac quibuscunq; personis utriusque sexus, Secularibus, Ecclesiasticis, Religiosis, Mendicantibus, quæ Zelo Devotionis accensæ, Sepulchrum Domini, et alia pia Loca et Oratoria Terræ Sanctæ, desiderant personaliter visitare, quibusvis prohibitionibus Apostolicis in contrarium factis non obstantibus, Sepulchrum et alia Loca prædicta visitare. Et in locis in quibus usus olei non habetur, ut Butiro et Caseo et infirmi de Consilio utriusq; Medici, Carnibus Vesci, et licite uti valeant, indulgendi. Necnon quæcunq; Juramenta ad effectum agendi, ac etiam simpliciter ut tibi videbitur, dummodo alicui exinde magnum præjudicium non fiat, relaxandi. Ac quoscunq; qui Perjurii Reatum incurrerint, ab illo absolventi, et ad Priores honores, Statum, et famam restituendi, ac plenarie redintegrandi, omnemq; inhabilitatis et infamiae maculam sive notam, Præmissorum occasione contractam, poenitis abolendi: Ac quoscunque per saltum, vel furtive, ad aliquos sacros Ordines promotos, ab excessu quem propterea incurrerint, absolventi; vel ut ad aliquos alios si promoti non essent, alias rite promoveri, libere et licite possint dispensandi: Absolventi quoq; omnes et singulos qui Simonie labem, tam in beneficiis per eos habitis quoscunq; qualitatibus fuerint, quam Ordinibus per eos susceptis contraxerint, ab illa et excommunicationis aliisq; censuris, et pænis Ecclesiasticis quas propterea incurrerint; et super Irregularitate si quam illis ligati, Missas et alia Divina Officia, non tamen in contemptum Clavium, Celebrando, seu alias se immiscendo, contraxissent, dispensandi: omnemq; inhabilitatis et Infamiae maculam, similiter per eos dicta occasione, ac etiam si forsitan aliqua beneficia, curata

vel alias incompatibilia, post et contra foelicis recordationis Johannis Papæ 22, Prædecessoris nostri, quæ incipit, Execrabilis, Constitutionem detinuisse et detinerent, fructus peripiendo, ex eisdem contractam abolendi; dictaq; beneficia eis, facta tamen per eos prius de fructibus male perceptis, debita Compositione pro Camera Apostolica, denuo conferendi: Et eos qui etiam Parochiales Ecclesias, vel alia beneficia Ecclesiastica Presbyteratus vel alium ordinem requirentia, intra Annum vel aliud tempus pacifice possedissent et ea postmodum detinuisse et detineant, ad dictam Presbyteratus ordinem legitimo cessante impedimento, nullaq; per eos desuper dispensatione obtenta, non promoti, fructus etiam percipiendo, absolvendi; omnemq; inhabilitatis et Infamie maculam, sive notam, similiter per eos dicta occasione contractam, pænitus tollendi, eisq; de novo de beneficiis prædictis sic detentis providendi, facta tamen debita de fructibus male perceptis, pro Camera prædicta ut prædictum est compositione. Ac quoscunq; qui in Clericos et Presbyteros, citra tamen membri mutilationem et mortem, manus violentas temere iniecerint, ab Excommunicationis sententia, quam propterea incurrerint, si hoc humiliter petierint; Et etiam qui tempore Bellorum, Rapinas, Sacrilegia, Furta, et alia mala perpetrarunt, debita satisfactione prævia, et etiam illos, qui horas Canonicas omiserunt, et debito tempore non recitaverunt, aut inadventer dixerunt, cujuscunq; Qualitatis, Ordinis et Conditionis fuerint, ab excessibus et omissione hujusmodi respective; Necnon etiam quoscunq; Religiosos Ordinum quorumcunq; qui ob sui habitus non delationem, aut alias, Reatum sedis Apostolicæ incurrissent, ab illa ac etiam Excommunicationis, aliisq; sententiis, censuris et pænis Ecclesiasticis, quos propterea etiam juxta instituta suorum ordinum regularia incurrissent, absolvendi: Ac super irregularitate quacunque, præterquam homicidii voluntarii, aut Bigamiæ, quovismodo, etiam per sententiam, etiam sanguinis, ultimi supplicii inde sequuti, aut mutilatione membrorum contracta, ad omnes etiam Sacros et Presbyteratus Ordines, citra tamen Altaris Ministerium, et ad dignitates et beneficia Ecclesiastica, cum cura et sine cura, quæcunque, quotecunq; et qualiacunque, se invicem compatientia, eis alias Canonicæ conferenda, dispensandi; omnemq; inhabilitatis et Infamie maculam sive notam etiam inde contractam, pænitus abolendi. Et contra quoscunq; tam Ecclesiasticos quam Laicos, Literarum Apostolicarum et Supplicationum ac Commissionum Falsarios, Schismaticos, Hæreticos, Usurarios, Raptores, et aliorum quorumcunque Criminum Reos, cujuscunque dignitatis, status, gradus, ordinis, vel conditionis existentes, inquirendi, procedendi, ac reos juxta criminum et excessuum exigentiam, prout Canonice disponunt Sanctiones, ut videbitur Conscientiæ expedire, puniendi: Contradictores quoslibet et rebelles, per Censuram Ecclesiasticam, et alia Juris Remedia, Appellatione postposita, compescendi, et si opus fuerit auxilium Brachii secularis invocandi, seu præmissa fieri faciendi; Et si ad Cor reversi, suum errorem recognoverint, et de præmissis voverint, ipsiq; humiliter postulaverint, seu supplicaverint, et tibi videbitur eos a criminibus, et excessibus ac sententiis, censuris, et pænis hujusmodi quas propterea incurrerint, absolvendi: Ac cum eis, facta tamen cum dicta Camera Compositione, ad Ordines, Honores et Dignitates, ac etiam Beneficia Ecclesiastica, quæcunque, quotecunq; et qualiacunque, dispensandi, eosque in pristinum statum restituendi, reponendi, et plenarie redintegrandi, omnemq; inhabilitatis et Infamie maculam, sive notam per eos præmissorum occasione contractam, etiam pænitus abolendi. Ac cum dictis Usurariis super male ablatis, et perceptis

incertis, pro dicta Camera componendi, eisq; ut facta compositione hujusmodi, ad aliam restitutionem faciendam non teneantur, concedendi. Ac quascunque Ecclesias, Monasteria, Domos, Universitates, et Collegia, ac pia Loca, quæcunq; etiam exempta, et eidem sedi immediate subjecta, per te vel alium, seu alios idoneos, visitandi, et quæ ex eis Correctione et Emendatione tam in Spiritualibus quam Temporalibus indigere cognoveris, tam in Capite quam in membris reformandi, prout secundum Deum, et Canonicas Sanctiones, ac Regularum suarum instituta, noveris expedire: Ac, quæcunq; Statuta, et Ordinationes Ecclesiarum, Universitatum, et Studiorum generalium, Monasteriorum, Ordinum, et Conventum, quæ tamen Libertatem Ecclesiasticam non confundant, aut illi derogent vel repugnent, confirmandi, et approbandi; Supplendique omnes et singulos defectus, si qui forsitan intervenissent in eisdem, illaq; si tibi expedire videbitur, moderandi, corrigendi, et in melius reformandi, ac illis juxta illorum exigentiam addendi. Necnon quotquot tibi videbitur in nostros et dictæ sedis Accolitos, Capellanos, et Notarios Apostolica Auctoritate recipiendi, et aliorum nostrorum et dictæ sedis Accolitorum, Capellanorum, et Notariorum numero, et consortio favorabiliter aggregandi; Ac eis quod omnibus et singulis Privilegiis, Prærogativis, indultis, honoribus, exemptionibus, gratiis, libertatibus, et immunitatibus, utantur, potiantur, et gaudeant, quibus utantur potuntur et gaudent, ac uti, potiri et gaudere poterunt, quomodolibet in futurum alii nostri et dictæ sedis Notarii: Exhibendi quoque, et exhiberi faciendi, eis Insignia Notariatus hujusmodi, recepto tamen prius ab eis solito Juramento, ac quibusvis personis Ecclesiasticis etiam Prælati, Secularibus, et Regularibus, utriusq; sexus, etiam juxta formam Quinterni Cancellariæ, hujusmodi licentiam Testandi, concedendi; Ac etiam per te vel alium seu alios quorumcunq; beneficiorum Ecclesiasticorum cum cura et sine cura, Secularium vel Regularium, etiam quæ dictæ sedi ex quavis causa præterquam ratione Officialium sedis prædictæ, in Romana Curia officia sua actu exercentium, generaliter reservata fuerint, resignationes simpliciter, vel ex causa permutationis, ac commendatorum et legitimos tam in dicta Curia quam extra eam, cessiones litis, causas juris ac commendarum recipiendi, et admittendi, ac Causas desuper pendentes advocandi, et lites hujusmodi penitus extinguendi, dictaq; beneficia tam simpliciter quam ex eadem causa, et alia quæcunque, quotecunq; et qualiacunque, etiam alias, etiam per obitum infra limites dictæ Legationis, et quoad tuos Familiares, continuos, commensales extra dictos limites ubicunq; vacantia, et vacatura, etiam si ut præfertur reservata, vel affecta, et de jure Patronatus Laicorum fuerint, etiam si Dignitatis Majores et Principales, et beneficia etiam regularia manualia, et alias quomodolibet qualificata fuerint, personis idoneis etiam quæcunque, quotecunq; et qualiacunque beneficia Ecclesiastica obtinentibus et expectantibus, etiam secularibus vel regularibus, conferendi, et de illis etiam providendi: Necnon quibusvis ministeriis tam Virorum quam Mulierum, Ordinum quorumcunque Legationis prædictæ, quorum tamen videlicet Virorum fructus, redditus, et proventus ducentorum floecorum Auri, de Camera secundum communem extenuationem, valorem annum non excedant, nunc et pro tempore vacantibus de Abbatibus et Abbatissis, providendi, ac Monasteria et beneficia hujusmodi quibusvis ad vitam, vel ad tempus, per eos tenenda, regenda, et gubernanda; ita quod liceat eis, debitis et consuetis illorum supportatis oneribus, de residuis illorum fructibus, redditibus, et proventibus, disponere et ordinare, sicuti illa in titulum pro tempore obtinentes, de illis disponere et ordinare potuerunt, seu etiam debue-

runt : Alienatione tamen quorumcumque bonorum immobilium, et preciosorum mobilium, Monasteriorum et beneficiorum prædictorum eis penitus interdicta. Commendandi necnon invicem, vel ad tempus, etiam quibusvis Mensis, Spiritualibus, Capitalibus, et Conventualibus, uniendi, annectendi, et incorporandi, Ac Canonicos super-numerarios, de consensu Capituli creandi, ac ad sententiarum, rerum judicatarum, Exemptorialium, et Censurarum, per resignantes, seu cedentes in Rota nostri Pallatii Apostolici habitatum, prosecutionem, illos in quorum favorem resignaverint, seu cesserint, admittendi, seu admitti faciendi, et mandandi et ad ulteriorem executionem usque ad realem partitionem contra quoscunque; etiam Pontificali præditi dignitate procedendi, ac verum et ultimum vacationis modum, etiam si ex eo quævis generalis reservatio resultet, pro expressa habend. ac super illorum et quorumcumque; aliorum beneficiorum Ecclesiasticorum fructibus, redditibus, et proventibus, quascunque; pensiones Annuas, non tamen medietatem fructuum reddituum et proventuum hujusmodi excedentes, ac etiam omnes fructus loco pensionis, prædictis resignantibus, vel cedentibus, aut aliis personis idoneis, quoad vixerint per prædicta beneficia, pro tempore obtinentes, et eorum successores, annis singulis, in locis et terminis etiam sub privationis et aliis pœnis, sententiis, et censuris Ecclesiasticis, in talibus apponi solitis; persolvendas etiam cum regressu, ingressu, vel accessu, ob non solutionem earum in forma solita de consensu eorum qui dictas pensiones persolvere habebunt, reservandi, constituendi, et assignandi : Ac easdem et alias hactenus et deinceps reservatas et reservandas pensiones, et fructuum reservationes, de consensu etiam anticipata solutione, aliquorum Annorum cassandi, et extinguendi, ac Annuallandi. Ac quo ad familiares tuos prædictos qui transferendi facultatem habuerint easdem pensiones, et fructus de eorum consensu, etiam in quoscunque; per eos nominatos, transferendi, etiam cum hoc quod ipsi in quos transferentur, quæcunque transferentium debita persolvere, vel alia onera, et conditiones in ipsis translationibus appositæ, adimplere, sub pena invaliditatis translationis, teneantur : et fructibus hujusmodi clausulam quod earum Litteræ per te concedendæ pro expeditis et intimatis, habeantur, de consensu illorum qui solvere habebunt, apponendi : Ac personas prædictas ad effectum gratiarum prædictarum, quas pro tempore per te eis concedi contigerit, ab omnibus et singulis Excommunicationis, Suspensionis, et Interdicti aliisque; Ecclesiasticis Sententiis, censuris et pœnis, a jure vel ab homine quovis occasione vel causa latis, si quibus quomodolibet immediate fuerint, absolvendi, et absolutas fore censendi. Ac omnia et singula beneficia Ecclesiastica, cum cura, et sine cura, quæ etiam ex quibusvis dispensationibus Apostolicis obtinent, et expectant, ac in quibus et ad quævis eis quomodolibet competit, quæcunque, quocunque, et qualiacunque sint, eorumque, fructuum, reddituum, et proventuum, veros annuos valores, ac hujusmodi dispensationum tenores, in Litteris tuis, pro expressis, absque eo quod de illis vel eorum aliquo mentionem facere teneantur, aut propter non factam mentionem ipsam, Litteræ per te concedendæ, surreptionis aut nullitatis vitia subiacere censeantur, habendo. Necnon quascunque gratias expectativas, speciales reservationes, uniones, annexiones et incorporaciones, nominationes, nominandi, et conferendi facultates et mandata per nos et sedem prædictam, aut Legatos ejusdem, in favorem quorumcumque; personarum, etiam cujuscumque; dignitatis, status, gradus, Ordinis, vel Conditionis, aut Cardinalatus honore fulgentium, sub quibusvis verborum formis ac clausulis, etiam derogatariarum, derogatoribus fortioribus, efficacioribus, et insolitis,

etiam motu proprio et ex certa scientia, aut quavis consideratione, intuitu vel respectu etiam quantumcumque; grandi vel exigibili; etiam Regum, Reginarum aliarumque; Principum et Prælatorum, factas et concessas, ac faciendas et concedendas, imposterum illorumque; vim et effectum omnino suspendendi. Ac visitantibus quascunque; Ecclesias, Seculares vel Regulares, etiam ad illarum fabricas, seu pro conservatione et instauratione earum, manus porrigentibus adiutrices, in duabus festivitibus duntaxat, septem Annos et totidem Quadragenas, vel infra dictum tempus illud quod tibi videbitur de injunctis Penitentibus misericorditer in Domino relaxandi; ita quod perpetuo vel ad tempus prout tibi videbitur durare habeant. Ac quibusvis personis dictæ Legationis, ac etiam familiaribus prædictis, ut bona immobilia eorumdem Monasteriorum, Dignitatum, Prioratuum, Administrationum, et Officiorum, aliorumque; beneficiorum Ecclesiasticorum, quæ obtinent, seu durante Legatione hujusmodi obtinebunt, permutare, vendere, et ad tempus longum locare, ac in feudum et Emphyteosim, seu Censum vel affectum concedere, et alias alienare valeant, cum evidenti Ecclesiarum, Monasteriorum et Beneficiorum Ecclesiasticorum, ad quæ pertinent, utilitate: Proviso quod pretia exinde provenientia, in hujusmodi utilitatem convertenda, penes aliquam eadem sacram, aut fidei et facultatibus idoneam Personam, cum recognoscibilibus clausulis et cautelis in similibus apponi solitis, fideliter reponantur. Necnon Regularibus Personis utriusque; sexus, etiam Ordinum Mendicantium, ut de eorum Monasteriis, Domibus et Locis ad illa Monasteria, Domos et Loca, etiam aliorum Ordinum, etiam non Mendicantium, in quibus benevolos invenerint receptores, se transferre, et nova loca recipere : Ac Personis quibuslibet, Ecclesias, Monasteria et Domos Ordinum Mendicantium, et beneficia Ecclesiastica quæcunque de novo fundare et dotare et collapsas reparare volentibus, ut illa in Locis ad hoc honestis et commodis fundare et reparare, ac in fundatione hujusmodi licita et honesta onera illa pro tempore obtinentibus, imponere valeant; reservato eis, et dictis tuis familiaribus, etiam quo ad Ecclesias per eos jam ubilibet constructas seu restauratas, et ulterius vel de novo construendas et restaurandas, ac eorum posteris, jure Patronatus, et presentandi personam idoneam, ad illa dum vacabunt, licentiam concedendi; ac locationes et alienationes de bonis immobilibus Ecclesiarum, Monasteriorum, Prioratuum, Administrationum, vel Officiorum, aliorumque; beneficiorum Ecclesiasticorum, et locorum factas, si in evidentem utilitatem illorum cesserint, confirmandi et approbandi : ac singulos defectus, si qui intervenerint, in eisdem supplendi : Necnon tempus præfixum Executoribus ultimarum Voluntatum, ad illas exequendum prorogandi ; Ac juri patronatus Laicorum, ad effectum provisionum et commendarum, ac Unionum prædictarum Canonice pro medietate, et si ex causa permutationis fierint, vel lis penderet, aut jus patronatus non ex fundatione vel dotatione acquisitum esset, in totum derogandi. Necnon omnia et singula, quæ Major Penitentiarius noster, in dicta Curia ex speciali vel alia sibi concessa facultate, quomodolibet facere potest et consuevit, ac quæ in prædictis et circa ea necessaria essent, seu quomodolibet opportuna, faciendi, mandandi, ordinandi et decernendi, per te vel alium, seu alios, Auctoritate Apostolica tenore præsentium concedimus facultatem. Decernentes te omnibus et singulis facultatibus prædictis, in quibuscumque; partibus prædictis, et cum illorum seu in illis residentibus personis ac familiaribus tuis, libere uti posse : Non obstantibus defectibus, et aliis prædictis ac Lateranen. Vienen. Pictaven. et Generalium, ac aliorum Consiliorum, necnon pie memorie Bonifacii Papæ VIII. etiam Prædecessoris

nostri, per quam concessiones percipiendi fructus, in absentia, sine præfinitione temporis, fieri prohibentur : ac de una vel duabus Dietis in Concilio generali edita, et aliis Apostolicis, ac in Provincialibus et Sinodalibus Conciliis editis, generalibus vel specialibus constitutionibus, et ordinationibus, etiam quibusvis Regulis Cancellariæ Apostolicæ editis et edendis, quarum tempora durantia, ac etiam pluries prorogata et decursa de novo concedere possis : quibus et aliis præmissis, et in specie valeas derogare statutis et consuetudinibus Ecclesiarum, Monasteriorum, Universitatum, Collegiorum, et Civitatum hujusmodi, necnon ordinum quorumcunque, etiam juramento, confirmatione Apostolica, vel quavis firmitate alia roboratis, etiam si de illis servandia et non impetrandis Literis, contra ea, et illis etiam ab alio vel aliis impetratis, seu alias quovismodo concessis, non utendo personæ quibus indultum de percipiendis fructibus in absentia hujusmodi concessum fuerit prestitissent, eatenus vel imposterum forsitan præstare contigerit, juramentum ac quibusvis privilegiis et indultis generalibus vel specialibus, ordinibus quibuscunque, etiam Cluniacens. et Cisterciens. quomodolibet concessis, confirmatis et renovatis, quæ præmissis quovismodo obstarent, per quæ præsentibus non expressa vel totaliter non inserta, effectus earum impediri valeat, quomodolibet vel differri, et de quibus quorumque, totis tenoribus de verbo ad verbum habenda sit in nostris Literis mentio specialis, quæ quod hoc nolumus cuiquam suffragari : quibus omnibus et foundationibus quibuscunque, prout expedierit secundum rei et Casus exigentiam ut tibi placuerit valeas derogare ; quodque aliqui super provisionibus sibi faciendis de hujusmodi vel aliis Beneficiis Ecclesiasticis in illis partibus speciales vel generales dicte sedis vel Legatorum ejus Literas impetratas, etiam si per eas ad inhibitionem, reservationem, et decretum, vel alias quomodolibet, sit processum : quibus omnibus personis, quibus per te de beneficiis prædictis providebitur, in eorum associatione volumus anteferrî ; sed nullum per hoc eis quoad associationem beneficiorum aliorum præjudicium generari. Seu si Locorum Ordinariis et Collatoribus, vel quibusvis aliis communiter, vel divisim ab eadem sit sede indultum, quod ad receptionem vel provisionem alicujus minime teneantur, et ad id compelli, aut quod interdicti, suspendi vel excommunicari non possint, quodque de hujusmodi vel aliis beneficiis Ecclesiasticis ad eorum collationem, provisionem, præsentationem, electionem, seu quamvis aliam dispositionem, conjunctum vel separatim spectantibus, nulli valeat provideri, seu commenda fieri per Literas Apostolicas ; non facientes plenam et expressam, ac de verbo ad verbum de indulto hujusmodi mentionem, et qualibet alia dicte sedis indulgentia, generali vel speciali, cujuscunque, tenoris existat, per quam præsentibus non expressam, vel totaliter non insertam effectus Literarum tuarum impediri valeat, quomodolibet vel differri et de qua cujusque, toto tenore habenda sit in nostris Literis mentio specialis. Et quia difficile esset præsentem in singulis Literis tuis super præmissis comedendis inferri, aut ad omnia Loca, in quibus de eis fides facienda esset deferri ; volumus et decernimus, earum transumptis etiam per impressionem factis et tuo sigillo munitis ; ac manu tui Secretarii aut Regentis Cancellariæ tue subscriptis, dictisque Literis tuis abscq; earundem præsentium in toto vel in parte insertionem, eam ubique fidem in Judicio et extra adhiberi, quæ ipsis præsentibus adhiberetur, si originaliter exhiberentur. Dat Romæ apud Sanctum Petrum, Anno Incarnationis Domini Millesimo quingentesimo quadragesimo tertio. Tertio Kalend. Februarii, Pontificatus nostri Anno decimo.

C. L. de Torres. N. Richardus.

In Dorso. Data in Secretaria Apostolica.
De Torres.

NUMBER XVIII.

A Letter of the Queen's, recommending the promotion of Cardinal Pole to the Popedom ; written to the Bishop of Winchester, the Earl of Arundel, and the Lord Paget, then at Calais.—An Original.

[Cotton. Libr. Titus. B. 2.]

MARY THE QUEEN.—Right reverend Father in God, right trusty and right well-beloved Counsellor ; and right trusty and right well-beloved Cousin and Counsellors, and right trusty and well-beloved Counsellors, We greet you well. And where we do consider that Christ's Catholick Church, and the whole state of Christendom, having been of late so sundry ways vexed, it should greatly help to further some quiet stay and redress of that is amiss, if at this time, of the pope's holiness election, some such godly, learned, and well-disposed person may be chosen to that place, as shall be given to see good order maintained, and all abuses in the church reformed ; and known besides, to the world, to be of godly life and disposition. And remembering, on the other side, the great inconveniencey that were like to arise to the state of the Church, if (worldly respects being only weighed in this choice) any such should be preferred to that room, as wanting those godly qualities before remembered, might give any occasion of the decay of the catholick faith ; we cannot, for the discharge of our duty to God and the world, but both earnestly wish, and carefully travel, that such a one may be chosen, and that without long delay or contention, as for all respects may be most fittest to occupy that place, to the furtherance of God's glory, and quietness of Christendom. And knowing no person in our mind more fit for that purpose than our dearest cousin the lord cardinal Pole, whom the greatest part of Christendom hath heretofore for his long experience, integrity of life, and great learning, thought meet for that place, we have thought good to pray you, that taking some good occasion for that purpose you do, in our name, speak with the cardinal of Lorraine, and the constable, and the rest of the commissioners of our good brother, the French king, praying them to recommend unto our said good brother, in our name, our said dearest cousin, to be named by him to such cardinals as be at his devotion, so as the rather, by his good furtherance and means, this our motion may take place. Whereunto if it shall please him to give his assent, like-as upon knowledge thereof, we shall, for our part, also labour to set forwards the matter the best we may ; so doubt we not, but if this our good purpose take effect, both he, and we, and the rest of all Christendom, shall have good cause to give God thanks, and rejoice thereat. Assuring him, that if we had in our conscience thought any other person more fit for that place than our said dearest cousin, we would not, for any private affection, have preferred his advancement, before God's glory, and the benefit of Christendom : the furtherance whereof is (we take God to record) the only thing we seek herein, which moveth us to be the more earnest in this matter. The overture whereof we have taken in hand (as you may assure them on our honour) without our said dearest cousin's other knowledge or consent. And because we need not to remember the wisdom, sincerity of life, and other godly parts, wherewith Almighty God hath endowed our said dearest cousin, the same being well enough known to our said good brother, and his said commissioners, and the rest of the world ; we do refer the manner of the opening and handling of the rest of the matter unto your own wisdoms ; praying you, we may understand from you, as soon as ye may, what answer ye shall have received herein at the said commissioners hands.

Given under our signet, at our honour of Hampton Court, the 30th of May, the first and second years of our reigns.

NUMBER XIX.

An Order prescribed by the King and Queen's Majesties, unto the Justices of Peace of the County of Norfolk, for the good government of their Majesties' loving Subjects within the same Shire.—March 25, 1555.—An Original.

[Cotton. Libr. Titus. B. 2.]

PHILIP R., MARY the Queen.—First, the said justices of the peace assembling themselves together, and consulting by what good means, good order and quietness may be best continued, shall after divide themselves into eight, ten or twelve parts, more or less, as to their discretions, having regard to the quantity of the shire, and number of themselves, shall seem most convenient; endeavouring themselves, besides their general care, that every particular number may give diligent heed, within their limits appointed to them, for conservation of quietness and good order.

Item. The said justices of the peace shall not only be aiding and assisting unto such preachers as be or shall be sent unto the said county, but shall also be themselves present at sermons, and use the preachers reverently, travelling soberly with such, as by abstaining from coming to the church, or by any other open doings, shall appear not persuaded to conform themselves, and to use such as be wilful and obstinate more roundly, either by rebuking them, or binding them to good hearing, or committing them to prison, as the quality of the persons, and circumstance of their doings, may seem to deserve.

Item. Amongst all other things, they must lay special weight upon those which be preachers and teachers of heresy, or procurers of secret meetings for that purpose.

Item. The said justices of the peace, and every of them, must by themselves, their wives, children, and servants, shew good example; and if they shall have any of their own servants faulty, they must first begin to reform them.

Item. The said justices of the peace, and every of them, shall, as much as in them lieth, procure to search out all such as shall by any means spread false tales or seditious rumours, causing them, when they shall be known, to be further apprehended and punished according to the laws.

Item. They shall procure to have in every parish, or part of the shire, as near as may be, some one or more honest men, secretly instructed, to give information of the behaviour of the inhabitants amongst, nigh, or about them.

Item. They shall charge the constables, and four or more of the most honest and catholick of every parish, with the order of the same parish, unto whom idle men, vagabonds, and such as may be probably suspected, shall be bound to give a reckoning how they live, and where they shall be come from time to time.

Item. They shall have earnest regard to the execution and keeping of the statutes against rebellious vagabonds and reteinours, ale-houses, and for keeping of the statute of huy-and-cry; and shall give order for keeping of good and substantial watches, in places convenient, the same to begin the 20th day of April next.

Item. As soon as any offenders for murder, felony, or other offences shall be taken, the said justices of the peace shall cause the matter to be forthwith

examined and ordered, as to justice shall appertain, according to the tenour of the commission of Oyer and Terminer, addressed presently unto them for that purpose.

Finally, The said justices of peace shall meet and consult together, at the sessions, at the least once every month, and more often, as occasion may require, conferring among themselves upon the state of all particular parts of the shire, and taking such order for all misorders, as to their wisdoms may seem requisite.

NUMBER XX.

A Letter written by the King and Queen, requiring the Bishop of London to go on in the Prosecution of the Heretics.

[Regist. Bon. Fol. 363.]

PHILIP R., MARY the Queen.—Right reverend father in God, right trusty and well-beloved, We greet you well. And where of late we addressed our letters unto the justices of the peace within every of the counties of this our realm, whereby, amongst other instructions given therein, for the good order and quiet government of the country about, therein they are willed to have a special regard unto such disordered persons, as, forgetting their duties towards Almighty God and us, do lean to any erroneous and heretical opinions, to shew themselves conformable to the catholick religion of Christ's church; whom, if they cannot by good admonition and fair means reform, they are willed to deliver unto the ordinary, to be by him charitably travelled withal, and removed (if it may be) from their naughty opinions; or else, if they continue obstinate, to be ordered according to the laws provided in that behalf: understanding now, to our no little marvel, that divers of the said disordered persons, being by the justices of the peace for their contempt and obstinacy brought to the ordinaries to be used as is aforesaid, are either refused to be received at their hands, or if they be received, are neither so travelled with as christian charity requireth, nor yet proceeded withal according to the order of justice, but are suffered to continue in their errors, to the dishonour of Almighty God, and dangerous example of others. Like-as we find this matter very strange, so have we thought convenient, both to signify this our knowledge, and therewith also to admonish you, to have in this behalf such regard henceforth to the office of a good pastor and bishop, as when any such offenders shall be by the said justices of peace brought unto you, ye do use your good wisdom and discretion, in procuring to remove them from their errors, if it may be, or else in proceeding against them (if they shall continue obstinate) according to the order of the laws; so as through your good furtherance, both God's glory may be the better advanced, and the commonwealth the more quietly governed.

Given under our signet, at our honour of Hampton Court, the 24th of May, in the first and second years of our reigns.

NUMBER XXI.

Sir T. More's Letter to Cromwell, concerning the Nun of Kent.

[Ex MS. Norfolkianis in Col. Gresham.]

RIGHT WORSHIPFUL.—After my most hearty commendation, with like thanks for your goodness, in accepting of my rude long letter, I perceive, that of your further goodness and favour towards me, it liked your mastership to break with my son Roper, of that,

that I had had communication, not only with divers that were of acquaintance with the lewd nun of Canterbury, but also with herself; and had, over that, by my writing, declaring favour towards her, given her advice and counsel; of which my demeanour, that it liketh you to be content to take the labour and the pain to hear, by mine own writing, the truth, I very heartily thank you, and reckon myself therein right deeply beholden to you.

It is, I suppose, about eight or nine years ago sith I heard of that housewife first; at which time the bishop of Canterbury that then was (God assoil his soul) sent unto the king's grace a roll of paper, in which were written certain words of hers, that she had, as report was then made, at sundry times spoken in her trances; whereupon it pleased the king's grace to deliver me the roll, commanding me to look thereon, and afterwards shew him what I thought therein. Whereunto, at another time, when his highness asked me, I told him, that in good faith I found nothing in these words that I could anything regard or esteem; for seeing that some part fell in rithm, and that, God wots, full rude also; for any reason, God wots, that I saw therein, a right simple woman might, in my mind, speak it of her own wit well enough. Howbeit, I said, that because it was constantly reported for a truth, that God wrought in her, and that a miracle was shewed upon her; I durst not, nor would not, be bold in judging the matter. And the king's grace, as me thought, esteemed the matter as light as it after proved lewd.

From that time, till about Christmas was twelvemonth, albeit that continually there was much talking of her, and of her holiness, yet never heard I any talk rehearsed, either of revelation of hers, or miracle, saying that I heard say divers times, in my lord cardinal's days, that she had been both with his lordship, and with the king's grace, but what she said, either to the one or to the other, upon my faith, I had never heard any one word. Now, as I was about to tell you, about Christmas was twelvemonth, Father Risby, friar observant, then of Canterbury, lodged one night at mine house; where, after supper, a little before he went to his chamber, he fell in communication with me of the nun, giving her high commendation of holiness, and that it was wonderful to see and understand the works that God wrought in her; which thing, I answered, that I was very glad to hear it, and thanked God thereof. Then he told me, that she had been with my lord Legat in his life, and with the king's grace too; and that she had told my lord Legat a revelation of hers, of three swords that God hath put in my lord Legat's hand, which if he ordered not well, God would lay sore to his charge. The first, he said, was the ordering the spirituality under the pope, as Legat. The second, the rule that he bore in order of the temporality under the king, as his chancellor. And the third, she said, was the meddling he was put in trust with by the king, concerning the great matter of his marriage. And therewithal I said unto him, that any revelation of the king's matters I would not hear of, I doubt not but the goodness of God should direct his highness, with his grace and wisdom, that the thing should take such end as God should be pleased with, to the king's honour, and surety of the realm. When he heard me say these words, or the like, he said unto me, that God had specially commanded her to pray for the king; and forthwith he brake again into her revelations concerning the cardinal, that his soul was saved by her meditation; and without any other communication went unto his chamber. And he and I never talked any more of any such manner of matter, nor since his departing on the morrow, I never saw him afterwards, to my remembrance, till I saw him at Paul's Cross.

After this, about Shrovetide, there came unto me, a little before supper, Father Rich, friar observant of Richmond; and as we fell in talking, I asked him of Father Risby, how he did. And upon that occasion, he asked me, whether Father Risby had any thing shewed me of the holy nun of Kent; and I said, yea; and that I was very glad to hear of her virtue. I would not, quoth he, tell you again that you have heard of him already; but I have heard, and known, many great graces that God hath wrought in her, and in other folk by her, which I would gladly tell you, if I thought you had not heard them already. And therewith he asked me, whether Father Risby had told me any thing of her being with my Lord Cardinal; and I said, yea: Then he told you, quoth he, of the three swords: Yea, verily, quoth I. Did he tell you, quoth he, of the revelations that she had concerning the king's grace? Nay, forsooth, quoth I, nor if he would have done, I would not have given him the hearing; nor verily no more I would indeed, for sith she hath been with the king's grace her self, and told him, me-thought it a thing needless to tell me, or to any man else. And when Father Rich perceived that I would not hear her revelations concerning the king's grace, he talked on a little of her virtue, and let her revelations alone; and therewith my supper was set upon the board, where I required him to sit with me; but he would in no wise tarry, but departed to London. After that night I talked with him twice, once in mine own house, another time in his own garden at the Friars, at every time a great space, but not of any revelations touching the king's grace, but only of other mean folk, I knew not whom of, which things, some were very strange, and some were very childish. But albeit, that he said, he had seen her lie in her trance in great pains, and that he had at other times taken great spiritual comfort in her communication; yet did he never tell me that she had told him those tales her self; for if he had, I would, for the tale of Mary Magdalene which he told me, and for the tale of the Hostie, with which as I have heard she said she was houseled at the king's mass at Calice: If I had heard it of him, as told unto himself by her mouth for a revelation, I would have both liked him and her the worse. But whether ever I heard the same tale of Rich or of Risby, or of neither of them both, but of some other man since she was in hold, in good faith I cannot tell; but I wot well when or wheresoever I heard it, me thought it a tale too marvellous to be true, and very likely that she had told some man her dream, which told it out for a revelation. And in effect, I little doubted but that some of these tales that were told of her were untrue; but yet sith I never heard them reported as spoken by her own mouth, I thought nevertheless that many of them might be true, and she a very vertuous woman too; as some lyes be peradventure written of some that be saints in heaven, and yet many miracles indeed done by them for all that.

After this, I being upon a day at Sion, and talking with divers of the fathers together at the grate, they shewed me that she had been with them, and shewed me divers things that some of them misliked in her; and in this talking, they wished that I had spoken with her, and said, they would fain see how I should like her. Whereupon, afterward, when I heard that she was there again, I came thither to see her, and to speak with her my self. At which communication had, in a little chappel, there were none present but we two: in the beginning whereof, I shewed that my coming to her was not of any curious mind, any think to know of such things as folk talked, that it pleased God to reveal and shew unto her, but for the

great virtue that I had heard so many years, every day more and more spoken and reported of her; I therefore had a great mind to see her, and be acquainted with her, that she might have somewhat the more occasion to remember me to God in her devotion and prayers: whereunto she gave me a very good virtuous answer, that as God did of his goodness far better by her than she, a poor wretch, was worthy, so she feared that many folk yet beside that spoke of their own favourable minds many things for her far above the truth, and that of me she had many such things heard, that already she prayed for me, and ever would; whereof I heartily thanked her. I said unto her, Madam, one Helen, a maiden dwelling about Totnam, of whose trances and revelation there hath been much talking, she hath been with me of late, and shewed me that she was with you, and that after the rehearsal of such visions as she had seen you shewed her, that they were no revelations, but plain illusions of the devil, and advised her to cast them out of her mind: and verily she gave therein good credence unto you, and thereupon hath left to lean any longer unto such visions of her own: whereupon she saith she findeth your words true, for ever since she hath been the less visited with such things as she was wont to be before. To this she answered me, Forsooth, sir, there is in this point no praise unto me, but the goodness of God, as it appeareth, hath wrought much meekness in her soul, which hath taken my rude warning so well, and not grudged to hear her spirit and her visions reproved. I liked her, in good faith, better for this answer, than for many of these things that I heard reported by her. Afterward she told me, upon that occasion, how great need folk have, that are visited with such visions, to take heed, and prove well of what spirit they come of; and in that communication she told me, that of late the devil, in likeness of a bird, was flying and fluttering about her in a chamber, and suffered himself to be taken; and being in hands, suddenly changed, in their sight that were present, into such a strange ugly-fashioned bird, that they were all afraid, and threw him out at a window.

For conclusion; we talked no word of the king's grace, or any great personage else, nor in effect of any man or woman but of herself and myself; but after no long communication had, for or ever we met, my time came to go home, I gave her a double ducat, and prayed her to pray for me and mine, and so departed from her, and never spake with her after. Howbeit, of a truth, I had a great good opinion of her, and had her in great estimation, as you shall perceive by the letter that I wrote unto her. For afterwards, because I had often heard that many right worshipful folks, as well men as women, used to have much communication with her; and many folk are of nature inquisitive and curious, whereby they fall sometimes into such talking, and better were to forbear, of which thing I nothing thought while I talked with her of charity, therefore I wrote her a letter thereof; which sith it may be peradventure that she brake or lost, I shall insert the very copy thereof in this present letter.

These were the very words.

Good madam, and my right dearly-beloved sister in our Lord God, after most hearty commendation, I shall beseech you to take my good mind in good worth, and pardon me, that I am so homely as of myself, unrequited, and also without necessity, to give counsel to you, of whom, for the good inspirations and great revelations that it liketh Almighty God of his goodness to give and shew, as many wise, well-learned, and very virtuous folk testify, I myself have need, for the comfort of my soul, to require and ask advice. For surely,

good madam, sith it pleased God sometime to suffer, such as are far under and of little estimation, to give yet fruitful advertisement to such other as are in the light of the Spirit so far above them, that there were between them no comparison; as he suffered his high prophet Moses to be in some things advised and counselled by Jethro, I cannot, for the love that in our Lord I bear you, refrain to put you in remembrance of one thing, which in my poor mind I think highly necessary to be by your wisdom considered, referring the end, and the order thereof, to God and his Holy Spirit, to direct you. Good madam, I doubt not but that you remember that in the beginning of my communication with you, I shewed you, that I neither was, nor would be, curious of any knowledge of other men's matters, and least of all of any matter of princes, or of the realm, in case it so were, that God had, as to many good folks before-time, he hath any time revealed unto you such things, I said unto your ladyship, that I was not only not desirous to hear of, but also would not hear of. Now, madam, I consider well that many folk desire to speak with you, which are not all peradventure of my mind in this point; but some hap to be curious and inquisitive of things that little pertain unto their parts; and some might peradventure hap to talk of such things as might peradventure after turn to much harm; as I think you have heard how the late duke of Buckingham moved with the fame of one that was reported for an holy monk, and had such talking with him, as after was a great part of his destruction, and disheriting of his blood, and great slander and infamy of religion. It sufficeth me, good madam, to put you in remembrance of such things, as I nothing doubt your wisdom, and the Spirit of God shall keep you from talking with any person, specially with high persons, of any such manner things as pertain to princes' affairs, or the state of the realm, but only to commune and talk with any person, high and low, of such manner things as may to the soul be profitable for you to shew, and for them to know. And thus, my good lady, and dearly beloved sister in our Lord, I make an end of this my needless advertisement unto you, whom the blessed Trinity preserve and increase in grace, and put in your mind to recommend me and mine unto him in your devout prayers.—At Chelsey, this Tuesday, by the hand of your hearty loving brother and beadsman,

THOMAS MORE, Kt.

At the receipt of this letter, she answered my servant, that she heartily thanked me: soon after this there came to mine house the prior of the Charterhouse at Schene, and one brother Williams with him, who nothing talked to me but of her, and of the great joy that they took in her virtue, but of any of her revelations they had no communication. But at another time brother Williams came to me, and told me a long tale of her being at the house of a knight in Kent, that was sore troubled with temptations to destroy himself; and none other thing we talked of, nor should have done of likelihood, though we had tarried together much longer, he took so great pleasure, good man, to tell the tale, with all the circumstances at length. When I came again another day to Sion, on a day in which there was a procession, some of the fathers asked me how I liked the nun; and I answered, that, in good faith, I liked her very well in her talking; howbeit, quoth I, she is never the nearer tried by that, for I assure you, she were likely to be very bad, if she seemed good, ere I should think her other, till she happened to be proved naught; and in good faith, that is my manner indeed, except I were set to search and examine the truth, upon likelihood of some cloaked evil; for in that case, although I nothing suspected the person myself, yet go

less than if I suspected him sore, I would, as far as my wit would serve me, search to find out the truth, as yourself hath done very prudently in this matter; wherein you have done, in my mind, to your great laud and praise, a very meritorious deed, in bringing forth to light such detestable hypocrisy, whereby every other wretch may take warning, and be feared to set forth their own devilish dissembled falsehood, under the manner and colour of the wonderful work of God; for verily this woman so handled herself, with help of that evil spirit that inspired her, that after her own confession declared at Paul's Cross, when I sent word by my servant unto the prior of the Charterhouse, that she was undoubtedly proved a false deceiving hypocrite; the good man had had so good opinion of her so long, that he could at the first scantily believe me therein. Howbeit it was not he alone that thought her so very good, but many another right good man besides, as little marvel was upon so good report, till she was proved naught.

I remember me further, that in communication between father Rich and me; I counselled him, that in such strange things as concerned such folk as had come unto her, to whom, as she said, she had told the causes of their coming ere themselves spake thereof; and such good fruit as they said that many men had received by her prayer, he, and such other as so reported it, and thought that the knowledge thereof should much pertain to the glory of God, should first cause the things to be well and sure examined by the ordinaries, and such as had authority thereunto; so that it might be surely known whether the things were true or not, and that there were no letters intermingled among them, or else the letters might after hap to aweigh the credence of these things that were true. And when he told me the tale of Mary Magdalen, I said unto him, Father Rich, that she is a good virtuous woman, in good faith, I hear so many good folk so report that I verily think it true; and think it well-likely that God worketh some good and great things by her; but yet are, you wot well, these strange tales no part of our creed; and therefore, before you see them surely proved, you shall have my poor counsel, not to wed yourself so far forth to the credence of them, as to report them very surely for true, least that if it should hap that they were afterwards proved false, it might minish your estimation in your preaching, whereof might grow great loss. To this he thanked me for my counsel, but how he used it after that I cannot tell.

Thus have I, good Mr. Cromwell, fully declared to you, as far as myself can call to remembrance, all that ever I have done or said in this matter, wherein I am sure that never one of them all shall tell you any further thing of effect; for if any of them, or any man else, report of me, as I trust verily no man will, and I wot well truly no man can, any word or deed by me spoken or done, touching any breach of my legal truth and duty toward my most redoubted sovereign, and natural liege lord, I will come to mine answer, and make it good in such wise as becometh a poor true man to do; that whosoever any such thing shall say, shall therein say untrue: for I neither have in this matter done evil, nor said evil, nor so much as any evil thing thought, but only have been glad, and rejoiced of them that were reported for good; which condition I shall nevertheless keep toward all other good folk, for the false cloaked hypocrisy of any of these, no more than I shall esteem Judas the true apostle, for Judas the false traitor.

But so purpose I to bear myself in every man's company, while I live, that neither good man nor bad, neither monk, friar, nor nun, nor other man or woman in this world, shall make me digress from my truth

and faith, either towards God, or towards my natural prince, by the grace of Almighty God; and as you therein find me true, so I heartily therein pray you to continue toward me your favour and good-will, as you shall be sure of my poor daily prayer; for other pleasure can I not do you. And thus the blessed Trinity, both bodily and ghostly, long preserve and prosper you.

I pray you pardon me that I write not unto you of mine own hand, for verily I am compelled to forbear writing for a while, by reason of this disease of mine, whereof the chief occasion is grown, as it is thought, by the stooping and leaning on my breast, that I have used in writing. And thus, oft-soons, I beseech our Lord long to preserve you.

NUMBER XXII.

Directions of Queen Mary to her Council, touching the Reformation of the Church, out of her own Original.

[Ex MS. D. G. Petyte.]

FIRST, That such as had commission to talk with my lord cardinal at his first coming, touching the goods of the church, should have recourse unto him, at the least once in a week, not only for putting these matters in execution, as much as may be, before the parliament, but also to understand of him which way might be best to bring to good effect those matters that have been begun concerning religion, both touching good preaching. I wish that may supply and overcome the evil preaching in time past; and also to make a sure provision, that no evil books shall either be printed, bought or sold, without just punishment. Therefore I think it should be well done, that the universities and churches of this realm should be visited by such persons as my lord cardinal, with the rest of you, may be well assured to be worthy and sufficient persons to make a true and just account thereof, remitting the choice of them to him and you. Touching punishment of hereticks, methinketh it ought to be done without rashness, not leaving in the mean while to do justice to such, as by learning would seem to deceive the simple; and the rest so to be used, that the people might well perceive them not to be condemned without just occasion, whereby they shall both understand the truth, and beware to do the like. And especially in London I would wish none to be burnt, without some of the council's presence, and both there and every-where good sermons at the same. I verily believe that many benefices should not be in one man's hand, but after such sort as every priest might look to his own charge, and remain resident there, whereby they should have but one bond to discharge towards God; whereas now they have many, which I take to be the cause that in most part of this realm there is over-much want of good preachers, and such as should with their doctrine overcome the evil diligence of the abused preachers in the time of schism, not only by their preaching, but also by their good example, without which, in mine opinion, their sermons shall not so much profit as I wish. And like-as their good example, on their behalf, shall undoubtedly do much good, so I account myself bound, on my behalf also, to shew such example, in encouraging and maintaining those persons, well-doing their duty, (not forgetting, in the mean while, to correct and punish them which do contrary,) that it may be evident to all this realm how I discharge my conscience therein, and minister true justice in so doing.

NUMBER XXIII.

Injunctions by Hugh Latimer, Bishop of Worcester, to the Prior and Convent of St. Mary House, in Worcester, 1537.

[L. 3us Reg. Prior. et Convent. Wigorn.]

Hugh, by the goodness of God, Bishop of Worcester, wisheth to his brethren, the prior and convent aforesaid, grace, mercy, peace, and true knowledge of God's word; from God our Father, and our Lord Jesus Christ.

FORASMUCH as in this my visitation I evidently perceive the ignorance and negligence of divers religious persons in this monastery to be intolerable, and not to be suffered; for that thereby doth reign idolatry and many kinds of superstitions, and other enormities; and considering withal that our sovereign lord the king, for some part of remedy of the same, hath granted, by his most gracious license, that the Scripture of God may be read in English, of all his obedient subjects; I therefore, willing your reformation in most favourable manner, to your least displeasure, do heartily require you all, and every one of you, and also in God's behalf command the same, according as your duty is, to obey me as God's minister and the king's, in all my lawful and honest commandments; that you observe and keep inviolably all these injunctions following, under pain of the law.

First. Forasmuch as I perceive that some of you neither have observed the king's injunctions, nor yet have them with you, as willing to observe them; therefore ye shall from henceforth both have and observe diligently and faithfully, as well special commandments of preaching as other injunctions given in his grace's visitation.

Item. That the prior shall provide, of the monastery's charge, a whole Bible in English, to be laid fast chained in some open place, either in their church or cloister.

Item. That every religious person have, at the least, a New Testament in English, by the feast of the nativity of our Lord next ensuing.

Item. Whosoever there shall be any preaching in your monastery, that all manner of singing and other ceremonies be utterly laid aside in his preaching time; and all other service shortened, as need shall be; and all religious persons quietly to hearken to the preaching.

Item. That ye have a lecture of Scripture read every day in English amongst you, save holydays.

Item. That every religious person be at every lecture, from the beginning to the ending, except they have a necessary lett allowed them by the prior.

Item. That every religious house have a layman to their steward, for all former businesses.

Item. That you have a continual schoolmaster, sufficiently learned, to teach your grammar.

Item. That no religious person discourage any manner of layman or woman, or any other, from the reading of any good book, either in Latin or English.

Item. That the prior have at his dinner or supper every day a chapter read, from the beginning of the Scripture to the end, and that in English, whosoever he be in any of his own places, and to have edifying communication of the same.

Item. That the convent sit together, four to one mess, and to eat together in common, and to have Scripture read in like wise, and have communication thereof; and after their dinner or supper, their reliques and fragments to be distributed to the poor people.

Item. That the convent and prior provide distributions to be ministered in every parish, whereas ye be parsons and proprietaries, and according to the king's injunctions in that behalf.

Item. That all these my injunctions be read every month once in the chapter-house, before all the brethren.

NUMBER XXIV.

A Letter of Ann Bolleyn's to Gardner.

[Ex Chartophylac. Regio.]

MR. STEPHENS, I thank you for my letter, wherein I perceive the willing and faithful mind that you have to do me pleasure, not doubting but, as much as is possible for man's wit to imagine you will do. I pray God to send you well to speed in all your matters, so that you would put me to the study how to reward your high service: I do trust in God you shall not repent it, and that the end of this journey shall be more pleasant to me than your first; for that was but a rejoicing hope, which ceasing, the lack of it does put me to the more pain, and they that are partakers with me, as you do know: and therefore I do trust that this hard beginning shall make the better ending.

Mr. Stephens, I send you here cramp-rings for you and Mr. Gregory, and Mr. Peter, praying you to distribute them as you think best. And have me recommended heartily to them both, as she, that you may assure them, will be glad to do them any pleasure which shall lie in my power. And thus I make an end, praying God send you good health.—Written at Greenwich the 4th day of April,

By your assured friend,

ANN

NUMBER XXV.

The Office of Consecrating the Cramp-Rings

[Ex MS. in Biblioth. R. Smith. Lond.]

Certain Prayers to be used by the Queen's Highness, in the Consecration of the Cramp-Ring.

DEUS misereatur nostri et benedicat nos Deus, illuminet vultum suum super nos et misereatur nostri. Ut cognoscamus in terra viam tuam, in omnibus gentibus salutare tuum.

Confiteantur tibi Populi Deus, confiteantur tibi populi omnes.

Lætentur et exultent gentes, quoniam judicas populos in equitate, et gentes in terra dirigas.

Confiteantur tibi Populi Deus, confiteantur tibi populi omnes, terra dedit fructum suum.

Benedicat nos Deus, Deus noster, benedicat nos Deus, et metuent eum omnes fines terræ.

Gloria Patri, et Filio, et Spiritui Sancto.

Sicut erat in principio, et nunc, et semper, et in sæcula sæculorum. Amen.

Omnipotens sempiternæ Deus, qui ad solatium humani generis, varia ac multiplicia misercarium nostrarum levamenta uberrimis gratiæ tuæ donis ab inexhausto benignitatis tuæ fonte manantibus, incessanter tribuere dignatus es, et quos ad Regalis sublimitatis fastigium extulisti, insignioribus gratiis ornatos, Donorumque tuorum organa atque canales esse voluisti, ut sicut per te regnant aliis; præsent, ita te auctore reliquis prosint, et tu in populum beneficia conferant; preces nostras propitius respice, et quæ tibi vota humilime fundimus, benignus admitte, ut quod a te majores nostri de tua misericordia sperantes obtinuerunt, id nobis etiam pari fiducia postulantis concedere digneris. Per Christum Dominum nostrum. Amen.

The Rings lying in one Basin or more, this Prayer to be said over them.

Deus Cœlestium terrestriumq; conditor creaturarum, atq; humani generis benignissime reparator, Dator spiritualis gratiæ, omniumq; benedictionum largitor, immitte Spiritum Sanctum tuum Paracletum de cœlis super hos Annulos arte fabrilis confectos, eosq; magna tua potentia ita emundare digneris, ut omni nequitia lividi venenosiq; serpentis procul expulsa, metallum a te bono conditore creatum, a cunctis inimici sordibus maneat immune. Per Christum Dominum nostrum. Amen.

Benedictio Annulorum.

Deus Abraham, Deus Isaac, Deus Jacob, exaudi misericors preces nostras, parce metuentibus, propitiare supplicibus, et mittere digneris Sanctum Angelum tuum de Cœlis qui Sanctificet + et benedicat + annulos istos, ut sint remedium salutare omnibus nomen tuum humiliter implorantibus, ac semetipsos pro conscientia delictorum suorum accusantibus, atq; ante conspectum Divinæ Clementiæ tuæ facinora sua deplorantibus, et serenissimam pietatem tuam humiliter obnixeq; flagitantibus; prosint deniq; per invocationem Sancti tui nominis omnibus istos gestantibus, ad corporis et animæ sanitatem. Per Christum Dominum nostrum. Amen.

Benedictio.

Deus qui in morbis curandis maxima semper potentie tue miracula declarasti, quiq; annulos in Juda Patriarcha fidei arrahonem, in Aaron Sacerdotale ornamentum, in Dario fidelis custodiæ Symbolum, et in hoc Regno variorum morborum remedia esse voluisti, hos annulos propitiis + benedicere et + sanctificare digneris: ut omnes qui eos gestabunt sint immunes ab omnibus Satane insidiis, sint armati virtute cœlestis defensionis, nec eos infestet vel nervorum contractio, vel comitalis morbi pericula, sed sentiant te opitulante in omni morborum genere Levamen. In nomine Patris + et Filii + et Spiritus Sancti +. Amen.

Benedic anima mea Domino: et omnia quæ intra me sunt nomini sancto ejus.

Here follows the rest of that Psalm.

Immensam clementiam tuam Misericors Deus humiliter imploramus, ut qua animi fiducia et fidei sinceritate, ac certa mentis pietate, ad hæc impetranda accedimus, pari etiam devotione gratiæ tuæ symbola fideles prosequantur; facessat omnis superstitionis, procul absit Diabolicæ fraudis suspitio, et in gloria tui nominis omnia cedant; ut te Largitorem bonorum omnium fideles tui intelligent, atque a te uno quicquid vel animis vel corporibus vere prosit, profectum sentiant et profiteantur. Per Christum Dominum nostrum. Amen.

These Prayers being said, the Queen's Highness rubbeth the Rings between her Hands, saying:

Sanctifica Domine Annulos istos, et rore tuæ benedictionis benignus asperge, ac manuum nostrarum confricatione, quas olei sacri infusione externa, sanctificare dignatus es pro ministerii nostri modo, consecra, ut quod natura metalli præstare non possit, gratiæ tuæ magnitudine efficiatur. Per Christum Dominum nostrum. Amen.

Then must Holy Water be cast on the Rings, saying:

In Nomine Patris, et Filii, et Spiritus Sancti. Amen. Domine Fili Dei unigenite, Dei et Hominum Mediator, Jesu Christe, in cuius unius nomine salus recte queritur, quiq; in te sperantibus facilem ad Patrem accessum conciliasti, quem quicquid in nomine tuo peteretur, id omne daturum, eum certissimo veritatis Oraculo ab ore tuo Sancto, quum inter homines versaberis homo pronuntiasti, precibus nostris aures tuæ pietatis accomoda, ut ad thronum gratiæ in tua fiducia accedentes, quod in nomine tuo humiliter postulavimus, id a nobis, te mediante, impetratum fuisse, collatus per te beneficiis, fideles intelligent. Qui vivis et regnas cum Deo Patre

in unitate Spiritus Sancti Deus, per omnia sæcula sæculorum. Amen.

Vota nostra quesumus Domine, Spiritus Sanctus qui a te procedit, aspirando preveniat, et prosequatur, ut quod ad salutem fidelium confidenter petimus, gratiæ tuæ dono efficaciter consequamur. Per Christum Dominum nostrum. Amen.

Majestatem tuam Clementissime Deus, Pater, Filius, et Spiritus Sanctus, suppliciter exoramus, ut quod ad nominis tui sanctificationem piis hic Ceremoniis peragitur, ad corporis simul et animæ tutelam valeat in terris, et ad uberem felicitatis fructum proficiat in Cœlis.

Qui vivis et regnas Deus, per omnia sæcula sæculorum. Amen.

NUMBER XXVI.

A Letter of Gardiner's to King Henry the Eighth, concerning the Divorce.—An Original.

[Ex Chartophylac. Regio.]

PLEASETH it your majesty to understand, that besides all other means used to the pope's holiness, for attaining and achieving your highness' purpose and intent, such as in our common letters to my lord legate's grace, and my several letters to the same he contained at length. I have also a-part shewed unto the pope's holiness, that which your highness shewed me in your gallery at Hampton-Court, concerning the solicitation of the princes of Almayn, and such other matter as should and ought to fear the pope's said holiness; adding also those reasons which might induce the same to adhere expressly to your highness, and the French king, and so to take the more courage to accomplish your highness' desires: using all ways possible to enforce him to do somewhat, being a man of such nature as he never resolveth any thing but by some violent affection compelled thereunto. And considering we can speed no better at his hands, it agreeth with that your majesty, of your high wisdom before perpended, that his holiness would do nothing which might offend the emperor, unless he first determined himself to adhere to your highness, and the French king, and so to declare himself, containing himself no longer in neutrality; which he will not do: No the state of the affairs here considered, it were for his wealth so to do, unless the leagues otherwise proceeded than they yet do, or that his holiness would determine himself to leave these parts, and establish his see in some other place; forasmuch, as here being, he is daily in danger of the imperials, like as we have signified by our other letters. His holiness is in great perplexity and agony of mind, nor can tell what to do: he seemeth in words, fashion, and manner of speaking, as though he would do somewhat for your highness; and yet, when it cometh to the point, nothing he doth: I dare not say certainly, whether it be for fear, or want of good will, for I were loth to make a lie of him, or to your highness, my prince, sovereign lord and master. Finally, I perceive this by the pope, and all other here, that so your highness' cause were determined there by my lord's legates, they would be glad thereof; and, as I think, if the emperor would make any suit against that which shall be done there, they would serve him as they now do your highness, and so drive off the time, for they seem to be so minded, as in this cause they would suffer much, but do very little: wherefore if my lord Campegius will set apart all other respects, and frankly promise your highness to give sentence for you, then must be your highness' remedy short and expedite; nor shall there want wit, by another means, to meet with such delays as this false counterfeit Breve hath caused. For with these men here your highness shall by no suit profit;

which thing I write unto your highness, as of my most bounden duty I ought to do : there shall every day rise new devices, and none take effect, but long delays, and wasted time : wherefore doing what I can yet to get the best, although we be fully answered therein, I shall do what I can to get the commission amplified as much as may be, and at the least, to extend to the reprobation of the brief, if I can, for I dare promise nothing to your majesty at this man's hands ; and that which shall be obtained, if any be obtained, shall be, according to your highness' pleasure, sent by Mr. Bryan.

And whereas your highness, in your gracious letters directed to me and my colleagues, marvelleth that I have not ere this advertised the same, of such bulls as your majesty willed me to impetrate here ; I thought verily, that forasmuch as the same be to be impetrate at the pope's hand, and that we signified unto your majesty, by our letters, of the pope's great sickness, and how we could not have access unto the same, that it had been superfluous for me, in my letters, to make any mention of the said bulls : signifying unto your highness now, that having those matters as it becometh me to have in good remembrance, I have not yet broken with the pope's holiness in them, nor thought good to interrupt the prosecution of your highness' matter, with the pursuit of those, saying that I spake a word to the pope's holiness, *de Ecclesiis Cathedralibus*, and his holiness said nothing could be done till the *Cardinal Sanctorum Quatuor* be recovered. In other things I speak not ; for our audience with the pope's holiness hath been so scarce, that we thought it little enough to spend the same in your highness' principal matter.

And to advertise your highness what counsel is here conducted for the defence of your majesty's cause, the same shall understand that this court, as it hath suffered in all other things, so it is also much appeyred in learned men, and of them that be, we dare not trust every one, *ne Causa Majestatis vestre illis denudata*, they should, *prodere illam Adversariis* ; wherefore counselling, as yet only with two, the one called Dominus Michael, the other Dominus Sigismundus ; we perceiving nothing to be solicited openly on the other side, and that here as yet hath been no need to dispute openly, have communicate your highness' matter to no more. And as for that article, *Quod Papa non possit dispensare*, the pope himself will hear no disputations in it ; and so he might retain your highness' good mind, he seemeth not to care for himself, whether your highness' cause be decided by that article or no, so he did it not : but surely it appeareth, as a man may gather by his fashion and manner, that he hath made his account no further to meddle in your highness' matter, neither with your majesty, nor against the same, but follow that shall be done by his legates there. Wherefore if my lord Campegius would promise your majesty to give sentence frankly and apertly, having *proprium Judicem*, I would trust, being there with such consultations as I should bring from hence to say somewhat to this breve there, *Apud illos et ista est Sacra Anchora Majestatis vestre*, for from hence shall come nothing but delays ; desiring your highness not to show this to my lord Campegius, nor my lord's grace.

Mr. Gregory sendeth presently unto your highness the promise made by the pope's holiness, concerning your highness' cause, at such time as I went to Venice for his cause, which promise in the first three words, *viz. Cum nos justitiam ejus Causæ perpendentes*, &c. doth make as much, and more, for the maintenance of that shall be done in your highness' cause, than if the commission decretal, being in cardinal Campegius's hands, should be shewed : and this your highness at your liberty to show to whom of your council it shall

please your grace, thinking, in my poor opinion, that it were not the best therefore to move the pope in that matter again in this adverse time.

I most humbly desire your majesty, that I may be a suitor to the same for the said Mr. Gregory ; so as by your most gracious commandment, payment may be made there to his factors, of such diets as your highness alloweth him : for omitting to speak of his true, faithful, and diligent service, which I have heretofore and do now perceive in him here ; I assure your highness, he liveth here sumptuously and chargeably, to your highness' honour, and in this great scarcity must needs be driven to extremity, unless your highness be a gracious lord unto him in that behalf.

Thus having none other matter whereof privately to write unto your majesty besides that is contained in our common letters to my lord legate's grace, desiring your highness that I may know your pleasure what to do in case none other thing can be obtained here, I shall make an end of these letters, praying Almighty God to preserve your most noble and royal estate, with a short expedition of this cause, according to your highness' purpose and desire.

From Rome, the 21st day of April.

Your highness' most humble subject,

Servant, and daily orator,

STEPHEN GARDINER

NUMBER XXVII.

The Writ for the Burning of Cranmer.

[Rot. Pat. 2 & 3 Phil. & Mar. 2 Pat.]

PHILIP AND MARY, &c.—To our right trusty Nicholas, archbishop of York, lord chancellor of England, greeting. We will and command you, that immediately upon the sight hereof, and by warrant of the same, ye do cause to be made a writ for the execution of Thomas Cranmer, late archbishop of Canterbury ; and the same so made, to seal with our great seal of England, being in your custody, according to the tenor and form hereafter following.

Philippus et Maria Dei Gratia, &c.—Majori et Balivis Civitatis Oxon. Salutem. Cum Sanctissimus Pater noster Paulus Papa ejusdem Nominis Quartus, per sententiam definitivam juris Ordine in ea parte requisito in omnibus observato, et juxta canonicas sanctiones judicialiter et definitive, Thomam Cranmer nuper Cantuariensem Archiepiscopum, fore hæresiarchum, Anathematizatum, et Hæreticum manifestum, propter suos varios nefandos Errores manifestos et damnabiles Hæreses, et detestandas et pessimas Opinionones, Fidei nostre Catholicæ, et Universalis Ecclesiæ determinationi obviantes et repugnantes ; et prædict. Thomam Cranmer multis modis contract. commiss. dict. affirmat. perpetrat. et publice et pertinaciter tent. et defens. judicavit, declaravit, pronuntiavit et condemnavit : et eadem causa idem Sanctissimus Pater noster Papa Paulus quartus judicialiter et definitive, more solito, prædictum Thomam Cranmer a prædicto Archiepiscopatu, aliis Praelaturis, Dignitatibus, Officiis et Beneficiis depravavit et abjudicavit, prout cunctam inde habemus noticiam : Cumq; etiam Reverendus in Christo Pater Edmundus Londini Episcopus, et Thomas Elien. Episcopus Autoritate ejusdem Santissimi nostri Patris Papæ prædictum Thomam Cranmer ab omni Ordine, Gradu, Officio et Dignitate Ecclesiastica, tanquam Hæresiarchum et Hæreticum manifestum realiter degradaverunt : Vigore ejusdem Thomam Cranmer in presenti Hæreticus et Hæresiarcha juste, legitime, et Canonice Judicatus, condemnatus et degradatus existit ; Et cum etiam Mater Ecclesia non habet quod ulterius in hac parte

contra tam putridum et detestabile membrum et hæresiarcham faciat aut facere debeat, iidem Reverendi Patres eundem Thomam Cranmer damnatum Hæreticum et Hæresiarcham brachiis et potestati nostris secularibus tradiderunt, commiserunt et reliquerunt, prout per Literas Patentes eorumdem Reverendorum Patrum superinde confect. nobis in Cancellaria nostra Certificatum est. Nos igitur ut Zelatores Justitiæ, et Fidei Catholicæ Defensores, volentesque Ecclesiam Sanctam, ac Jura et Libertates ejusdem, et Fidem Catholicam manutene et defendere, hujusmodi Hæreses et Errores ubique, quantum in nobis est, eradicare et extirpare, et prædictum Thomam Hæresiarcham ac convictum, damnat. et degradat. animadversione condigna punire. Attendentesque hujusmodi Hæretic. et Hæresiarch. in forma prædicta convict. damnat. et degradat. juxta Leges et consuetudines Regni nostri Angliæ in hac parte consuetas ignis incendio comburi debere; Vobis Præcipimus quod dictum Thomam Cranmer, in custodia vestra existen. in Loco publico et aperto, infra Libertatem dicti Civitatis nostræ Oxon. ex causa prædicta, coram Populo igni Committi, ac ipsum Thomam Cranmer in eodem igne realiter comburi facietis, in hujusmodi Criminis detestationem, aliorum Christianorum exemplum manifestum: Et hoc sub pena et periculo incumbente, ac prout nobis subinde respondere volueritis, nullatenus Omittatis. Test. nobis ipsis apud Westmonasterium, Vicesimo quarto Februarii, Annis Regis et Reginæ secundo ac tertio.

And this bill, signed with the hand of us the said Queen, shall be your sufficient warrant and discharge for the same.

NUMBER XXVIII.

A Commission to Bonner, and others, to search and raze Records.

[Rot. Pat. 3 & 4 Phil. & Mar. 12. Par.]

PHILIP and MARY, &c.—To the right reverend father in God, Edmond, bishop of London; and to our trusty and well-beloved Henry Cole, doctor of divinity, and dean of the cathedral church of St. Paul, London; and Thomas Marten, esq. doctor of the civil law, greeting. Where is come to our knowledge and understanding, that in the time of the late schism, divers and sundry accòmpts, books, scroles, instruments, and other writings, were practised, devised, and made, concerning professions against the pope's holiness, and the see apostolick: And also sundry and divers infamous scrutinies were taken in abbeyes, and other religious houses, tending rather to subvert and overthrow all good religion, and religious houses, than for any truth contained therein; which writings, and other the premises, as we be informed, were delivered to the custody and charge of divers and sundry registers, and other officers and ministers of this our realm of England, to be by them kept and preserved. And minding to have the said writings, and other the premises, brought to the knowledge, whereby they may be considered and ordered, according to our will and pleasure. And trusting in your fidelities, wisdoms, and discretions, we have appointed and assigned you to be our commissioners; and by these presents do give full power and authority unto you, or two of you, to call before you, or two of you, all and singular the said registers and other officers and ministers within this our said realm, to whose hands, custody, knowledge, or possession, any of the said accòmpts, books, scroles, instruments, or other writings concerning the premises, or any part thereof, did, or is come; giving strait charge and commandments to them, and

every of them, to bring before you, or two of you, at their several appearance, all and singular the said accòmpts, books, writings, and other the premises whatsoever: And them, and every of them, to charge by oath, or otherwise, to make a true certificate and delivery of all and singular the said premises, to the hands of you, or two of you; commanding you, or two of you, to attend and execute the premises, with effect, by all ways and means, according to your wisdoms and discretions.

And of all and singular your doings therein, our pleasure and commandment is, ye shall make certificate unto the most reverend father in God, and our dearest cousin Reginald Pole, lord cardinal, archbishop of Canterbury, metropolitan and primate of England, with diligence, to the intent that further order may be taken therein as shall appertain; charging and commanding all and singular justices of peace, mayors, sheriffs, bailiffs, constables, and all other our officers, ministers, and subjects, to be aiding, helping, assisting, and at our commandment in the due execution hereof, as they tender our pleasure, and will answer to the contrary at their perils.

In witness whereof, &c. Witness the king and queen, at Greenwich, the 29th day of December.

Per Regem et Reginam.

NUMBER XXIX.

Cromwell's Commission, to be Lord Vicegerent, in all Ecclesiastical Causes.

[Cotton. Libr. Cleop. F. 2.]

HENRICUS OCTAVUS, Dei Gratia, Angliæ et Franciæ, Rex, Fidei Defensor, Dominus Hiberniæ ac in Terris Supremum totius Ecclesiæ Anglicanæ sub Christo Caput, dilectis nobis A. B. C. D. Salutem. In terris, supremam Ecclesiæ Anglicanæ sub Christo Autoritatem, etsi Regiæ Nostræ dignitati, ut præcelenti, jam inde ab adepto primum divina disponente gratia, hujus regni nostri Angliæ Sceptro, jure nobis competierit, nunc denuo exercere quodam modo impellimur; nempe quum hi, qui curam illius et regimen sibi potissimum arrogabant, suis potius ipsorum privatis commodis, quam publicæ illius salutis, aut compendio consulentes, eam tandem eo calamitatis, tum nimia licentia et in Officiis eis commissis oscitantia, tum suis malis exemplis devenire passi sunt, ut non ab re metuendum sit, ne illam Christus nunc suam non agnoscat sponsam. Quamobrem nostræ Regiæ excellentiæ, cui prima et suprema post Deum Auctoritas in quoscunq; hujus Regni nostri incolas, nullo sexus, ætatis, ordinis aut conditionis habito discrimine, sacro testante eloquio, cœlitis demandata est, ex muneris hujusmodi debito potissimum incumbit, dictam Ecclesiam vitiorum vepribus, quantum cum Deo possumus, purgare, et virtutum seminibus et plantis conserere. Porro cum hi, qui in eadem de cæteris antehac censuram sibi vindicabant, de se vero nullam a quovis mortalium haberi sustinebant, tum aliis hominibus plura indies corrigenda committant, tum ex eorum corruptis moribus majori præ cæteris sunt plebi offendiculo; ut non immerito iidem et bonorum omnium, si boni, et malorum omnium, si contra certissimi sint Authores: Ab his igitur veluti fonte et scaturigine ad universalem hujus Regni nostri et Ecclesiæ Anglicanæ reformationem jure auspicandum esse duximus, haud vanam spem habentes, quod, fonte primitus purgato, purus deinde et limpidus decurret rivus. Cæterum quia ad singula hujus Regni nostri loca pro præmissis exequendis nos ipsi personaliter obire non valeamus, alios quorum Vicaria fide freti munus hujusmodi veluti

per ministros exequamur, qui quum vices nostras in ea parte suppleant, in partem solitudinis adstitimus et vocamus. Cum itaque nos alias prædilectum nobis Thomam Cromwell Secretarium nostrum primum, et Rotulorum nostrorum Magistrum sive custodem, Nostrum, ad Causas Ecclesiasticas quascunq; nostra Autoritate uti supremi capitis dictæ Ecclesiæ Anglicanæ quomodolibet tractand. seu ventiland. atq; ad exercend. expediend. et exercend. omnem et omnimodam jurisdictionem, Authoritate, sive potestatem Ecclesiasticam, quæ nobis tanquam supremo capiti hujusmodi competit, aut quovismodo competere possit, aut debeat, ubilibet infra Regnum nostrum, Angliæ et loca quæcunq; nobis subjecta, Vicem gerentem, Vicarium Generalem, ac Commissarium specialem et principalem, cum potestate alium vel alios Commissarium sive Commissarios ad præmissa, vel eorum aliqua ordinanda et deputanda, per alias literas nostras Patentes, sigillo nostro majori communitas, constituerimus, deputaverimus et ordinaverimus, prout ex tenore literarum nostrarum hujusmodi plenius liquet. Quia tamen et ipse nostris et totius hujus Regni nostri negotiis præpeditus existit, quominus præmissa personaliter obire et exequi possit; Idem Thomas Cromwell Vicem gerens, Vicarius generalis et Officialis principalis noster hujusmodi vos A. B. C. D. prebatus ad infra-scripta omnia et singula vice et nomine nostris exequenda Commissarios nostros deputaverit, ordinaverit et constituerit; Nos igitur deputationem, ordinationem, et constitutionem hujusmodi ratam et gratam habentes, ad visitandum tam in Capite quam in Membris, de tam plena, quam vacante, quoties, et quando vobis opportunum visum fuerit, omnes et singulas Ecclesias, etiam Metropolitanas, Cathedralis et Collegiatis, Hospitalia queque et Monasteria, tam Virorum quam Mulierum, Prioratas, Preceptorias, Dignitates, Officia, Domos et Loca alia Ecclesiastica, tam Scholaria quam Regularia, exempta et non exempta, quæcunq; infra Regnum nostrum Angliæ, et Provincias, Civitates, Terras, Dominia et Loca nobis Subjecta, ubicunq; sita seu constituta, cujuscunq; Dignitatis, Prærogativæ, Ordinis, Regulæ sive conditionis existant: deque statu et conditione eorundem tam in Spiritualibus quam in Temporalibus, necnon vita, moribus et conversatione, tam Præsidentium sive Prælatorum eorundem quocunq; nomine et dignitate, etiamsi Archiepiscopali vel Episcopali, præfulgeant, quam aliarum personarum in eis degentium quarumcunq; inquirendum et inquiri faciendum. Ac illos quos in ea parte curiosos vel culpabiles fore compereitis, pro modo culpæ hujusmodi corrigendi, puniendi et coercendi; ac si delicti qualitas poposcerit, officiis sive beneficiis suis pro tempore vel in perpetuum privandi et amovendi, vel ad tempus ab eisdem suspendendi: fructus quoque, redditus et proventus Ecclesiarum et Locorum hujusmodi, si videbitur, sequestrandos, ac sub salvo et tuto sequestro custodiri faciendos, atque mandando sequestrum hujusmodi relaxandum ac computum calculum et rationem, de receptis et collectis per sequestros hujusmodi tempore sequestri, et de administratione per eosdem exigenda et recipienda, ac bene et fideliter computantes quietando et liberando deque statu dictarum Ecclesiarum et Locorum tempore visitationis hujusmodi, annotationem, necnon de bonis rebus et localibus eorundem inventaria faciendâ et exigenda.

Statuta insuper, Ordinationes et Injunctiones particulares et generales pro bona et laudabili conservatione, seu reformatione personarum, locorum et ordinum prædictorum, juxta rei exigentiam, Auctoritate nostra faciendâ et imponendo: pœnasque convenientes in earum violatores infligendas et irrogandas, Synodosque, Capitula et Convocationes, tam speciales quam gene-

rales pro præmissis vel aliis causis, et rationibus quibuscunq; quoties et quando et ubicunq; vobis visum fuerit magis expedire nomine et auctoritate nostris concedendos et convocandos ac eas et ea celebranda continuanda et proroganda. Clerumq; et Populum ad Synodos et capitula hujusmodi convocando et congregando ac Synodis capituli, et congregationibus hujusmodi interessendo et præsidendo eaque inibi statuendo et ordinando quæ pro reformatione vel emendatione locorum, personarum et ordinum prædictorum visa fuerint quomodolibet expedire. Dictasque Ecclesias, loca et personas modis omnibus, quibus melius et efficacius valeatis ad statum honestiorem, probatoremque vivendi mores, reducendo et reponendo. Crimina quoque, excessus, et delicta quorumcunq; subditorum nostrorum juxta comperta et detecta quæcunq; debite reformando, corrigendo et puniendo. Quoscunq; insuper subditos nostros, pro præmissis vel quibuscunq; aliis causis ad forum Ecclesiasticum quomodolibet spectantibus et pertinentibus, undecunq; et quæcunq; infra hoc nostrum Angliæ Regnum vobis videbitur melius expedire, ad vos et coram vobis citando et evocando: contumacesq; et rebelles, tam per censuras et pœnas Ecclesiasticas, quam per mulctarum impositionem ac alia juris hujus Regni nostri remedia coercendo et puniendo. Causasq; et negotia Ecclesiastica hujusmodi cognoscendo, examinando ac sine debito terminando: et subditos hujusmodi rei per vos judicate stare et acquiescere cogendo et compellendo. Resignationes insuper sive cessiones Ecclesiarum, seu locorum et quascunq; quorumcunq; prædictorum factas sive faciendas recipiendo et admittendo. Ecclesiasq; et loca resignata, Vacantia, et pro vacantibus habenda fore pronuntiando et declarando: Licentiasq; ad tractandū et communicandū et concludendū de et super pensionibus et fructibus et emolumentis, necnon dictarum Ecclesiarum et locorum commissorum assignando: necnon de et super, quæcunq; permutatione fienda quibuscunq; personis idoneis id petentibus concedendo. Pensionesque annuas congruas et moderatas, resignantibus, hujusmodi, assignando et limitando: Ecclesiasq; et loca prædicta de et super pensionum hujusmodi solutione et præstatione onerando et obligando, ac decreta et summas in ea parte necessarias seu requisitas ferendas et promulgandas.

Electionibus quoque Prælatorum, qui per electionem hujusmodi assumi soleant quorumcunq; interessendi et presidendi, eligendumq; in eisdem dirigendo et informando. Electiones insuper quascunq; rite factas et celebratas, et personas electas sive eligendas confirmando: ac aliter factas et celebratas cassando et annullando, ac rite electos et confirmatos installando seu installari faciendū. Institutiones quoq; et investituras in quibuscunq; Ecclesiis¹ et locis prædictis pendente visitatione nostra hujusmodi personas idoneis et rite presentatis quibuscunq; conferendo et concedendo, ac eos in realem, actualem et corporalem possessionem Ecclesiarum et locorum prædictorum inducendo seu sic induci faciendū atq; mandando, cum suis juribus et pertinentibus universis. Quæcunq; insuper instrumenta, literasq; tam testimoniales, quam mandatores et rescripta alia quæcunq; in ea parte necessaria, opportuna, &c.

Desunt cætera.

NUMBER XXX.

A Letter written by the Monks of Glassenbury, for the new founding of that Abbey.—An Original.

[Ex MS. Nob. Illustr. Com. de Huntingdon.]

To the right honourable the lord chamberlain to the queen's majesty.

RIGHT HONOURABLE—In our most humble wise your lordship's daily beadsmen, sometimes at the house of Glassenbury, now here monks in Westminster, with all due submission, we desire your honour to extend your accustomed virtue, as it hath been always heretofore propense to the honour of Almighty God, to the honourable service of the king and queen's majesty; so it may please your good lordship again, for the honour of them, both of God and their majesties, to put the queen's highness in remembrance of her gracious promise, concerning the erection of the late monastery of Glassenbury, which promise of her grace hath been so by her majesty declared. That upon the same, we your lordship's daily beadsmen, understanding my lord cardinal's grace's pleasure to the same, by the procurement hereof, our reverend father abbot hath gotten out the particulars; and through a warrant from my lord treasurer, our friends there have builded, and bestowed much upon reparation. Notwithstanding all now standeth at a stay, we think the cause to be want of remembrance, which cannot so well be brought unto her majesty's understanding, as by your honourable lordship's favour and help. And considering your lordship's most godly disposition, we have a confidence thereof to solicit the same, assuring your lordship of our daily prayers while we live, and of our successors during the world, if it may so please your good lordship to take it in hand.

We ask nothing in gift to the foundation, but only the house and site, the residue for the accustomed rent, so that with our labour and husbandry we may live here a few of us in our religious habits till the charity of good people may suffice a greater number; and the country there being so affected to our religion, we believe we should find more help amongst them, towards the reparations and furniture of the same, whereby we would happily prevent the ruin of much, and repair no little part of the whole, to God's honour, and for the better prosperity of the king and queen's majesties, with the whole realm; for, doubtless, if it shall please your good lordship, if there hath ever been any flagitious deed since the creation of the world, punished of God, in our opinion the overthrow of Glassenbury may be compared to the same, not surrendered, as other, but extorted; the abbot preposterously put to death, with two innocent virtuous monks with him; that if the thing were to be scanned by any university, or some learned counsel in divinity, they would find it more dangerous than it is commonly taken: which might move the queen's majesty to the more speedy erection; namely, that being an house of such antiquity, and of fame through all Christendom, first begun by St. Joseph of Arimathea, (who took down the dead body of our Saviour Christ from the cross) and lieth buried in Glassenbury: and him most heartily we beseech with us, to pray unto Christ for good success unto your honourable lordship, in all your lordship's affairs; and now especially in this our most humble request, that we may do the same in Glassenbury for the king and queen's majesties as our founders, and for your good lordship, as a singular benefactor.

Your lordship's daily beadsmen of Westminster,

John Phagau. John Nott.

William Ailewold. William Kentwyne.

NUMBER XXXI.

A Letter from Sir Edward Carne from Rome, shewing how the Pope dissembled with him concerning a general Peace.—An Original.

[Ex Chartophylac. Regio.]

PLEASETH it your most excellent majesty to be advertised, that Francis the post arrived here upon Corpus Christi day with your majesty's most gracious letters, as well for the expedition of the bishopricks of Winchester and Chester, as also for his holiness beside; with your most gracious letters of the 30th of March to me: according to the purport whereof I sued for audience at his holiness' hands the next day following; whereof I had answer, that I should come to his holiness, viz. the 6th of this; and being with his holiness, after the delivery of your majesty's most gracious letters, with your majesty's humble commendations. After he had read your majesty's letter, in the presence of the most reverend lord cardinal Morone, he said how much he was bound to that blessed queen, and most gracious and loving daughter, that had written to him so gratefully and humbly, saying, that he would keep that letter to be read openly in the consistory, before all the most reverend lords his brethren, and said that he was much bound to his legate there, to make that good report of him to your majesty. Whereupon I declared unto him your majesty's pleasure, according to my instructions, with such thanks and congratulations as your pleasure was I should use to his holiness, with the rest of my instructions, leaving no part thereof undeclared and spoken: whereunto he said, that his affection to that blessed queen (making a cross upon your majesty's name contained in the letter) was not neither could be as much as the goodness of her majesty required; but this your majesty should be sure of, he said, that his good affection and good-will should not only continue, but increase to the utmost, to the satisfaction of your majesty in all that may lie in him.

And as touching the peace to be had perfectly, betwixt the emperor's majesty and the king's most excellent majesty, and the French king, he was wondrous glad to hear that your majesty's furtherance should not want in helping to bring the truce, late concluded, to a perfect peace. And of his part, he said that he sent two legats for that purpose, for his discharge towards God; or else, he said if he should overpass, and not declare unto them the great necessities of the commonweal of all Christendom to have a perfect peace, God would impute his silence therein unto him, being appointed over his flock here as he is; for he said, it is more than time to be doing therein, considering that the realm of Polonia doth so waver, and that the king there neither can nor dare, being compassed with naughty sects round about him, do anything against them. And likewise the king of Romans about him. They call upon his holiness for help, and some provision for amendment, which thing he cannot do without a general council, which, he said, cannot be well done, unless the said peace be made; for though there be an abstinence from war, yet the grudge of the doings heretofore, and the uncertainty of peace, will be an occasion to keep men of war, and the one shall be in mistrust of the other, in such sort as the passages cannot be sure for those that should come to the said council: therefore he will travel, as much as is possible for him, to have a peace, without the which it will not be possible to do any good in the council. His holiness is minded to have the general council here in St. John Lateranense, and thinks it the most meetest place, for divers con-

siderations which he declared ; for it is the head church of Christendom, and there hath been divers times many wholesome and holy councils in times past. And for that this city is *Communis Patria*, and free to all the world to resort to freely, trusting that all necessities shall come hither, both by sea and land. And also forasmuch as in divers councils begun in times of his predecessors, little good could be done ; and men thought that more good might have been done, if the pope had been present himself in the said councils ; therefore his holiness would be present himself in this council ; which he cannot, being in a manner decrepit for age, in case it were kept far hence, he not being able to travel for age, unless it be kept here, where he trusteth to be himself in person. And for to conclude this matter, in such sort as the necessity of Christendom requireth, he hath dispatched the two legates, *de Latere suo*, at this present, wherein he knoweth that your majesty may do more than any others, and doubteth not but your majesty will so do. Concluding that God hath preserved your majesty to help all the world ; whereunto I said, that there should not want neither good-will, neither any other thing that your majesty might do for the furtherance thereof.

As touching the provisions of Winchester and Chester, it shall be done with all the speed that may be. And his holiness hath promised all the favour that he can conveniently shew for your majesty's sake. It must have somewhat longer time, for that the process made there by my lord legate's grace for to try the yearly value of Winchester, must be committed to certain cardinals, for to report in the consistory before the new tax can be made ; but there shall be no time lost, for it shall be diligently solicited.

Also concerning the pension to my lord cardinal's grace, of a thousand pounds sterling yearly, the pope his holiness will assign it according to your majesty's pleasure ; so that all shall be done therein with all the speed that may be, God willing ; wherein the most reverend lord cardinal Morone, who rejoiceth much in your gracious letters sent to him, to his great comfort, doth travel, as he is most ready always, in all that toucheth your majesty, or any of your most noble realms.

As concerning the occurrents here, since my last letters of the fifteenth of the last, be none other, but that the cardinal de Caraffa, departed here-hence towards France, the fourteenth of the last, with divers antiquities to be presented to the French king. Some say here, that part of his charge is to move the French king to take the dukedom of Paleano in his protection, as he hath Parma and Mirandula. There be a great number of workmen already gone to fortify Paleano, Neptuno, and Rocca, del Papa, and certain captains appointed and gone thither also.

The legate to the emperor's majesty, and the king's majesty, departed the 30th of the last.

The ambassador of Polonia is returned toward his master. His petition, as I am informed, to his holiness, was, to have license for priests to marry, and all lay-folk to receive the communion *sub utraque specie*, in the realm of Polonia, and certain dismes upon the clergy, to be spent against the Turk. His answer, as I hear, was, in general, with relation of all such matters to the general council.

Also there came hither four ambassadors very honourably from the state of Genua, with the obedience of that state to his holiness : which ambassador did visit me, declaring the good-will, amity, and service, that the said state bare towards the king, and your most excellent majesty, desiring me advertise your majesty thereof.

The 24th of the last, the pope's holiness kept the anniversary of his coronation : I was warned to be at the chapel, by the officers appointed for that purpose. Also one of his holiness' gentlemen was sent to invite me to dine with his holiness that day. At my coming to the court, the ambassador of Portugal being there, at his holiness coming forth, would have kept the place, amongst all the ambassadors, from me, that I was wont to stand in, that is, next the French ambassador ; and next to me would be the ambassador of Polonia. I came to the ambassador of Portugal as gently as I could ; and for that he would not give me my place, I took him by the shoulder, and removed him out of that place, saying, that it was your majesty's ambassador's place always. Beneath me he would not stand, neither next me he should not, for the ambassador of Polonia, who claimed next to me : whereupon the Portugal went and complained to the duke of Paleano, who went straight to the pope ; and after him went the said ambassador of Portugal to him himself. His holiness willed him to depart thence. He desired that I should depart likewise. And thereupon the duke came to me, saying, that the pope his pleasure was I should depart also. I asked him why. He said, that his holiness, to avoid dissention, would have me to depart. I told him I made no dissention ; for if the other would keep his own place, and not usurp upon the place that always the ambassadors of England in times past were wont to be in, he might be in quiet, and suffer me to be in quiet likewise, and not to seek that seemed him not. All this year he never sought it till now—why now, I cannot tell ; but he may be sure he shall not have it of me, unless your majesty command it. Also the master of the household with his holiness said that I was invited, and that Portugal was not, but came upon his own head.

I am much bound to the marquess ; he was very angry with the Portugal, being his brother, to attempt any such thing against your majesty's ambassador, and sent to me as soon as he heard of it. Indeed he was not there ; I kept my place for him, sending him to seek his place in such sort that all the ambassadors thought it well done, and others that were indifferent said no less. I told the duke that I would not lose a jot of your majesty's honour for no man. For it is the place of ambassadors of England nigh a thousand years before there was any king in Portugal.

Other occurrents here be none. And thus I beseech Almighty God to conserve your most excellent majesty in long and most prosperous life.

From Rome, the 9th of June, 1556.

Your majesty's most humble subject and poor servant,
EDWARD CARNEL.

NUMBER XXXII.

A Commission for a severe way of proceeding against Hereticks.

[Rot. Pat. in Dorso, Rot. 3 & 4 Phil. & Mar. 2 P.]

PHILIP and MARY, by the grace of God, king and queen of England, Spain, France, both Sicils, Jerusalem, and Ireland, and defenders of the faith ; arch-dukes of Austria, duke of Burgundy, Millain, and Brabant ; counts of Harspurge, Flanders, and Tyroll. To the right reverend father in God, Edmond bishop of London, and to the reverend father in God, our right trusty and right well-beloved counsellor, Thomas bishop of Ely ; and to our right trusty and right well-beloved William Windsor, kt., lord Windsor ; Edward North, kt., lord North ; and to our trusty and right well-beloved counsellors, John Bourne, kt., one of our chief secretaries ;

John Mordaunt, kt.; Francis Englefield, kt., master of our wards and liveries; Edward Walgrave, kt., master of our great wardrobe; Nicholas Hare, kt., master of the rolls in our court of Chancery; and to our trusty and well-beloved Thomas Pope, kt., Roger Cholmley, kt., Richard Read, kt., Thomas Stradling, kt., and Rowland Hill, kt.; William Rastall, serjeant at law; Henry Cole, clerk, dean of Paul's; William Roper, and Randolph Chomley, esquires; William Cooke, Thomas Martin, John Story, and John Vaughan, doctors of law; greeting.

Forasmuch as divers devilish and clamorous persons have not only invented, bruted, and set forth divers false rumours, tales, and seditious slanders against us, but also have sown divers heresies and heretical opinions; and set forth divers seditious books within this our realm of England, meaning thereby to move, procure, and stir up divisions, strife, contentions, and seditious, not only amongst our loving subjects, but also betwixt us and our said subjects; with divers other outrageous misdemeanours, enormities, contempts, and offences daily committed and done, to the disquieting of us and our people; we minding and intending the due punishment of such offenders, and the repressing of such-like offences, enormities, and misbehaviours from henceforth, having special trust and confidence in your fidelities, wisdoms, and discretions, have authorised, appointed, and assigned you to be our commissioners; and by these presents do give full power and authority unto you, and three of you, to enquire, as well by the oaths of twelve good and lawful men, as by witnesses, and all other means and politic ways you can devise, of all and sundry heresies, heretical opinions, lollardies; heretical and seditious books, concealments, contempts, conspiracies, and of all false rumours, tales, seditious and clamorous words and sayings, raised, published, bruted, invented, or set forth against us, or either of us; or against the quiet governance and rule of our people and subjects, by books, letters, tales, or otherwise, in any county, city, borough, or other place or places within this our realm of England, and elsewhere, in any place or places beyond the seas; and of the bringers in, users, buyers, sellers, readers, keepers, or conveyers of any such letters, books, rumour, or tale; and of all and every their coadjutors, counsellors, consorters, procurers, abettors, and maintainers; giving to you, and three of you, full power and authority, by virtue hereof, to search out, and take into your hands and possession, all manner of heretical and seditious books, letters, writings, wheresoever they or any of them shall be found, as well in printers' houses and shops as elsewhere; willing you, and every of you, to search for the same in all places, according to your discretions. And also to enquire, hear, and determine, all and singular enormities, disturbances, misbehaviours, misdemeanours, and negligences, done, suffered, or committed, in any church, chapel, or other hallowed place within this realm. And also for and concerning the taking away, or the withholding of any lands, tenements, goods, and ornaments, stocks of money, or other things belonging to any of the same churches and chapels, and all accompts and reckonings concerning the same. And also to enquire and search out all such persons as obstinately do refuse to preach the blessed sacrament of the altar, to hear mass, or come to their parish, or other convenient places, appointed for divine service; and all such as refuse to go in processions, to take holy water, or holy bread; or otherwise do misuse themselves in any church, or other hallowed place, wheresoever any of the same offences have been, or hereafter shall be, committed within this our said realm. Nevertheless our will and pleasure is, that when, and as often as any person or persons hereafter to be called

or convented before you, do obstinately persist or stand in any manner of heresy, or heretical opinions, that then ye, or three of you, do immediately take order, that the same person, or persons, so standing or persisting, be delivered and committed to his ordinary, there to be used according to the spiritual and ecclesiastical laws. And also we give unto you, or three of you, full power and authority to enquire and search out all vagabonds and masterless men, barretors, quarrellers, and suspect persons, vagrant, or abiding within the city of London, or ten miles' compass of the same; and all assaults and affrays done and committed within the same city and compass. And further, to search out all wastes, decays, and ruins of churches, chancels, chapels, parsonages, and vicarages, in whatsoever diocese the same be within this realm. Giving to you, or any three of you, full power and authority, by virtue hereof, to hear and determine the same, and all other offences and matters above specified and rehearsed, according to your wisdoms, and consciences, and discretions; willing and commanding you, or three of you, from time to time, to use and devise all such politic ways and means, for the trial and searching out of the premises, as by you, or three of you, shall be thought most expedient and necessary; and upon enquiry, and due proof had, known, perceived, and tried out by the confession of the parties, or by sufficient witnesses, before you, or three of you, concerning the premises, or any part thereof, or by any other ways or means requisite, to give and award such punishment to the offenders, by fine, imprisonment, or otherwise; and to take such order for redress and reformation of the premises, as to your wisdoms, or three of you, shall be thought meet and convenient. Further willing and commanding you, and any three of you, in case you shall find any person or persons obstinate or disobedient, either in their appearance before you, or three of you, at your calling or assignment; or else in not accomplishing or not obeying your decrees, orders, and commandments, in any thing or things touching the premises, or any part thereof, to commit the same person, or persons, so offending, to ward, there to remain, till they be by you, or three of you, enlarged and delivered. And we give to you, and any three of you, full power and authority, by these presents, to take and receive, by your discretions, of every offender, or suspect person, to be convented or brought before you, a recognizance or recognizances, obligation or obligations to our use, of such sum or sums of money, as to you, or three of you, shall seem convenient, as well for the personal appearance before you of any such suspect person, or for the performance and accomplishment of your orders and decrees, in case you shall think so convenient, as for the sure and true payment of all and every such fine and fines, as shall hereafter be by you, or three of you, taxed or assessed upon any offender that shall be before you, or three of you, duly convinced, as is aforesaid, to our use, to be paid at such days and times, as by you, or three of you, shall be sealed, limited, or appointed: and you to certify any such recognizance, or obligation, as being taken for any fine or fines, not fully and wholly paid before you, under your hands and seals, or the hands and seals of three of you, into our court of Chancery, to the intent we may be therefore duly answered, as appertaineth.

And furthermore, we give to you, or three of you, full power and authority, by these presents, not only to call afore you all and every offender and offenders, and all and every suspect person and persons in any of the premises, but also all such and so many witnesses as ye shall think meet to be called; and them, and every of them, to examine and compel to answer, and swear, upon the holy evangelist, to declare the truth in all

such things, whereof they or any of them shall be examined, for the better trial, opening, and declaration of the premises, or of any part thereof.

And furthermore, our will and pleasure is, that you, or three of you, shall name and appoint one sufficient person to gather up and receive all such sums of money as shall be assessed or taxed by you, or three of you, for any fine or fines, upon any person or persons, for their offence; and you, or three of you, by bill, or bills, signed with your hands, shall and may assign and appoint, as well to the said person for his pains in receiving the said sums, as also to your clerk, messengers, and attendants upon you, for their travel, pains and charge to be sustained for us about the premises, or any part thereof, such sum and sums of money for their rewards, as by you, or three of you, shall be thought expedient. Willing and commanding you, or three of you, after the time of this our commission is expired, to certify into our exchequer, as well the name of the said receiver, as also a note of such fines as shall be set or taxed before you, to the intent, that upon the determination of the account of the same receiver, we may be answered, that that to us shall justly appertain. Willing and commanding also all our auditors, and other officers, upon the sight of the said bills, signed with the hands of you, or three of you, to make to the said receiver due allowance, according to the said bills upon his account. Wherefore we will and command you, our said commissioners, with diligence to execute the premises, with effect: any of our laws, statutes, proclamations, or other grants, privileges, or ordinances, which be or may seem to be contrary to the premises, notwithstanding.

And moreover we will and command all and singular justices of peace, mayors, sheriffs, bailiffs, constables, and all other our officers, ministers, and faithful subjects, to be aiding, helping, and assisting to you, at your commandment, in the due execution hereof, as they tender our pleasure, and will answer to the costs, at their utmost perils.

And we will and grant, that these our letters patents shall be a sufficient warrant and discharge for you, and any of you, against us, our heirs and successors; and all and every other person or persons whatsoever they be, of, for, or concerning the premises, or any parcel thereof, or for the execution of this our commission, or any part thereof.

In witness whereof, we have caused these our letters to be made patents, and to continue and endure for one whole year next coming after the date hereof. Witness ourself at Westminster, the 8th day of February, the third and fourth years of our reign.

NUMBER XXXIII.

A Letter writ by the Council, expressing their Jealousies of the Lady Elizabeth.—An Original.

[Cotton. Libr. Titus. B. 2.]

MR. POPE, after our very hearty commendations, ye shall understand, that amongst divers other devilish practices, attempted from time to time, by Dudley, Ashton, and other traitors in France, for the disturbance of the quiet of the realm; they have now lately sent over one Cleyberdo, who (if I the lord chancellor be not deceived in the man) was, whilst I was president in Wales, indicted of a burglary, and should have been, if he had not escaped by the means of certain his complices, who took him from the sheriff's man, as well for the said burglary, as for divers other notable robberies, and other offences, made sure enough from attempting this enterprize now. This man being sent by the foresaid traitors into the extreme parts of Essex

and Suffolk; where naming himself to be earl of Devonshire, he hath, by spreading abroad of slanderous letters and proclamations, abused the lady Elizabeth's grace's name; procuring thereby, as much as in him lay, to stir the king and queen's majesties' subjects in those parts to rebellion, as by the copies of the said letters and proclamations, which we send unto you herewith, may at better length appear unto you. And albeit the people there have shewed themselves so true and obedient subjects, as immediately upon the understanding of this enterprize they did of themselves, and without any commandment, apprehend as many of the attempters of this devilish practice as they could come by, whereby their good-will and truth to the king and queen's majesties doth well appear. Yet because this matter is spread already abroad, and that peradventure many constructions and discourses will be made thereof, we have thought meet to signify the whole circumstance of the cause unto you, to be by you opened unto the lady Elizabeth's grace, at such time as ye shall think convenient; to the end it may appear unto her how little these men stick, by falsehood and untruth, to compass their purpose; not letting, for that intent, to abuse the name of her grace, or any others; which their devices nevertheless are (God be thanked) by his goodness discovered from time to time to their majesties' preservation, and confusion of their enemies. And so bid you heartily well to fare.—From Eltham, the 30th of July, 1556.

NICHOL. EBORAC. Canc.

ARUNDEL.

THOMAS ELY.

R. ROCHESTER.

Henry Jerneyam.

NUMBER XXXIV.

A Letter from Sir Edward Carne, concerning the Suspension of Cardinal Pole's Legatine Power.—An Original.

[Ex Chartophylac. Regio.]

PLEASE it your most excellent majesties, according as I advertised your highness in my letters of the 8th of this; so I have informed all the cardinals that be here of the congregation of the inquisition, as the most reverend lord cardinal Morone advised me, informing them of the good proceedings and reformations made by the most reverend lord cardinal's grace there, as well in *Clero* as in *Populo*; not only in things appertaining *ad cultum Dei*, but also in other, pertaining to the common-weal of Christ's church, in such sort as Christ's religion doth so prosper there, that there is good hope all things should come to their perfection in time. And for that purpose his grace had called there a synod of the clergy of the realm, where many good ordinances, for the maintenance of the premises been past already; and many ready in hand for to pass, and not fully ended nor perfected: which should be staid, in case the legacy should be there-hence revoked, which might turn to the great danger and damage of many in that your majesty's realm, in case due reformation throughout and perfectly were not made: Therefore I desired them, that when the matter were moved amongst them, so to weigh it, as such a good beginning, that through your majesty's goodness hath been there, be not brought by their doings here, into no worse terms, than your majesties, with no little pain, have always travelled to bring it unto: adding besides divers cases that daily might fall, which could not be holpen without the authority of this see: and that men newly reduced to the unity of the church, would rather stand in their naughty doings, whose examples might be noisome to

many, than repair hither for any help ; but having the legate there, would gladly seek help at his hands being present amongst them.

And likewise for reduction of your majesty's realm of Ireland to the unity of the church, which whethere it were past or no I doubted, and ended thoroughly and if it were, yet were it most expedient that there should be reformation, as well in *Clero* as in *Populo*, which could not well be, in case the legacy continue not there. This is the effect of the points that I informed them upon, who all thought it most expedient that the legacy should continue there, and would not fail to stay, as much as might lie in them, for these considerations above rehearsed ; and thought, being of such importance, that if my lord's grace were not there already, it were most expedient that he should be sent thither, rather than to be revoked ; and hereof as well Cardinal Morone as all the other would needs I should move his holiness.

Whereupon the 12th of this, I went to the pope himself, upon pretence to give him thanks for the provision of the church of Chichester, and of the most gracious and honourable report that he made in the consistory the same time, of your highness my sovereign lady the queen ; where his holiness declared a much goodness and virtue of your majesty, that he and his see could not, he said, shew so much favour to any of yours as the same required. As undoubtedly, as far as I could here, he doth, whensoever he hath occasion to speak of your majesty, so reverently as more could not be ; who prevented me, and said, that he was glad that I was come unto him, and trusted that God had sent me thither : for there had been with him, the day before, Cardinal Pacheco, who shewed him of the good inclination of your majesty, my sovereign lord, to have peace with him and the church. And that also he had received a letter from the most reverend lord cardinal's grace there-hence, who had spoken with your majesty, and found the same so well inclined to have peace with his holiness, as might be desired ; which his holiness said he liked very well, and held up his hands beseeching Almighty God to continue your majesty in that good mind. And then he began to declare, how that God provided, and always confirmed you, the queen's majesty, not only to do good to that realm, but to all Christendom also ; in whom his holiness had such hope, that the same will so help with the king's majesty, that peace may follow betwixt the church and him : and he of his part coveted nothing more, as it should appear, if the king's majesty would treat of it ; yea, he said, though he should sustain great damage thereby, he will win his majesty if he can.

And where his majesty is informed, that his holiness would hear none of those that were sent to him from his majesty, as Francisco Pacheco, and one citizen of Naples ; he said, that he never heard that either the said Francisco, or the said citizen, had any letter or word to him from his majesty ; if they had had, he, as he said, who giveth audience daily to as many as do seek it at his hands, without denial, would have heard them, or any that had been sent from his highness ; and this, he said, all that be about him can testify, and called God to record of it. And yet, he said, that the king's majesty is informed of the contrary ; whereupon, he said, that his majesty was brought in belief, that it was sufficient for his highness to offer himself to be heard, and seeing he could not, he was discharged towards God, and so lay the fault in his holiness ; from the which error, so his holiness named it, he would and wished that his majesty should be brought : for his holiness caused to be enquired of them, whether they had any letters, or any thing to

say of his majesty's behalf to him, and could hear of none ; wherefore his holiness desired me to write to your majesty, and to signify the same to your highness ; and of his holiness' behalf to pray you to advertise the king's majesty, that therein was no lack of his holiness ; saying, if his majesty had sent to him, he would have gladly heard him ; or if it may please his majesty yet to send, no man will be more glad thereof than he : and said further, that God, who had called him to that place, knew that he always hath been of mind to have a general council for a reformation throughout Christendom, and in such place as had been meet for it ; and doubted not but that he would have seen Christendom in such order, that such enormities as do reign in many parts should have been reformed, if these wars had not troubled him : saying therewith, that the power of the church is not able to maintain wars of itself, but that God had provided aid elsewhere ; but if he can have peace, he will embrace it, he said, though it were to his loss. And prayed me to desire your majesty, of his behalf, to put to your good help towards it. To whom after thanks first given to his holiness for the said good opinion that he had of your majesty, and also of the provision made of the said church of Chichester, I said, that I was glad to hear of that good inclination of his holiness to peace ; and said, that I would gladly signify to you, the queen's majesty, according to his holiness' pleasure : and that I had heard of divers that his holiness would not give audience to such as you my sovereign lord had sent to him ; whereof I was sorry, and yet nevertheless trusted that betwixt his holiness and your majesty should be as great amity as appertaineth ; and had not so good hope thereof, since this war began, as now hearing his holiness to be so well inclined to it ; not doubting but all the world should perceive no lack of your majesty's behalf, as far as any reason required.

Whether this be done for a practice to please, lest any stir be there, against the Frenchmen, which is most feared here, I am not able to say, for there lacketh no practice in this court that they think may serve for their purpose. The truth is, that there is jarring betwixt the pope and the French now ; with whom the pope is nothing contented, neither they with him, as it is credibly reported here. All the Italians that the pope had in the French camp be all gone ; the French handled them very ill and vile, and especially Don Antonio de Caraffa, the pope's nephew : so that it is thought here, that the pope will turn the leaf, if any were here of your behalf, the king's majesty, that had authority to treat with his holiness ; and if it please your majesty to send any hither for that purpose, by the opinion of all your majesty's well-willers here, there can come but good of it.

After this communication, I lamented to his holiness greatly of one thing that I had heard his holiness pretended to do : and forasmuch as your majesty had placed me here with his holiness, and that the case was such that it touched the maintenance of the common-wealth of Christian religion within your majesty's realm there so much, that of duty I could do no less but open it to his holiness, trusting that the same, who had always shewed himself most ready, with all benignity, to do for you, the queen's majesty, and your realm, would so continue still : which thing was, I said, that his holiness would revoke his legate there, which should be too great a prejudice to the church of that realm, to be done before all things were truly established there, and opened unto his holiness all the considerations before rehearsed, whereof I had informed the cardinals in as ample manner as I could. Then, he said, that there was nothing that he could do

for you, the queen's majesty, or your said realm, but he would do it most gladly, unless occasion should be given there-hence that he might not. And as touching the revocation of the legate in England, he said, that it was done already, and not for to provide any thing within that realm, but only for because it was not convenient that any legate of his should be within any of the king's majesty's realms or dominions; and therefore he revoked his nuncios from Naples, from Spain, and all other parts of the king's majesty's realms and dominions, and of England therefore: nevertheless, he said, if you the queen's majesty would write to him for the continuance of his legate there, he would restore him to his former authority, or any thing else that your majesty should think expedient for him to do. Then, I said, it would be long time before answer can come from England hither; and if his revocation should be once known in England, what would come of it I doubted. Therefore I besought his holiness not to suffer it to pass, for if it be once known abroad, it shall be a great comfort to the wicked, and discomfort to the good, whereby many inconveniences might ensue. Then, he said, That that is done cannot be undone. I said, that his holiness had not so far gone in his decree, but that he might moderate it, that it need not extend to England. And then I told him, that he had shewed me, that in all his proceedings, he would have your majesty's realm of England separated from all other the king's majesty's realms, and now had set it as far further as any of the other; therefore, I said, his holiness should consider it, and that the decree in nowise should extend thither. Then, he said, that it could not stand with the majesty of the place that he sat in, to revoke any part of the decree solemnly given in the consistory, in the presence of all the cardinals. I said, that his holiness, with his honour, might well do it; considering that when he gave the decree, he was not informed of such inconveniences that might ensue thereof; and now being informed by me, his holiness had not only a just cause to revoke it, but also of congruence ought to do it; considering that his holiness had the cure of all men's souls: and if any inconvenience should follow through his holiness' doings, it could not be chosen but his holiness must answer for it; where his holiness suffering all things to proceed in his due course, as it hath been begun, all dangers that have been before rehearsed might be avoided; therefore now his holiness had a good cause to stay his decree in that behalf: all which he took in good part, and said thus, I must needs do for that realm what I can, and therefore to-morrow is the congregation of the inquisition, and then the matter shall be propounded, where, he said, he would do what he could; and willed me to resort to the Cardinal St. Jacobo to inform him, that he might procure it there. I said, I would; indeed I had been with the said cardinal before, and had informed him fully; nevertheless I went to him again, to shew him the pope's pleasure therein; who said, he would do his duty therein. Indeed that matter occupied the pope and the cardinals all that congregation time. The next morrow, as the cardinals said, the conclusion was, that the pope would make answer to me himself. Indeed he thought to take counsel of the said congregation before I had been with them about the same decree, but not to revoke any part thereof, but to have their advice in framing of it. So that if I had not gone to him, the decree had gone forth, with the intimation thereof, and the inhibition; but being with his holiness this evening, to know what was to be had herein; his holiness, after a long oration, in commendation of you the queen's majesty, he said, that in case your most excellent majesty would

write to him for the continuance of his legate, for such causes as should seem good to the same, the legate to be yet expedient therein, he would appoint my lord's grace there to continue, but he could in nowise revoke his decree made in open consistory. I laid many things that his holiness might do it, and that divers of his predecessors had done it, upon causes before not known; with divers examples that I shewed him in law; that at the last, he said plainly, he would not revoke his decree; but for because of my suit, he said he was content to stay, and to go no further till your majesty's letters do come; and charge the datary, and his secretary Berigno, that they send forth no intimation of his decree of the said revocation, without his special commandment; where-else he said, the intimation had been sent forth with an inhibition also: and so all is stayed, that nothing here-hence shall go forth till your pleasure, the queen's majesty, be known therein; which the pope doth look for: until which intimation the legacy there doth continue.

Occurrences here be no other, but that the 10th of this, the late made Duke of Paleano departed here-hence towards the duke's camp, which doth lie yet in the siege of Civitella, within your majesty's realm of Naples. They that seem to bear their good wills here towards your majesty, do say here that they may lie there long before they take it, for they cannot hurt it much with battery. And they say, the Counts de Sancto Flore, and de Sarne, be within the town with two thousand soldiers; many of the Frenchmen be slain there. Nevertheless, others do say, that it standeth in danger of taking; for because the Frenchmen have gotten a hill, from the which they do beat sore into the town, and have withdrawn certain waters from them of the town, and do undermine it; the most part here thinketh they shall lose their labour, for it is very strong.

The galleys of Marseilles arrived at Civita Vecchia six or seven days past, and brought twelve ensignes more of French soldiers to reinforce the French army; and as far as I can learn, they return again to fetch more, always to refresh their camp with fresh soldiers, in the lieu of such as be perished: of the which twelve ensignes the French ambassador chose out three, which he hath sent to the Duke of Guise, well furnished; the rest he discharged, but all the other that came be gone to the camp, to such captains as will retain them there, for such of the other as be slain, or otherwise perished. Don Antonio de Caraffa doth not as yet return to the camp, neither intendeth to go as I hear. I heard say, that the Duke of Alva was within sixteen miles of the Frenchmen, with a great army of horsemen and footmen; what he doth is not spoken of here, for there is none that can pass to them, or from them hither; there is such strait keeping and dangerous passing.

Here be ill news from Piedmont, for they say here the Frenchmen in those parts have taken Cherasto, a very strong town in Piedmont, which I trust be not true. The common report is here, that if the Frenchmen be not withstood in time, they will do much hurt in Italy.

The pope doth set forth a bull for money, that one of every hundred shall be paid of the value of all the lands that be within the church's dominions, which they say will draw to two or three millions, if it be paid.

And having no other at this present, I beseech Almighty God to conserve both your most excellent majesties in long and most prosperous life together.

From Rome, the 15th of May 1557.

Your majesty's most humble subject and poor servant,
EDWARD CARNE.

NUMBER XXXV.

The Appeal of Henry Chicheley, Archbishop of Canterbury, to a General Council from the Pope's Sentence.

[Ex MS. D. G. Petyt.]

IN Dei Nomine. Amen. Per Presens publicum instrumentum cunctis appareat evidenter, quod anno ab incarnatione Domini secundum cursum et computationem Ecclesie Anglicanæ 1427. indictione quinta Pontificatus Sanctissimi in Christo Patris et Domini nostri Domini Martini, Divina Providentia Papæ quinti, Anno decimo, mensis vero Aprilis die sexto. Reverendissimus in Christo Pater et Dominus, Dominus Henricus Dei Gratia Cantuarien. Archiepiscopus totius Angliæ Primas, et Apostolicæ Sedis Legatus, in Capella Majori Manerii sui de Ford Cantuarien. Diocæseos personaliter existens, mihi Notario Publico, et testibus infra-scriptis presentibus, quandam appellationem in scriptis, redactam fecit, legit et interposuit, ac appellavit sub eo, qui sequuntur, tenore verborum. In Dei Nomine. Amen. Coram vobis authentica persona et testibus hic Presentibus, Ego Henricus dictus Cant. permissione divina Cantuar. Archiepiscopus, totius Angliæ Primas et Apostolicæ Sedis Legatus, dico, allego, et in his scriptis propono, quod fui et sum Ecclesiam Sanctam Cant. cum jure Legationis natæ, prerogativis, consuetudinibus, compositionibus, aliisq; jurisdictionibus, juribus, libertatibus, et pertinentibus suis universis canonicè assecutus, ipsamq; sic assecutus nonnullis temporè pacifice et inconcusse possedi, prout sic possideo de presenti; fuiq; et sum Ecclesiæ Romanæ, et Sedis Apostolicæ obedientiæ, Filius Catholicus, ac jurium et libertatum dictarum Ecclesiæ et Sedis juxta posse, assiduus defensor, et promotor; integri status, bonæ famæ et opinionis illæ et in possessione eorundem existens, nullisq; suspensionis aut excommunicationis, seu irregularitatis, aut interdicti sententiæ vel sententiis innodatus; Quodq; ex parte mei Henrici Archiepiscopi prædicti in possessione præmissorum omnium, et quasi ex verisimilibus conjecturis ac communicationibus quampluribus mihi et Ecclesiæ meæ, ac juri legationis, prerogativis, consuetudinibus, compositionibus, jurisdictionibus, juribus, libertatibus, et pertinentiis Ecclesiæ, Cantuar. prædictæ factis, circa præmissa et eorum singula grave posse præjudicium generari; Ne Sanctissimus in Christo Pater et Dominus noster Dominus Martinus, divina providentia Papa quintus, vel quivis alius quavis Autoritate, vice vel mandato, scienter vel ignoranter ad sinistram vel minus veram suggestionem, aut informationem emulorum personæ, dignitatis aut Ecclesiæ meæ (quod absit) me non vocato, legitime præmonito, causæ cognitione et juris, justitiæq; ordine prætermisso, in præjudicium status mei, dignitatis, legationis, prerogative, consuetudinum, compositionum, jurisdictionum, jurium, libertatum et pertinentium jure Metropolitico, vel alias dictam Ecclesiam meam Cantuar. et me ejus nomine concernentium quicquam attemptet, seu faciat aliquamvis attemptari, citando, monendo, mandando, inhibendo, decernendo, suspendendo, interdicendo, excommunicando, privando, sequestrando, pronuntiando, definiendo, et declarando, seu quovis alio modo gravando; Ad Sacrosanctum Concilium generale facientes, constituentes et representantes, facturos, constituturos et representaturos, si ipsum celebrari contigerit, et in defectum ipsius Concilii tenendis, et celebrandi, ad tribunal Dei omnipotentis et Domini nostri Jesu Christi, cujus idem sanctissimus Pater, Commissarius et Vicarius existit in terris, in his scriptis ob et ad tuitionem,

protectionem et defensionem omnium, et singulorum præmissorum fuerit et sit legitime provocatum. Sanctissimus tamen in Christo Pater, et Dominus noster, Dominus Martinus dicta providentia hujus nominis Papa quintus asserens, ut dicta fide dignorum relatione, ad suum pervenisse auditum, quod ego, qui ad defensionem, obedientiam jurium, et honorem Sedis Apostolicæ in Provincia Cantuarien. Legatus natus sum, propter emolumenta Ecclesiastica provenientia ex Ecclesiis Cathedralibus totius Regni Angliæ tempore vacationum eorundem, quæ ex quadam (ut me asserere dicit) consuetudine usibus meis applicare dignoscor ad resistendum provisionibus Apostolicis de Ecclesiis hujusmodi Cathedralibus sum proclivior, Et quod jura et honorem Sedis Apostolicæ non defendo nec protego, imo potius impugno, et impugnantibus assisto, in animæ meæ periculum, prædictæ Sedis contemptum, dictarumq; Ecclesiarum Cathedralium præjudicium et scandalum plurimorum; Cum tamen (sue benedictionis beatitudinis reverentia semper salva) nulla horum quæ sic mihi impinguntur sunt vera, sed notorie minus vera, post et contra præmissam provocationem per me factam, me a Legatione dictæ Sedis, necnon ab omni jurisdictione, superioritate, potestate sive Dominio percipiendi emolumenta Ecclesiastica, aliarum Ecclesiarum Cathedralium dicti Regni usque ad beneplacitum suum, et Sedis Apostolicæ Autoritate Apostolica, et ex certa scientia (ut asserit) nullatenus in ea parte monitum, citatum, convictum vel confessum, sed absentem, non per contumaciam, causæ cognitione juris et judiciorum ac justitiæ ordine in omnibus prætermisso, voluntarie et minus præpropere duxerit suspendendum, hisque non contentus, sed gravamina accumulans mihi in virtute obedientiæ nihilominus injunxerit, ne de legatione Sedis Apostolicæ prædictæ, necnon jurisdictione, Autoritate, et Dominio percipiendi emolumenta hujusmodi tempore vacationum Ecclesiarum prædictarum per me vel per alium, seu alios quovis quesito ingenio, vel colore de cætero quomodolibet me intromittam: Et insuper jurisdictionem, superioritatem, potestatem, et dominium dictarum Ecclesiarum Cathedralium tempore illarum vacationum ad capitula singularum Ecclesiarum devolvi voluit, singulos processus, necnon excommunicationis suspensionis et interdicti sententiæ, et alias pœnas ac censuras Ecclesiasticas, si quod per me vel alium seu alios contra capitula Ecclesiarum Cathedralium præfatarum, aut alias personas quascunque occasione consuetudinis memoratæ, ac legationis, officii (dicto durante beneplacito) ferri contigerit quomodolibet, vel haberi, irritos et inanes decrevit (salva semper sue Sanctitatis reverentia in omnibus) minus juste in personæ meæ, status, dignitatis, juris, legationis natæ, prerogativæ, consuetudinum, compositionum, jurisdictionum, jurium, libertatum et pertinentiarum prædictarum, necnon Ecclesiæ meæ Cantuariensis prædictæ præjudicium non modicum et gravamen. Unde ego Henricus dictus Cantuarien. Archiepiscopus pro prædictis sentiens me, statum, dignitatem et Ecclesiam meam prædictam ex omnibus et singulis gravaminibus prædictis, nimium prægravari, et prægravatum ab eisdem omnibus et singulis, et his, quæ eorum et cujuslibet eorum occasione colligi poterunt, aut debebunt; ad Sacrosanctum Concilium Generale, universalem Ecclesiam representans, et ad personas et status Concilium Generale facientes, constituentes et representantes, facturos, constituturos et representaturos; et ad ipsum Concilium Generale proxime celebrandum, ubicunque ipsum celebrari contigerit, et defectu ipsius Concilii tenendi et celebrandi, ad Tribunal Dei Omnipotentis, et Domini nostri Jesu Christi, cujus idem Sanctissimus Pater

Commissarius et Vicarius existit in terris, Appello ; et Apostolos peto instanter, instantius et instantissime mihi dari, liberari et fieri cum effectu : et juro ad hæc Sancta Dei Evangelia per me corporaliter tacta, quod non sunt decem dies plene elapsæ, ex quo mihi certitudinaliter primo constabat de gravaminibus antedictis ; quodque nescio certitudinaliter ubi invenirem dictum sanctissimum Dominum nostrum ad notificandam eidem Appellationem prædictam, quatenus de jure notificanda est infra tempus a parte juris limitatum : Et Protestor me velle dictam Appellationem meam corrigere et emendare, eidem addere et ab eadem detrahere, ac eam omnibus, quorum interest, notificare et intimare pro loco et tempore opportunis toties, quoties mihi expedire fuerit, juris beneficio in omnibus semper salvo. Super quibus idem Reverendissimus Pater et Dominus Archiepiscopus Cantuariensis me Notarium Publicum subscriptum requisivit, sibi unum vel plura conficere instrumentum vel instrumenta. Acta sunt hæc omnia prout subscribuntur et recitantur sub Anno Domini, indictione Pontificatus, mense, die, et loco predictis ; presentibus tunc ibidem venerabilibus, et discretis viris M. W. Lyn Curie Cant. Officii, et Thoma B. Archidiacono Sanctorum in Ecclesia Linc. utriusque juris Doctoribus.

In Dei, &c. Coram vobis, &c. Ego Henricus dictus C. &c. Unde ego H. dictus C. &c. sentiens me, statum, dignitatem et Ecclesiam meam prædictam, ex omnibus et singulis gravaminibus prædictis nimium prægravari, et prægravatum, ab eisdem omnibus et singulis gravaminibus prædictis et his, quæ eorum et cujuslibet eorum occasione colligi poterunt aut debebunt, ad dictum Sanctissimum Dominum nostrum, et Sedem Apostolicam melius informandum, et informandam, Appello et Apostolos peto instanter, instantius et instantissime mihi dari, liberari, et fieri cum effectu, &c.

NUMBER XXXVI.

Instructions sent by the Privy Council, representing the State of the Nation to King Philip, after the loss of Calais.

[Cotton. Libr. Titus. B. 2.]

FIRST, to say, That we be most bounden unto his majesty for his good affection towards this realm ; and his gracious disposition and offer, to put this force to the field this year, being else otherwise determined for the recovery of that honour and reputation which this realm hath lost by the loss of Calais.

To say, That this offer of his majesty we should not only have, upon our knees, accepted, but also in likewise have sued first for the same.

And so undoubtedly we would have done, if other respects hereafter following, which we trust his majesty will graciously understand, had not been (to our great regret) the lett thereof.

First, We do consider that if we should send over an army, we cannot send under 20,000 men ; the levying and sending over whereof will ask a time ; before which time, considering also the time the enemy hath had (being now almost a month) to fortify and victual the place, it is thought the same will be in such strength as we shall not be able alone to recover it.

We do consider how unapt and unwonted our people be to lie abroad, and specially in the cold : and what inconveniency might follow also at their hands (besides the loss of charges) if their hope for recovery of Calais should not come to pass.

The charge of this army (if it should go over)

would stand the realm in one hundred and seventy thousand pounds at the least, for five months, which sum (having regard to other necessary charges for the defence of the realm, both by land and by sea, which the people only have in their heads, with a wan hope of the recovery of Calais) neither, we doubt, will be granted of the people ; nor if it were, can be conveniently levied in time to serve the turn.

Great garrisons continually, and an army for defence against the Scots and Frenchmen by land, must of necessity be maintained, the charge whereof will be one way and another (go the next way we can) ere the year go about, an hundred and fifty thousand pounds.

The defence of the sea-coast and the isles, and the setting forth of an army by sea, will cost the realm in a year (all things accounted) above two hundred thousand pounds ; and yet all will be too little that way if the Danes and the Swedes, which we very much doubt, should be our enemies.

The sums amounting in the whole to five hundred and twenty thousand pounds, besides provision of ammunition, which will be chargeable ; and furniture of ordnance, whereof we have great lack, by the loss of Calais and Guisnes.

We see not how it can be levied in one year to save us, unless the people should of new have strange impositions set upon them, which we think they would not bear.

The queen's majesty's own revenue is scarce able to maintain her estate.

The noblemen and gentlemen, for the most part receiving no more rent than they were wont to receive, and paying thrice as much for everything they provide, by reason of the baseness of the money, are not able to do as they have done in times past.

The merchants have had great losses of late, whereby the clothiers be never the richer.

The farmers, graziers, and other people, how well-willing soever they be taken to be, will not be acknove of their wealth, and by the discontentment of this loss be grown stubborn and liberal of talk.

So that considering our wants on every side, our lack of money at home ; our want of credit, by reason of this loss abroad ; the scarcity of captains and leaders of our men, which be but few ; the unwillingness of our people to go abroad, and leave their things at home, without a certain hope of recovering their loss ; the need we have to defend home (looking as we do to be assaulted both by land and by sea) how desirous soever we be to recover Calais, and well-willing to serve his majesty (either for that purpose or in any other thing wherein it shall please him to employ us), we see not how we can possibly (at the least for this year) send over an army ; nor until we may be assured of fewer enemies than we fear to have cause to doubt ; and have time to bring such as be ill men amongst our people, and now be ready (against their duties) to make uproars and stirrs amongst ourselves, to order and obedience.

Wherefore, in most humble wise, upon our knees, we shall beseech the king's majesty to accept, in gracious part, this our answer, which we make much against our hearts, if we might otherwise chuse. And as for our own persons, we shall bestow, with all that ever we have, to the death, where and however it shall please him, submitting ourselves to his majesty's judgment in this matter, and to the execution and doing of that whatsoever, either his majesty, or any other man, shall devise to be done, better than we have said in this answer, and more for the honour and surety of their majesties and commonwealth of this realm. Feb. 1, 1577.

NUMBER XXXVII.

Sir Thomas Pope's Letter concerning the Answer made by the Lady Elizabeth to a Proposition of Marriage sent over by the Elected King of Sweden.

[Ex MS. D. G. Petyte.]

FIRST, after I had declared to her Grace how well the queen's majesty liked of her prudent and honourable answer made to the same messenger; I then opened unto her grace the effect of the said messenger's credence; which after her grace had heard, I said the queen's highness had sent me to her grace, not only to declare the same, but also to understand how her grace liked the said motion. Whereunto, after a little pause taken, her grace answered in form following:—"Master Pope, I require you, after my most humble commendations to the queen's majesty, to render unto the same like thanks, that it pleased her highness, of her goodness, to conceive so well of my answer made to the same messenger, and here withal, of her princely consideration, with such speed to command you, by your letters, to signify the same unto me, who before remained wonderfully perplexed, fearing that her majesty might mistake the same; for which her goodness, I acknowledge myself bound to honour, serve, love, and obey her highness, during my life: requiring you also to say unto her majesty, that in the king my brother's time, there was offered me a very honourable marriage or two, and ambassadors sent to treat with me touching the same; whereupon I made my humble suit unto his highness, as some of honour yet living can be testimonies, that it would like the same to give me leave, with his grace's favour, to remain in that estate I was, which of all others best liked me or pleased me. And in good faith I pray you say unto her highness I am even at this present of the same mind, and so intend to continue, with her majesty's favour; and assuring her highness I so well like this estate, as I persuade myself there is not any kind of life comparable unto it. And as concerning my liking the said motion made by the said messenger, I beseech you say unto her majesty, that to my remembrance, I never heard of his master before this time; and that I so well like both the message and the messenger, as I shall most humbly pray God, upon my knees, that from henceforth I never hear of the one nor of the other; assure you, that if it should eft-soons repair unto me, I would forbear to speak to him. And were there nothing else to move me to mislike the motion, other than that his master would attempt the same without making the queen's majesty privy thereunto, it were cause sufficient." And when her grace had thus ended, I was so bold as of myself to say unto her grace (her pardon first required), that I thought few or none would believe, but that her grace could be right-well contented to marry, so there were some honourable marriage offered her by the queen's highness, or her majesty's assent. Whereunto her grace answered: "What I shall do hereafter I know not; but I assure you, upon my truth and fidelity, and as God be merciful unto me, I am not at this time otherwise minded than I have declared unto you,—no, though I were offered the greatest prince in all Europe. And yet percase the queen's majesty may conceive this rather to proceed of a maidenly shamefastness than upon any such certain determination."

THO. POPE.

BOOK III.

NUMBER I.

The Device for Alteration of Religion, in the first Year of Queen Elizabeth: offered to Secretary Cecil.

[Ex MSS. Nob. D. Grey de Ruthen.]

Question 1.

WHEN the queen's highness may attempt to reduce the church of England again to the former purity, and when to begin the alteration?

Answer.

At the next parliament; so that the dangers be foreseen, and remedies provided; for the sooner that religion is restored, God is the more glorified, and as we trust, will be more merciful unto us, and better save and defend her highness from all dangers.

Question 2.

What dangers may ensue thereof?

Answer 1.

The bishop of Rome, all that he may, will be incensed, he will excommunicate the queen's highness, interdict the realm, and give it in prey to all princes that will enter upon it; and stir them up to it by all manner of means.

2. The French king will be encouraged more to the war, and make his people more ready to fight against us, not only as enemies, but as heretics: he will be in great hope of aid from hence, of them that are discontented with this alteration, looking for tumults and discords: he will also stay concluding of peace, upon hope of some alteration.

3. Scotland also will have the same causes of boldness, and by that way the French king will seem soonest to attempt to annoy us. Ireland also will be very difficultly stayed, in the obedience, by reason of the clergy that is so addicted to Rome.

4. Many people of our own will be very much discontented, especially all such as governed in the late queen Mary's time, and were chosen thereto for no other causes, or were then most esteemed for being hot and earnest in that other religion, and now remain unplaced and uncalled to credit, will think themselves discredited, and all their doings defaced, and study all the ways they can to maintain their own dolings, destroy and despise all this alteration.

5. Bishops, and all the clergy, will see their own ruin; and in confession, and preaching, and all other means and ways they can, will persuade the people from it; they will conspire with whomsoever will attempt and pretend to do God a sacrifice, in letting the alteration, though it be with murder of Christian men, and treason. Men which be of the papists' sect, which of late were in a manner all the judges of the land; the justices of the peace chosen out by the late queen in all the shires, such as were believed to be of that sect, and the more earnest therein, the more in estimation; these are most like to join and conspire with the bishops, and clergy. Some, when the subsidy shall be granted, and money levied, (as it appeareth that necessarily it must be done,) will be therewith offended, and like enough to conspire and arise, if they have any heed to stir them to do it, or hope of gain or spoil.

6. Many such as would gladly have alteration from the church of Rome, when they shall see peradventure that some old ceremonies be left still, for that their doctrine, which they embrace, is not allowed and commanded only, and all other abolished and disapproved, shall be discontented, and call the alteration a cloaked papistry, or a mingle-mangle.

Question 3.

What remedy for the same dangers? what shall be manner of doing of it? and what is necessary to be done before?

Answer 1.

First, for France, to practise a peace; or if it be offered, not to refuse it: if controversy of religion be there amongst them, to kindle it. Rome is less to be feared, from whom nothing is to be feared, but evil will, cursing, and practising. Scotland will follow France for peace, but there may be practice to help forward their division, and especially to augment the hope of them who inclined them to good religion. For certainty, to fortify Berwick, and to employ demulcances, and horsemen, for safety of the frontiers, and some expenses of money in Ireland. The fourth divided into five parts.

1. The first is of them, which were of queen Mary's council, elected or advanced to authority, only or chiefly for being of the pope's religion, and earnest in the same. Every augmentation or conservation of such men in authority or reputation is an encouraging those of their sect, and giveth hope to them that it shall revive and continue, although it hath a contrary shew: lest seeing the pillars to stand still untouched, it be a confirmation of them that are wavering papists, and a discouraging of such as are but half inclined to this alteration. *Dum in dubio est animus, parvo momento huc illuc impellitur.* This must be searched by all law, so far as justice may extend, and the queen's majesty's clemency not to be extended, before they do acknowledge themselves to have fallen into the lapse of the law. They must be abused of authority, discredited in their countries, so long as they seem to repugn the true religion, or to maintain the old proceedings; and if they should seem to allow and bear with the new alteration, yet not lightly to be credited, *quia neophiti*; and no man, but he loveth that time wherein he did flourish, and when he can, and as he can; those ancient laws and orders he will defend and maintain, with whom and in whom he was in estimation and authority, and a doer; for every man naturally loveth that which is his own work and creature. And contrary, as these men be abused, so must her highness' old and sure servants, who have tarried with her, and not fallen in the late storm, be advanced, with authority, so that the world may see that her highness is not blind, not unmindful. And throughout all England, such persons as are known to be sure in religion, and her cause shall be slack, yet their own duty and conscience should cause to be vigilant, careful, and true to the conservation of her estate, and maintenance of this alteration; and in all this she shall do but the same that the late queen Mary did to establish her

2. The second is, the bishops and clergy, being in manner all made and chosen, such as were thought the stoutest and mightiest champions of the pope's church, who in the late queen Mary's time, taking from the crown, impoverishing it, by extorting from private men, and all other means possible, *per fas et nefas*, have sought to enrich and advance themselves. These, her majesty being inclined to use much clemency, yet must seek, as well by parliament as by the just laws of England, in the præmunire, or other such penal laws, to bring again in order; and being found in the default, not to pardon, until they confess their fault, put themselves wholly to her highness' mercy, abjure the pope of Rome, and conform themselves to the new alteration; and by these means, well handled, her majesty's necessity of money may be somewhat relieved.

3. The third is to amend, even as all the rest above, by such ways as queen Mary taught, that no such as

were, may be in commission of peace in their shires; but rather men meaner in substance, and younger in years, so that they have discretion to be put in place. A sharp law made and extended against assemblies of people, without authority. Lieutenants made in every shire, one or two men known to be sure of the queen's devotion. In the mean time, musters and captains appointed, young gentlemen, which do favour her highness. No office of jurisdiction or authority to be in any discontented man's hands, so far as justice or law may extend.

4. The fourth is to be remedied otherwise than by gentle and dulce handling; it is by the commissioners, and by the readiness and good will of the lieutenants and captains, to repress them, if any should begin a tumult, or murmur, or provide any assembly, or stoutness, to the contrary.

5. The fifth; for the discontentation of such as could be content to have religion altered, but would have it to go too far, for fear the strait laws upon the promulgation of the book, and severe execution of the same, at the first, would so repress them, that it is great hope it shall touch but a few: and better it were that they did suffer, than her highness and commonwealth should shake or be in danger; and to this they must well take heed that draw the book. And herein the universities must not be neglected, and the hurt which the last visitation in queen Mary's time did be amended: likewise such colleges, where children be instructed to come to the university, as Eton and Winchester, that as well the increase hereafter, as this present time, may be provided for.

Question 4.

What may be done of her highness, for her own conscience, openly, before the whole alteration? or if the alteration must tarry longer?

Answer.

This consultation is to be referred to such learned men as be meet to shew their minds therein, and to bring a plot or book hereof ready drawn to her highness; which being approved by her majesty, may so be put in the parliament-house. To which for the time it is thought that these are apt men, Dr. Bill, Dr. Parker, Dr. May, Dr. Cox, Mr. Whitehead, Grindall, Pilkington, and sir Thomas Smith, to call them together, and to be amongst them: and after the consultation with these, to draw in other men of learning, and grave and apt men for your purpose and credit, to have their assents. As for that is necessary to be done before, it is thought to be most necessary that a strait prohibition be made of all innovation, until such time as the book come forth, as well that there should be no often changes in religion, which would take away authority in the common people's estimation, as also to exercise the queen's majesty's subjects to obedience.

Question 5.

What orders be fit to be in the whole realm, as in the interim?

Answer.

To alter no further than her majesty hath, except it be to receive the communion, as her majesty pleaseth, at high feasts; and that where there be more chaplains at the mass, that they do always communicate with the executor in both kinds. And for her highness' conscience, till then, if there be some other devout sort of prayer or memory said and the seldomer mass.

Question 6.

What noblemen be fit to be made privy to those proceedings before it be opened to the whole council?

Answer.

The marquess Northampton, the earl of Bedford, the earl of Pembroke, lord John Gray.

Question 7.

What allowance the learned men shall have for the time they are about to review the Book of Common Prayers, and order of ceremonies and service in the church; and where they shall meet?

Answer.

Being so many persons as must attend still upon it, two messes of meat is thought yet indifferently to suffice for them and their servants. The place is thought most meet, either in some set place, or rather at sir Thomas Smith's lodging in Cannon-row. At one of those places must provision be laid in, of wood, of coal, and drink.

NUMBER III.

Dr. Sands' Letter to Dr. Parker, concerning some Proceedings in Parliament.—An Original.

[Ex MS. Col. C. C. Cantab.]

YE have rightly considered that these times are given to taking, and not to giving; for ye have stretched forth your hands further than all the rest. They never asked us in what state we stand, neither consider that we want; and yet in the time of our exile were we not so bare as we are now brought: but I trust we shall not linger here long, for the parliament draweth towards an end. The last book of service is gone through with a proviso to retain the ornaments which were used in the first and second year of king Edward, until it please the queen to take other order for them; our gloss upon this text is, that we shall not be forced to use them, but that others in the mean time shall not convey them away, but that they may remain for the queen. After this book was past, Boxall* and others quarrelled with it, that according to the order of Scripture, we had not *gratiarum actio*; for, saith he, *Christus accepit panem, gratias egit*, but in the time of consecration we give no thanks. This he put into the treasurer's head, and into count de Soreus' head; and he laboured to alienate the queen's majesty from confirming of the act, but I trust they cannot prevail. Mr. Secretary is earnest with the book, and we have ministered reasons to maintain that part. The bill of supreme government, of both the temporality and clergy, passeth with a proviso, that nothing shall be judged hereafter which is not confirmed by the canonical Scriptures and four general councils. Mr. Lever† wisely put such a scruple into the queen's head, that she would not take the title of supreme head. The bishops, as it is said, will not swear unto it as it is, but rather lose their livings. The bill is in hand to restore men to their livings; how it will speed I know not. The parliament is like to end shortly, and then we shall understand how they mind to use us. We are forced, through the vain bruits of the lying papists, to give up a confession of our faith, to shew forth the sum of that doctrine which we profess, and to declare that we dissent not amongst ourselves. This labour we have now in hand, on purpose to publish that, so soon as the parliament is ended; I wish that we had your hand unto it. Ye are happy that ye are so far from this tossing, and gross alterations and mutations; for we are made weary with them; but ye cannot rest long in your cell, ye must be removed to a more large abbey: and therefore in the mean time take your pleasure, for after ye will find but a little, *Nihil est statutum, de conjugio sacerdotum, sed tanquam relictum in medio*. Lever was married now of late; the queen's majesty will wink at it, but

* He was dean of Windsor and Peterborough in queen Mary's time.

† A minister at Frankfort, much commended by Calvin to be followed as an example.

not stablish it by law, which is nothing else but to bastard our children. Other things another time. Thus praying you to commend me to your abesses, I take my leave of you for this present hastily, at London, April ult. 1559. Yours, EDWIN SANDS.

NUMBER III.

The first Proposition, upon which the Papists and Protestants, disputed in Westminster Abbey. With the Arguments which the Reformed Divines made upon it.

[Ex MS. Col. C. C.]

It is against the word of God, and the custom of the primitive church, to use a tongue unknown to the people in common-prayers and administration of the sacraments.

By these words (the Word) we mean only the written word of God, or canonical Scriptures.

And by the custom of the primitive church, we mean, the order most generally used in the church for the space of five hundred years after Christ; in which times lived the most notable fathers, as Justin, Irenaeus, Tertullian, Cyprian, Basil, Chrysostom, Hierome, Ambrose, Augustine, &c.

This assertion, above-written, hath two parts.

First, That the use of a tongue not understood of the people, in common prayers of the church, or in the administration of the sacraments, is against God's word.

The second, That the same is against the use of the primitive church.

The first part is most manifestly proved by the 14th chapter of the first Epistle to the Corinthians, almost throughout the whole chapter; in the which chapter St. Paul intreateth of this matter, *ex professo*, purposely; and although some do cavil, that St. Paul speaketh not in that chapter of praying, but of preaching; yet it is most evident to any indifferent reader of understanding, and appeareth also by the exposition of the best writers, that he plainly there speaketh not only of preaching and prophesying, but also of prayer and thanksgiving, and generally of all other publick actions which require any speech in the church or congregation.

For of praying, he saith, "I will pray with my spirit, and I will pray with my mind; I will sing with the Spirit, and I will sing with my mind." And of thanksgiving (which is a kind of prayer), "Thou givest thanks well, but the other is not edified; and how shall he that occupieth the room of the unlearned say Amen to thy giving of thanks, when he understandeth not what thou sayest?" And in the end, ascending from particulars to universals, he concludeth, that all things ought to be done to edification.

Thus much is clear by the very words of St. Paul; and the ancient doctors, Ambrose, Augustine, Hierome, and others, do so understand this chapter, as it shall appear by their testimonies, which shall follow afterwards.

Upon this chapter of St. Paul we gather these reasons following:

1. All things done in the church, or congregation, ought to be so done as they may edify the same.

But the use of an unknown tongue in public prayer, or administration of sacraments, doth not edify the congregation;

Therefore the use of an unknown tongue, in public prayer, or administration of the sacraments, is not to be had in the church.

The first part of this reason is grounded upon St. Paul's words, commanding all things to be done to edification.

The second part is also proved by St. Paul's plain words. First, By this similitude: "If the trumpet give an uncertain sound, who shall be prepared to battle? Even so likewise, when ye speak with tongues, except ye speak words that have signification, how shall it be understood what is spoken? for ye shall but speak in the air," that is to say, in vain, and consequently without edifying.

And afterward, in the same chapter, he saith, "How can he that occupieth the place of the unlearned say Amen to thy giving of thanks: seeing he understandeth not what thou sayest? For thou verily givest thanks well, but the other is not edified."

These be St. Paul's words, plainly proving that a tongue not understood doth not edify.

And therefore both the parts of the reasons thus proved by St. Paul, the conclusion followeth necessarily.

2. Secondly; nothing is to be spoken in the congregation in an unknown tongue, except it be interpreted to the people that it may be understood. "For," saith Paul, "if there be no interpreter to him that speaketh in an unknown tongue, *taceat in ecclesia*, let him hold his peace in the church." And therefore the common prayers, and administration of sacraments, neither done in a known tongue nor interpreted, are against this commandment of Paul, and not to be used.

3. The minister, in praying or administration of the sacraments, using language not understood of the hearers, is to them barbarous, an alien, which of St. Paul is accounted a great absurdity.

4. It is not to be counted a Christian common-prayer, where the people present declare not their assent unto it by saying Amen; wherein is implied all other words of assent.

But St. Paul affirmeth, that the people cannot declare their assent, in saying Amen, except they understand what is said, as afore.

Therefore it is no Christian common-prayer, where the people understandeth not what is said.

5. Paul would not suffer, in his time, a strange tongue to be heard in the common-prayer in the church, notwithstanding that such a kind of speech was then a miracle, and a singular gift of the Holy Ghost, whereby infidels might be persuaded and brought to the faith: much less is it to be suffered now among Christian and faithful men, especially being no miracle, nor especial gift of the Holy Ghost.

6. Some will peradventure answer, that to use any kind of tongue in common-prayer, or administration of sacraments, is a thing indifferent.

But St. Paul is to the contrary; for he commandeth all things to be done to edification: he commandeth to keep silence, if there be no interpreter. And in the end of the chapter he concludeth thus: "If any man be spiritual, or a prophet, let him know, that the things which I write are the commandment of the Lord." And so, shortly to conclude, the use of a strange tongue in prayer and administration is against the word and commandment of God.

To these reasons, grounded upon St. Paul's words, which are the most firm foundation of this assertion, divers other reasons may be joined, gathered out of the Scriptures, and otherwise.

1. In the Old Testament, all things pertaining to the public prayer, benediction, thanksgiving, or sacrifice, were always in their vulgar and natural tongue.

In the second book of Paraleipomenon, cap. xxix., it is written, "that Ezechias commanded the Levites to praise God with the Psalms of David, and Asaph the prophet;" which doubtless were written in the Hebrew, their vulgar tongue. If they did so in the

shadows of the law, much more ought we to do the like; who, as Christ saith, must pray *in spiritu et veritate*.

2. The final end of our prayer is, (as David saith.) "ut populi convenient in unum, et annuncient nomen Domini in Sion, et laudes ejus in Hierusalem."

But the name and praises of God cannot be set forth to the people, unless it be done in such a tongue as they may understand.

Therefore common-prayer must be had in the vulgar tongue.

3. The definition of public prayer, out of the words of St. Paul; "Orabo spiritu, orabo et mente." "Publicè orare, est vota communia mente ad Deum effundere, et ea spiritu hoc est, linguâ testari." Common-prayer is, to lift up our common desires to God with our minds, and to testify the same outwardly with our tongues. Which definition is approved of by St. Augustine de Magist. c. 1. "Nihil opus est (inquit) loquutione, nisi forte ut sacerdotes faciunt, significandæ mentis causâ, ut populus intelligat."

4. The ministrations of the Lord's last supper, and baptism, are, as it were, sermons of the death and resurrection of Christ.

But sermons to the people must be had in such language as the people may perceive, otherwise they should be had in vain.

5. It is not lawful for a Christian man to abuse the gifts of God.

But he that prayeth in the church in a strange tongue, abuseth the gift of God; for the tongue serveth only to express the mind of the speaker to the hearer. And Augustine saith, de Doct. Christ. lib. 4, cap. 10: "Loquendi omnino nulla est causa, si quod loquimur non intelligunt, propter quos, ut intelligant, loquimur." There is no cause why we should speak, if they for whose cause we speak understand not our speaking.

6. The heathen, and barbarous nations of all countries and sorts of men, were they never so wild, evermore made their prayers, and sacrifice to their gods, in their own mother-tongue; which is a manifest declaration, that it is the very light and voice of nature.

Thus much upon the ground of St. Paul, and other reasons out of the Scriptures; joining therewith the common usage of all nations, as a testimony of the law of nature.

Now, for the second part of the assertion, which is, "that the use of a strange tongue, in public prayer, and administration of sacraments, is against the custom of the primitive church;" which is a matter so clear, that the denial of it must needs proceed either of great ignorance, or of wilful malice.

For, first of all, Justinus Martyr*, describing the order of the communion in his time, saith thus: "Die Solis urbanorum et rusticorum cætus fiunt, ubi apostolorum, prophetarumque; literæ, quoad fieri potest, præleguntur: deinde cessante lectore præpositus verba facit adhortatoria, ad imitationem tam honestarum rerum invitans. Post hæc consurgimus omnes, et preces offerimus, quibus finitis, profertur (ut diximus) panis, vinum et aqua, tum præpositus quantum potest preces offert, et gratiarum actiones; plebs vero amen accinit." Upon the Sundays assemblies are made both of the citizens and countrymen; whereas the writings of the disciples and of the prophets are read as much as may be. Afterwards when the reader doth cease, the head minister maketh an exhortation, exhorting them to follow so honest things. After this we rise all together, and offer prayers; which being ended, (as we have said,) bread, wine and water, are

* Justinus, Apol. 2.

brought forth; then the head minister offereth prayers and thanksgivings as much as he can, and the people answereth Amen.

These words of Justin, who lived about 160 years after Christ, considered with their circumstances, declare plainly, that not only the Scriptures were read, but also that the prayers, and administration of the Lord's supper, were done in a tongue understood.

Both the liturgies of Basil and Chrysostom declare, that in the celebration of the communion, the people were appointed to answer to the prayer of the minister, sometimes "Amen;" sometimes, "Lord, have mercy upon us;" sometimes, "and with thy spirit;" and, "we have our hearts lifted up unto the Lord," &c. Which answers they would not have made in due time if the prayers had not been made in a tongue understood.

And for further proof, let us hear what Basil* writeth in this matter to the clerks of Neocesarea; "Cæterum ad objectum in psalmodiis crimen, quo maximè simpliciores terrent calumniatores," &c. "As touching that is laid to our charge in psalmodies and songs, wherewith our slanderers do fray the simple, I have this to say, that our custom and usage in all churches be uniform and agreeable. For in the night, the people with us riseth, goeth to the house of prayer: and in travel, tribulation, and continual tears, they confess themselves to God; and at the last rising again, go to their songs or psalmodies, where being divided into two parts, sing by course together, both deeply weighing and confirming the matter of the heavenly saying; and also stirring up their attention and devotion of heart, which by other means be alienated and plucked away. Then appointing one to begin the song, the rest follow; and so with divers songs and prayers, passing over the night at the dawning of the day, all together, even as it were with one mouth and one heart, they sing unto the Lord a new song of confession, every man framing to himself meet words of repentance.

"If ye will flee us from henceforth for these things, ye must flee also the Egyptians, and both the Libyans, ye must eschew the Thebans, Palestines, Arabians, the Phenices, the Syrians, and those which dwell besides Euphrates. And to be short, all those with whom watchings, prayers, and common singing of psalms are had in honour."

These are sufficient to prove, that it is against God's word, and the use of the primitive church, to use a language not understood of the people, in common-prayer and ministration of the sacraments.

Wherefore it is to be marvelled at, not only how such an untruth and abuse crept at the first into the church, but also how it is maintained so stiffly at this day; and upon what ground these that will be thought guides and pastors of Christ's church are so loath to return to the first original of St. Paul's doctrine, and the practice of the primitive catholic church of Christ.

The God of patience and consolation give us grace to be like-minded one towards another in Christ Jesus, that we all agreeing together may, with one mouth, praise God, the Father of our Lord Jesus Christ. Amen†.

J. Scory, D. Whithead, J. Juel, J. Almer,
R. Cox, E. Grindal, R. Horn, E. Gest.

* Basil, Epist. 63.

† At the end of this paper there is added in the MS. testimonials confirming it, out of Ambrose, Jerome, Chrysostom, Dionysius, Cyprian, and Austin, and the Constitution of Justinian; and they are to be seen printed in Fox's first edition. The names at the end are not subscriptions: they are added in Parker's hand, who forgot to write Sands' name, for he was one of them.—STRYPE'S CONJECT.

NUMBER IV.

The Answer of Dr. Cole to the first Proposition of the Protestants, at the Disputation before the Lords at Westminster.

[Ex MS. Col. C. C. Cantab.]

Est contra Verbum Dei, et consuetudinem veteris Ecclesiæ Linguâ Populo ignotâ uti in publicis precibus, et Administratione Sacramentorum.

MOST HONOURABLE,—Whereas these men here present have declared openly, that it is repugnant and contrary to the word of God to have the common prayers and ministration of the sacraments in the Latin tongue here in England, and that all such common-prayer and ministration ought to be and remain in the English tongue; ye shall understand, that to prove this their assertion, they have brought in as yet only one place of Scripture, taken out of St. Paul's first Epistle to the Corinthians, chap. xiv., with certain other places of the holy doctors; whereunto answer is not now to be made: but when the book which they read shall be delivered unto us according to the appointment made in that behalf, then, God willing, we shall make answer, as well to the scripture as other testimonies alleged by them, so as all good men may evidently perceive and understand the same scripture to be misconstrued, and drawn from the native and true sense; and that it is not St. Paul's mind there to treat of common-prayer, or ministration of any sacraments. And therefore we now have only to declare and open before you briefly (which after, as opportunity serves in our answer, shall appear more at large) causes which move us to persist and continue in the order received, and to say and affirm, that to have the common-prayer or service with the ministration of the sacraments in the Latin tongue is convenient and (as the state of the cause standeth at this present) necessary.

Second Section.

1. And this we affirm, first, because there is no scripture manifest against this our assertion and usage of the church. And though there were any, yet it is not to be condemned that the church hath received. Which thing may evidently appear in many things that were sometime expressly commanded by God and his holy apostles.

2. As for example (to make the matter plain) ye see the express command of Almighty God, touching the observation of the Sabbath-day, to be changed by authority of the church (without any word of God written for the same) into the Sunday. The reason whereof appeareth not to all men; and howsoever it doth appear, and is accepted of all good men, without any controversy of Scripture; yea, without any mention of the day, saving only that St. John in his Apocalypse nameth it *Diem Dominicam*: in the change whereof all men may evidently understand the authority of the church, both in this cause and also in other matters, to be of great weight and importance, and therein esteemed accordingly.

3. Another example we have given unto us by the mouth of our Saviour himself, who washing the feet of his disciples, said, "I have herein given you an example, that as I have done, even so do you." Notwithstanding these express words, the holy church hath left the thing undone, without blame: not of any negligence, but of great and urgent causes, which appeareth not to many men, and yet universally without the breach of God's commandment (as is said) left undone. Was not the fact also, and, as it seemeth, the express commandment of Christ our Saviour, changed and altered, by the authority of the

church, in the highest mystery of our faith, the blessed sacrament of the altar? For he ministereth the same (as the Scripture witnesseth) after supper. And now if a contentious man would strain the fact to the first institution, St. Augustine answereth (not by Scripture, for there is none to improve it, but indeed otherwise) even as the apostles did, *Visum est Spiritui Sancto, ut in honorem tanti sacramenti, in os Christiani hominis prius intraret corpus Dominicum quam exteri cibi*. It is determined (saith St. Augustine) by the Holy Ghost, that in the honour of so great a sacrament the body of our Lord should enter first into the mouth of a Christian man before other external meats. So that notwithstanding it was the fact of Christ himself, yet the church, moved by the Holy Ghost (as is said), hath changed that also, without offence likewise. By the which sentence of St. Augustine manifestly appeareth that this authority was derived from the apostles unto this time; the which same authority, according to Christ's promises, doth still abide and remain with his church.

4. And hereupon also resteth the alteration of the sacrament under one kind, whenas the multitude of the Gentiles entered, the church, instructed by the Holy Ghost, understood inconveniences, and partly also heresy to creep in through the ministrations under both kinds; and therefore, as in the former examples, so in this now (the matter nothing diminished neither in itself nor in the receivers, and the thing also being received before, by a common and uniform consent, without contradiction), the church did decree, that from henceforth it should be received under the form of bread only; and whosoever should think and affirm that whole Christ remained not under both kinds, pronounced him to be in heresy.

5. Moreover, we read in the Acts, whereas it was determined in a council holden at Hierusalem by the apostles, that the Gentiles should abstain from strangled and blood, in these words, *Visum est Spiritui Sancto, et nobis*, &c.—“It is decreed by the Holy Ghost, and us” (say the apostles), “that no other burden be laid upon you than these necessary things, that ye abstain from things offered up unto idols, and from blood; and from that is strangled, and from fornication.” This was the commandment of God (for still it is commanded, upon pain of damnation, to keep our bodies clean from fornication), and the other, joined by the Holy Ghost with the same, not kept nor observed at this day.

6. Likewise, in the Acts of the Apostles it appeareth, that among them in the primitive church all things were common. They sold their lands and possessions, and laid the money at the feet of the apostles, to be divided to the people as every man had need; inasmuch that Ananias and Sapphira, who kept back a part of their possession, and laid but the other part at the apostles' feet, were declared, by the mouth of St. Peter, to be tempted by the devil, and to lie against the Holy Ghost, and, in example of all other, punished with sudden death. By all which examples, and many other, it is manifest that though there were any such scripture which they pretend, as there is not, yet the church wherein the Holy Ghost is always resident may order the same, and may therein say as truly, *Visum est Spiritui Sancto, et nobis*, as did the apostles; for Christ promised unto the church, that the Holy Ghost should teach them all truth, and that he himself would be with the same church until the world's end. And hereupon we do make this argument to St. Augustine, which he writeth in his epistle *ad Januarium*, after this sort,—*Ecclesia Dei inter multam paleam multaque Zizania constituta,*

nulla tolerat; et tamen quæ sunt contra fidem vel bonam vitam non approbat, nec tacet, nec facit.

To this major we add this minor; but the catholick church of God neither reproveth the service or common-prayer to be in the learned tongue, nor yet useth it otherwise.

Therefore it is most lawful and commendable so to be.

Third Section.

Another cause that moveth us to say and think, is, that otherwise doing (as they have said) there followeth necessarily the breach of unity of the church, and the commodities thereby are withdrawn and taken from us; there follows necessarily an horrible schism and division.

In alteration of the service into our mother-tongue, we condemn the church of God which hath been heretofore, we condemn the church that is present, and namely the church of Rome.

To the which, howsoever it is lightly esteemed here among us, the holy saint and martyr Irenæus saith, in plain words, thus: *Ad hanc ecclesiam propter potentiorum principalem, necesse est omnes alias ecclesias convenire; hoc est omnes undiq; fideles*. It is necessary (saith this holy man, who was nigh to the apostles, or rather in that time; for he is called *ὁρχοπος apostolorum*) that all churches do conform themselves and agree with the see or church of Rome; all churches, that is to say (as he declareth himself), all Christian and faithful men. And he allegeth the cause why it is necessary for all men to agree therewith (*propter potentiorum principalem*), for the greater pre-eminence of the same, or for the mightier principality.

From this church, and consequently from the whole universal church of Christ, we fall undoubtedly into a fearful and dangerous schism, and therewith into all incommunities of the same.

That in this doing we fall from the unity of the church, it is more manifest than that we need much to stand upon. St. Augustine, *Contra Cresconium Grammaticum*, putting a difference between Heresis and Schisma, saith, *Schisma est diversa sequentium secta heresis autem schisma inperlatum*.

To avoid this horrible sin of schism, we are commanded, by the words of St. Paul, saying, *Obscuro vos ut id ipsum dicatis omnes et non sin in vobis schismata*.

And that this changing of the service out of the learned tongue is doing contrary to the form and order universally observed, is plain and evident to every man's eye.

They are to be named heretics (saith he) which obstinately think and judge in matters of faith otherwise than the rest of the church doth. And those are called schismatics which follow not the order and trade of the church, but will invent of their own wit and brain other orders, contrary or diverse to them which are already by the Holy Ghost universally established in the church. And we being declined from God by schism, note what follows:—there is then no gift of God, no knowledge, no justice, no faith, no works, and finally, no virtue that could stand us in stead, though we should think to glorify God by suffering death (as St. Paul saith), 1 Cor. xiii. Yea, there is no sacrament that availeth to salvation in them that willingly fall into schism, that without fear separate and divide themselves from the sacred unity of Christ's holy spouse the church, as St. Augustine plainly saith—*Quicumque ille est, qualiscunque ille est, Christianus non est qui in ecclesia Christi non est*: that is, whosoever he be, whatsoever degree or condition he be of, or what qualities soever he hath,

though he should speak with the tongues of angels—speak he never so holily, show he never so much virtue, yet is he not a Christian man that is guilty of that crime of schism; and so no member of that church.

Wherefore this is an evident argument; every Christian man is bound, upon pain of damnation, by the plain words of God, uttered by St. Paul, to avoid the horrible sin of schism.

The changing of the service-book out of the learned tongue, it being universally observed through the whole church from the beginning, is a cause of an horrible schism, wherefore every good Christian man is bound to avoid the change of the service.

Now, to confirm that we said before, and to prove that to have the common-prayer and ministration of the sacraments in English, or in other than is the learned tongue, let us behold the first institution of the west church, and the particulars thereof.

And first, to begin with the church of France:—Dionysius, St. Paul's scholar, who first planted the faith of Christ in France; Martialis, who (as it is said) planted the faith in Spain; and others which planted the same here in England, in the time of Elutherius; and such as planted the faith in Germany and other countries; and St. Augustine, that converted this realm afterwards, in the time of Gregory, almost a thousand years ago: it may appear that they had interpreters, as touching the declaration and preaching of the gospel, or else the gift of tongues; but that ever, in any of these west churches, they had the service in their own language, or that the sacraments other than matrimony were ministered in their own vulgar tongue; that does not appear by any ancient historiographer. Whether shall they be able ever to prove that it was so generally, and thereby by continuance, in the Latin, the self-same order and words remain still; whereas all men do consider, and know right well, that in all other inferior and barbarous tongues great change daily is seen, and specially in this our English tongue, which *in quovis seculo fere*, in every age, or hundred years, there appeareth a great change and alteration in this language.

For the proof whereof there hath remained many books of late in this realm (as many do well know), which we, that be now Englishmen, can scarcely understand or read. And if we should so often (as the thing may chance, and as alteration daily doth grow in our vulgar tongue), change the service of the church, what manifold inconveniences and errors would follow we leave it to all men's judgments to consider. So that hereby may appear another invincible argument, which is, the consent of the whole catholic church, that cannot err in the faith and doctrine of our Saviour Christ, but is (by St. Paul's saying) the pillar and foundation of all truth.

Moreover, the people of England do not understand their own tongue better than Eunuchus did the Hebrew; of whom we read in the Acts, that Philip was commanded to teach him; and he reading there the prophecy of Esay, Philip (as it is written in the 8th chapter of the Acts) enquired of him whether he understood that which he read or no. He made answer saying, *Et quomodo possum, si non aliquis ostenderit mihi*; in which words are reproved the intolerable boldness of such as will enterprise without any teacher; yea, contemning all doctors to unclasp the book, and thereby, instead of eternal food, drink up deadly poison. For whereas the Scripture is misconstrued, and taken in a wrong sense, that it is not the Scripture of God, but as St. Hierom saith, writing upon the Epistle to the Galatians, it is the scripture of the devil: and we do not contend with

hereticks for the Scripture, but for the true sense and meaning of the Scripture.

We read of ceremonies in the Old Testament, as the circumcision, the bells and pomegranates; of Aaron's apparel, with many other and kinds of sacrifices, which all were, as St. Paul saith unto the Hebrews, *justitia carnis*; and did not inwardly justify the party before God, that objected, in protestation of their faith in Christ to come; and although they had the knowledge of every fact of Christ, which was signified particularly by those ceremonies. And it is evident and plain that the high-priest entered into the inner part of the temple (named *Sanctum Sanctorum*), whereas the people might not follow, nor was it lawful for them to stand, but there where they could neither see nor hear what the priest either said or did, as St. Luke, in the first chapter of his Gospel, rehearseth in the history of Zachary.

Upon conference of these two testaments may be plainly gathered this doctrine, that in the school of Christ many things may be said and done the mystery whereof the people knoweth not, neither are they bound to know. Which things, that is, that the people did not hear and understand the common prayer of the priest and minister, it is evident and plain, by the practice of the ancient Greek church, and that also that now is at Venice, or elsewhere.

In that east church, the priest standeth, as it were, in a tralice, or closet, hanged round about with curtains, or vails, apart from the people. And after the consecration, when he sheweth the blessed sacrament, the curtains are drawn, whereof Chrysostom speaketh thus: *Cum vela videris retrahi, tunc superne cælum aperiri cogita*; When thou seest the vails or curtains drawn open, then think thou that heaven is open from above.

It is also here to be noted, that there is two manners of prayings, one public, another private; for which cause the church hath such considerations of the public prayer, that it destroyeth not nor taketh away the private prayer of the people in time of sacrifice, or other divine service; which thing would chance, if the people should do nothing but hearken to answer and say *Amen*. Besides, the impossibility of the matter; whereas in a great parish every man cannot hear what the priest saith, though the material church were defaced, and he left the altar of God, and stood in the midst of the people.

Furthermore, if we should confess that it were necessary to have common prayer in the vulgar tongue, these two heresies would follow upon it; that prayer profiteth no man but him that understandeth it, and him also that is present and heareth it; and so, by consequent, void was the prayer for St. Peter in prison, by the church abroad.

Now consider the practice of this realm.

If we should grant the service to be in English, we should not have that in the same form that it is in now, being in Latin; but belike, we should have that, as it was, of late days: the matter of which service is taken out of the Psalms, and other part of the Bible, translated into English, wherein are manifest errors and false translations, which all are by depravation of God's Scripture, and so *verè mendacia*. Now, if the service be so framed, then may men well say upon us, that we serve God with lies.

Wherefore we may not so travel and labour to alter the form of our common prayer, that we lese the fruit of all prayer, which by this barbarous contention no doubt we shall do. And the church of God hath no such custom, as St. Paul allegeth, in such contentions. And may not the whole world say unto us, as St. Paul said unto the Corinthians, 1 Cor. xiv.,—

An à vobis Verbum Dei processit, aut in vos solos pervenit? As though the whole church had been ever in error, and never had seen this chapter of St. Paul before: and that the Holy Ghost had utterly forsaken his office, in leading that into all truth, till now of late, certain, boasting of the Holy Ghost, and the sincere word of God, hath enterprised to correct and overthrow the whole church.

Augustinus (lib. i.), *contra Julianum Pelagium, à Græcis pro suâ heresi profugum, querentem, ad hunc modum, respondit: Puto (inquit) tibi eam partem orbis debere sufficere, in quâ primum apostolorum suorum voluit Dominus gloriosissimo martyrio coronari. Et idem paulo post: Te certe (Julianum alloquitur) Occidentalis terra generavit, Occidentalis regeneravit ecclesia. Quid ei quæris inferre, quod in eâ non invenisti, quando in ejus membra venisti? Imò, Quid ei quæris auferre, quod in eâ tu quoque accepisti? Hæc ille.*

A number of authorities out of the doctors we could rehearse, that maketh for the unity of the church, and for not disturbing the quiet government of the same, which all impugn this their first assertion by way of argument. But because they have framed their assertion so that we be compelled to defend the negative (in the probation whereof the doctors use not directly to have many words); therefore, of purpose we leave out a number of the sayings of the doctors (which all, as I said before, would prove this first matter by way of argument) lest we should be tedious, and keep you too long in a plain matter.

And therefore now to conclude, for not changing the divine service, and the ministration of the sacraments from the learned tongue (which thing doth make a schism, and a division between us and the catholic church of God), we have brought in the Scripture that doth forbid all such schism. And also the consent and custom of the whole church, which cannot err, and maketh us bold to say as we do; with other things, as ye have heard, for confirmation of the same. And in answering to the first matter, we intend (God willing) to say much more; beseeching Almighty God so to inspire the heart of the queen's majesty, and her most honourable council, with the nobility of this realm, and us that be the pastors of the people in these causes, that so we may dispose of the service of God as we may therein serve God: and that we do not, by altering the said service from the uniform manner of Christ's church, but also highly displease God, and procure to us infamy of the world, the worm of conscience, and eternal damnation, which God forbid: and grant us grace to acknowledge, confess, and maintain his truth. To whom be all glory. Amen.

NUMBER V.

The Declaration of the Proceedings of a Conference begun at Westminster, the last of March, 1559, concerning certain Articles of Religion; and the breaking up of the said Conference, by default and contempt of certain Bishops, Parties of the said Conference.

[Ex Chartophylac. Regio.]

THE queen's most excellent majesty having heard of diversities of opinions in certain matters of religion amongst sundry of her loving subjects, and being very desirous to have the same reduced to some godly and christian concord, thought it best, by advice of the lords, and others of her privy council, as well for the satisfaction of persons doubtful, as also for the know-

ledge of the very truth, in certain matters of difference, to have a convenient chosen number of the best learned of either part, and to confer together their opinions and reasons; and thereby to come to some good and charitable agreement. And hereupon, by her majesty's commandment, certain of her said privy council declared this purpose to the archbishop of York, being also one of the said privy council, and required him, that he would impart the same to some of the bishops, and to make choice of eight, nine, or ten of them; and that there should be the like number named of the other part; and further also declared to him (as then was supposed) what the matters should be: and as for the time it was thought upon; and then after certain days past, it was signified by the said archbishop, that there was appointed (by such of the bishops to whom he had imparted this matter) eight persons; that is to say, four bishops and four doctors, who were content, at the queen's majesty's commandment, to shew their opinions, and, as he termed it, render account of their faith in those matters which were mentioned, and that specially, in writing: although, he said, they thought the same so determined, as there was no cause to dispute upon them. It was hereupon fully resolved, by the queen's majesty, with the advice aforesaid, that according to their desire, it should be in writing on both parts, for avoiding of much alteration in words. And that the said bishops should, because they were in authority of degree superiors, first declare their minds and opinions to the matter, with their reasons, in writing. And the other number, being also eight men of good degree in schools, (and some having been in dignity in the church of England,) if they had anything to say to the contrary, should the same day declare their opinions in like manner. And so each of them should deliver their writings to the other to be considered what were to be improved therein; and the same to declare again in writing at some other convenient day; and the like order to be kept in all the rest of the matters.

All this was fully agreed upon with the archbishop of York, and so also signified to both parties; and immediately hereupon divers of the nobility, and states of the realm, understanding that such a meeting and conference should be, and that in certain matters, thereupon the present court of parliament consequently following, some laws might be grounded, they made earnest means to her majesty, that the parties of this conference might put and read their assertions in the English tongue, and that in the presence of them, the nobility, and others of her parliament-house, for the better satisfaction and enabling of their own judgments to treat and conclude of such laws as might depend thereupon. This also being thought very reasonable, was signified to both parties, and so fully agreed upon. And the day appointed for the first meeting to be the Friday in the forenoon, being the last of March, at Westminster-church, where both for good order, and for honour of the conferences by the queen's majesty's commandment, the lords and others of the privy council were present, and a great part of the nobility also.

And notwithstanding the former order appointed and consented unto by both parties, yet the bishop of Winchester, and his colleagues, alleging, that they had mistaken that their assertions and reasons should be written, and so only recited out of the book, said, their book was not then ready written, but they were ready to argue and dispute, and therefore they would for that time repeat in speech, that which they had to say to the first proposition.

This variation from the former order, and specially from that which themselves had by the said archbishop

in writing before required, (adding thereto the reason of the apostle, that to contend with words is profitable to nothing but to the subversion of the hearers,) seemed to the queen's majesty somewhat strange; and yet was it permitted, without any great reprehension, because they excused themselves with mistaking the order, and argued, that they would not fail, but put it in writing, and according to the former order, deliver it to the other part.

And so the said bishop of Winchester and his colleagues appointed Dr. Cole, dean of Paul's, to be their utterer of their minds, who partly by speech only, and partly by reading of authorities written, and at certain times being informed of his colleagues what to say, made a declaration of their meanings and their reasons to the first proposition.

Which being ended, they were asked, by the privy council, if any of them had any more to be said; and they said, no. So as then the other part was licensed to shew their minds, which they did accordingly to the first order, exhibiting all that which they meant to propound in a book written. Which, after a prayer and invocation made most humbly to Almighty God for the enduing of them with his Holy Spirit, and a protestation also to stand to the doctrine of the catholick church, builded upon the Scriptures, and the doctrine of the prophets and the apostles, was distinctly read by one Robert Horn, bachelor in divinity, late dean of Duresm. And the same being ended, (with some likelihood, as it seemed, that the same was much allowable to the audience,) certain of the bishops began to say contrary to their former answer, that they had now much more to say to this matter; wherein, although they might have been well reprehended for such manner of cavillation, yet for avoiding any more mistaking of orders in this colloquy, or conference, and for that they should utter all that which they had to say, it was both ordered, and thus openly agreed upon of both parts, in the full audience, that upon the Monday following the bishops should bring their minds and reasons in writing to the second assertion, and the last also, if they could, and first read the same; and that done, the other part should bring likewise theirs to the same; and being read, each of them should deliver to other the same writings. And in the mean time the bishops should put in writing, not only all that which Dr. Cole had that day uttered, but all such other matters as they any otherwise could think of for the same; and as soon as might possible, to send the same book, touching the first assertion to the other part; and they should receive of them that writing which master Horn had there read that day; and upon Monday it should be agreed what day they should exhibit their answer touching the first proposition.

Thus both parts assented thereto, and the assembly was quietly dismissed. And therefore upon Monday the like assembly began again at the place and hour appointed; and there, upon what sinister or disordered meaning is not yet fully known, (though in some part it be understood,) the bishop of Winchester, and his colleagues, and specially Lincoln, refused to exhibit or read, according to the former notorious order on Friday, that which they had prepared for the second assertion; and thereupon, by the lord keeper of the great seal, they being first gently and favourably required to keep the order appointed, and that taking no place, being secondly, as it behoved, pressed with the more earnest request, they neither regarding the authority of that place, nor their own reputation, nor the credit of the cause, utterly refused that to do.

And finally, being again particularly every one of them apart, distinctly by name required to understand their opinions therein; they all (saving one, which

was the abbot of Westminster, having some more consideration of order and his duty of obedience than the other) utterly and plainly denied to have their book read, some of them as more earnestly than other some, so also some others more indiscreetly and irreverently than others.

Whereupon giving such example of disorders, stubbornness, and self-will, as hath not been seen and suffered in such an honourable assembly, being of the two estates of this realm, the nobilities and commons, besides the persons of the queen's majesty's most honourable privy council, the same assembly was dismissed, and the godly and most christian purpose of the queen's majesty made frustrate: and afterwards, for the contempt so notoriously made, the bishops of Winchester and Lincoln, who have most obstinately disobeyed both common authority and varied manifestly from their own order, specially Lincoln, who shewed more folly than the other, were condignly committed to the Tower of London; and the rest, saving the abbot of Westminster, stand bound to make daily their personal appearance before the council, and not to depart the city of London and Westminster, until further order be taken with them for their disobedience and contempt.

N. Bacon, Cust. Sigill. F. Shrewsbury. F. Bedford.
Pembroke. E. Clynton. E. Rogers. F. Knollys.
W. Cecill. A. Cave.

NUMBER VI.

An Address made by some Bishops and Divines to Queen Elizabeth, against the use of Images.

[Ex MSS. C. C. C. Miscellanea B.]

To the Queen's most Excellent Majesty.

WE knowing your gracious clemency, and considering the necessity of the matter that we have to move, the one doth encourage us and the other compel us (as before) to make our humble petition unto your highness, and to renew our former suit, not in any respect of self-will, stoutness, or striving against your majesty, (God we take to witness) for with David we confess that we are but as *canes mortui, aut pulices*, in comparison. But we do it only for that fear and reverence which we bear to the majesty of Almighty God, in whose hands to fall 'tis terrible; for it lieth in his power to destroy for ever, and to cast both body and soul into hell-fire. And lest in giving just offence to the little ones, in setting a trap of errors for the ignorant, and digging a pit for the blind to fall into, we should not only be guilty of the blood of our brethren, and deserve the wrathful *Væ*, and vengeance of God, but also procure, to our reclaiming consciences, the biting worm, that never dieth, for our endless confusion. For in what thing soever we may serve your excellent majesty, not offending the divine majesty of God, we shall, with all humble obedience, be most ready thereunto, if it be even to the loss of our life; for so God commandeth of us, duty requireth of us, and we with all conformity have put in proof. And as God, through your gracious government, hath delivered unto us innumerable benefits, which we most humbly acknowledge, and with due reverence daily give him thanks; so we doubt not, but that of his mercy he will happily finish in your majesty that good work which of his free favour he hath most graciously begun; that following the examples of the godly princes which have gone before, you may clearly purge the polluted church, and remove all occasions of evil. And for so much as we have heretofore, at sundry times, made petition to your majesty concerning the

matter of images, but at no time exhibited any reasons for the removing of the same. Now, lest we should seem to say much, and prove little, to allay consciences without the warrant of God, and unreasonably require that for the which we can give no reason, we have at this time put in writing, and do most humbly exhibit to your gracious consideration, those authorities of the Scriptures, reasons, and pithy persuasions, which as they have moved all such our brethren as now bear the office of bishops to think and affirm images not expedient for the church of Christ, so will they not suffer us, without the great offending of God, and grievous wounding of our own consciences, (which God deliver us from,) to consent to the erecting or retaining of the same in the place of worshipping; and we trust, and most earnestly ask it of God, that they may also persuade your majesty, by your regal authority, and in the zeal of God, utterly to remove this offensive evil out of the church of England, to God's great glory, and our great comfort.

[Here follow the reasons against them, of which I have given a full abstract in the History, and therefore do not set them down here, for they are very large. The address concludes in these words.]

Having thus declared unto your highness a few causes of many which do move our consciences in this matter, we beseech your highness, most humbly, not to strain us any further, but to consider that God's word doth threaten a terrible judgment unto us, if we, being pastors and ministers in his church, should assent unto the thing, which in our learning and conscience, we are persuaded doth tend to the confirmation of error, superstition and idolatry*; and finally, to the ruin of the souls committed to our charge†, for the which we must give an account to the Prince of pastors at the last day. We pray your majesty also, not to be offended with this our plainness and liberty, which all good and Christian princes have ever taken in good part at the hands of godly bishops.

St. Ambrose, writing to Theodosius the emperor, useth these words: "Sed neque imperiale est libertatem dicendi negare, neque sacerdotale quod sentiat non dicere‡."

And again; "In causa vero Dei quem audies, si sacerdotem non audies, cujus maiore peccatur periculo? Quis tibi verum adebit dicere, si sacerdos non audeat§?"

These, and such-like speeches of St. Ambrose, Theodosius and Valentinianus, the emperors, did take in good part; and we doubt not but your grace will do the like, of whose, not only clemency, but also beneficence, we have largely tasted.

We beseech your majesty also, in these and such-like controversies of religion, to refer the discussion and deciding of them to a synod of the bishops, and other godly learned men, according to the example of Constantinus Magnus, and other Christian emperors, that the reasons of both parties being examined by them, the judgment may be given uprightly in all doubtful matters.

And to return to this present matter; we most humbly beseech your majesty to consider, that besides weighty causes in policy, which we leave to the wisdom of the honourable counsellors, the establishing of images by your authority shall not only utterly discredit our ministeries, as builders of the thing which we have destroyed, but also blemish the fame of your most godly brother, and such notable fathers as have given their lives for the testimony of God's truth, who by public law removed all images.

The almighty and ever-living God plentifully endue your majesty with His Spirit and heavenly wisdom, and long preserve your most gracious reign, and prosperous government over us, to the advancement of His glory, to the overthrow of superstition, and to the benefit and comfort of all your highness's loving subjects. Amen.

NUMBER VII.

The Queen's Commissions to the Visitors that were sent to the Northern Parts.

[Paper Office.]

ELIZABETHA Dei Gratia Angliæ, Franciæ, et Hi-
bernæ Regina, Fidei Defensor, &c. Charissimis,
Consanguineis et Consiliariis nostris Francisco Comiti
Salop. Domino Præsidenti Consilii nostri in partibus
Borealiibus, et Edwardo Comiti de Darbia, ac charis-
simo Consanguineo nostro Thomæ Comiti Northumb.
Domino Guardiano sive custodi Marchiarum nostrarum
de Le East March, et middle March versus
Scotiam, ac per dilecto et fideli nostro Willielmo Do-
mino Evers, ac etiam dilectis et fidelibus nostris
Henrico Piercy, Thomæ Gargrave, Jacobo Crofts et
Henrico Gates Militibus, necnon dilectis nobis Edwino
Sandys Sacræ Theologiæ Professori, Henrico Harvy
Legum Doctori, Richardo Bowes, Georgio Brown,
Christophero Estcot, et Richardo Kingsnell Armi-
geris, Salutem. Quoniam Deus Populum suum An-
glicanum imperio nostro subiecit, cujus regalis sus-
cepti muneris rationem perfecte reddere non possumus,
nisi veram religionem et sincerum numinis divini
cultum in omnibus Regni nostri partibus propagaverimus:
Nos igitur regalis et absolutæ potestatis nostre,
nobis in hoc Regno nostro commissæ, respectu, quo-
niam utrumq; Regni nostri statum, tam Ecclesiasticum,
quam Laicum visitare, et certas pietatis ac virtutis
regulas illis præscribere constituimus, præfatum Fran-
ciscum Comitem Salop. Edwardum Comitem de
Darbia, Thomam Comitem Northumb. Willielmum
Dominum Evers, Henricum Piercy, Thomam Gar-
grave, Jacobum Crofts, Henricum Gates, Milites;
Edwinum Sandys, Henricum Harvy, Georgium Brown,
Christophorum Estcot, Richardum Bowes, et Rich-
ardum Kingsnell Armigeros, ad infrascriptum vice,
nomine, et Authoritate nostris exequendum, vos qua-
tuor, tres aut duo vestrum ad minimum deputavimus,
et substituimus ad visitandum igitur, tam in capite,
quam in membris Ecclesias Cathædrales, Civitates et
Diocèses Eboracen. Cestrens. Dunelm. et Carlio-
nen. necnon quascunque alias Collegiatas, Parochiales
et Præbendales Ecclesias, ac loca alia Ecclesiastica
quæcunque, tam exempta, quam non exempta in et
per easdem Civitates et Diocèses visibiliter consti-
tutas, Clerumq; et Populum earundem in eisdem
degentes sive residentes; Deque statu Ecclesiarum et
locorum huiusmodi, necnon vita, moribus et conversa-
tione, ac etiam qualitatibus personarum in Ecclesiis
et locis prædictis degentium, sive commemorantium
modis omnibus, quibus id melius aut efficacius poterit
inquirendum et investigandum: criminosos, ac
susceptæ Religionis subscribere obstinate et peremp-
torie recusantes, vel quocunque alio modo delinquentes;
Atq; culpabiles condignis penis, etiam usq; ad bene-
ficioium, dignitatum, sive officiorum suorum priva-
tionem, fructuum vel reddituum, et proventionem
Ecclesiarum et Locorum, quibus præsent, sequestra-
tionem, vel quamcunque aliam congruam et compe-
tentem coercionem inclusive puniendam et corrigendam;
Atq; ad probatores vivendi mores modis omnibus,
quibus ad melius et efficacius poteritis, reducendum;
Testamenta quorumcunque; defunctorum infra loca

RECORDS.

prædicta decedentium probanda, approbata et informanda, administrationesq; bonorum eorundem Executorum in eisdem testamentis nominatis committendum, administrationesq; insuper ac sequestrationes bonorum ab intestatis sive per viam intestatorum, etiam descendentes in debita juris forma expediendum et concedendum, ac committendum; Computas quoq; tam executorum, quam administratorum, et sequestratorum quorumcunq; recipiendum, examinandum, admittendum, terminandum: ac insuper eosdem executores, administratores, et sequestratores, omnes et singulas acquietandum, relaxandum et finaliter dimittendum, Causasq; quascunq; examinandum, audiendum et finaliter terminandum. Contumaces autem, et rebelles, cujuscunq; conditionis sive status fuerint, si quos inveneritis, tam per censuras Ecclesiasticas, quam personarum apprehensionem et incarcerationem, ac recognitionem, acceptionem ac quæcunq; alia juris Regni nostri remedia compescendum, necnon injunctiones presentibus annexas personis in eisdem nominatis nomine nostro tradendum, aliasq; injunctiones congruas et competentes vice et autoritate nostris eis indicendum, dandum et assignandum, penasque convenientes in earum violatores infligendum, et irrogandum; Ecclesiis etiam, et alia loca dimissorum, vacantia et pro vacantibus habenda fore decernendum et declarandum, pensionesq; legitimas, congruas et competentes cedentibus vel resignandis hujusmodi assignandum et limitandum, presentatosq; ad beneficia Ecclesiastica quæcunq; infra civitates, Ecclesias aut Dioceses prædictas constituta, durante visitatione nostra hujusmodi, si habiles fuerint et idonei, ad eadem admittendum, ac de et in eisdem instituendum et investiendum, cum suis juribus, et pertinentibus universis, eosq; in realem, actualem et corporalem possessionem earundem inducendum, et induci faciendum, atque mandandum, necnon clericorum et beneficiariorum quorumcunq; tam pro ordinibus, quam beneficiis per eos adeptis, literas et munimenta exigendum et recipiendum, eaq; diligenter examinandum, et discutiendum, et quos non sufficienter munitos in ea parte comperitis, ab officio dimittendum, et sic jure munitis declarandum, et pronuntiandum. Synodos quoq; et capitula, tam generalia quam specialia, cleri et populi hujusmodi per executionem premissorum aut reformationem quamcunq; faciendum et convocandum: Procuratores quoq; Synodalia ratione nostra hujus visitationis debite petendum, exigendum, et levandum, ac etiam non solventes aut solvere recusantes per censuras Ecclesiasticas compellendum, coercendum et cogendum; necnon concionandi potestatem hujusmodi personis concedendum, quas ad hoc divinum munus suscipiendum aptas esse judicaveritis: Incarceratos quoque, et vinculis commissos ob religionis causam antea licet condemnatos, causis incarcerationis et condemnationis hujusmodi prius examinatis, et plenarie discussis, examinandum, discutiendum ac in integrum, justitia id poscente, restituendum, delibendum et extra prisonam dimittendum, necnon causas deprivationem examinandum, ac contra statuta et ordinationes hujus Regni nostri Angliæ, vel juris Ecclesiastici ordinem depravatos restituendum, ac omnia et singula alia, quæ circa hujusmodi visitationis seu reformationis negotia necessaria fuerint, seu quomodolibet opportuna, etiamsi verba magis specialia de se exigunt et requirant, faciendum, et expediendum. Vobis quatuor, tribus aut duobus vestrum, ut præferatur de quorum eminenti doctrina morumque, et Concilii gravitate, ac in rebus gerendis fide et industria plurimum confidimus, vices nostras committimus ac plenam in dicto tenore præsentium concedimus facultatem, cum cujuslibet congruæ et legitime coercionis potestate. Et præterea certos viros prudentes, ac pios

assignandum, et nominandum, per quos de statu rerum instruamini et quorum opera presentes utemini, in omnibus causis ad hanc visitationem nostram spectantibus, quantum vobis convenire videbitur. Idem viri a vobis Commissariis assignati plenam potestatem habebunt, etiam post Commissariorum decessum, et post finitum etiam visitationis tempus, de omnibus articulis, ordinibus et institutis ejusdem visitationis inquirendi, et violatores eorum, cujuscunq; conditionis fuerint, conveniendi et examinandi; Et omnes quærelas, quatenus ullum impedimentum aut offensionem nostræ visitationis contineant, accipiendi et audiendi, et hujusmodi personas, offensiones, et quærelas Commissariis nostris Londini residentibus, et ad Ecclesiasticarum rerum reformationem Delegatis, præstantibus, et exhibebunt illis viis et modis, quibus hoc convenientissime videbunt fieri posse. Mandantes omnibus, et singulis Majoribus, Vice-comitibus, Justiciariis ac quibuscunq; aliis officiariis, ministris et subditis nostris, quatenus nobis in et circa præmissorum executionem effectualiter assistant, auxilientur, et suffragentur, ut insuper sagacitatis, diligentie, factorumq; vestrorum omnium evidens et perpetuum specimen nobis, posterisq; nostris remaneat, inventaq; et invenienda pro recordatorum defectu debitam reformationem correctionemve non subterfugiant, aut a memoria prolabantur. Nos suprema ac regali autoritate nostra prædicta dilectos, et fideles subditos nostros Thomam Peircey, et Joannem Hoges, et eorum deputatos per Commissarios nostros approbandos, notarios præcipuos per antea legitime existentes, actorum, instrumentorum, decretorum, summarum, judiciorum, censurarum, cæterorumq; omnium, et singulorum, quæ per vos, vestrumve Aliquem in Visitatione hac nostra Regia peragentur, judicabuntur, decernentur, fient, ferentur, et pronuntiabuntur, Scribas, Registrarios nostros præcipuos, et principales conjunctim et divisim ordinamus, nominamus et constituimus; eisq; officium, et officia Registri Scribat nostri presenti, cum omnibus officia prædicta tangantia, eorumq; deputatis per Commissarios nostros approbandis conjunctim et divisim damus, deputamus, assignamus, et decernimus per presentes. In cujus rei testimonium has Literas nostras fieri fecimus Patentes, Teste meipso apud Westmonast. 24 die Junii, Anno Regni nostri primo.

NUMBER VIII.

Ten Letters written to and by Dr. Parker, concerning his promotion to the See of Canterbury.—An Original.

[Ex MSS. Reverendis. D.D. Gul. Arch. Cant.]

AFTER my right hearty commendations, these are to signify unto you that for certain matters touching yourself, which I trust shall turn you to good, I would wish that you should repair hither to London, with as convenient speed as you can, where you shall find me at Burgeny-house, in Paternoster-row, if it be not over-long ere you come. And if it chance that I be returned into Suffolk before your coming, then I would you should make your repair unto my brother-in-law, sir William Cecil, the queen's secretary, declaring unto him that I appointed you to wait upon him to know his pleasure touching such matters as he and I did talk of concerning you. Thus wishing you well to do, I bid you heartily farewell.

Written the 9th of December, 1558, by

Yours assuredly,

N. BACON.

Dr. Parker's Answer to the former Letter.—A Copy.

RIGHT WORSHIPFUL—With my thankful duty of commendations, hearing of your sickness still to occupy

PART II.—BOOK III.

you, I was right heartily sorry that I molested you with so long a letter, into which fault, for that I will not fall again at this present, I shall use the fewer words. Sir, if I may know at what time I might, in your return down, wait on your worship at Burgeny, or at Newmarket, I will, by God's grace, so appoint myself to be there first, the rather for that I would not give occasion to have your journey either protracted, or yet diverted out of the right line thereof. In the mean time I shall beseech God to restore your strength, that ye may the sooner be restored to the commonwealth, which in this apparent necessity of worthy persons, I fear, feelth God's hand in this his visitation to be burdensome. I would wish ye were not much stirring abroad in the distemperance of the air, so contrarious to the state of men's bodies, once pierced with this insolent quartane, as experience sheweth. I think the spring-time, as in natural respects, must be expected, though Almighty God be bound to no time. Thus I heartily commend you to His gracious protection, this 20th of December.

Your most bounden assuredly to command,

M. P.

A Letter written to him by Secretary Cecil.—An Original.

AFTER my hearty commendations. The queen's highness minding presently to use your service in certain matters of importance, hath willed me so to signify unto you, to the end you should forthwith, upon the sight hereof, put yourself in order to make your undelayed repair hither unto London; at which your coming up, I shall declare unto you her majesty's further pleasure, and the occasion why you are sent for; and hereof praying you therefore in nowise to fail, I bid you well to fare.

From Westminster, the 30th of December, 1558.

Your loving friend, W. CECIL.

Another Letter of the Lord Keeper's to him.—An Original.

AFTER hearty commendations, these are to signify unto you, that ye may assure yourself, that you shall have anything that I can do for you touching the request of your letters, or any other matter being in my power: I do think that ye have received, ere this, a letter from Mr. Secretary, willing you to come up immediately, if your health will suffer, for certain weighty matters touching the queen's service; so as I trust, by your presence, all things to your own contentation shall come the better to pass. If this letter be not come to your hands, and therewith you be not able to come, it shall be behoveful for you to signify so much, because I have been willed also to haste your coming up. Thus right heartily fare ye well. Written the 4th of January, 1558, by

Yours assuredly, N. BACON.

Dr. Parker's Answer.—A Copy.

RIGHT WORSHIPFUL—After my duty of commendations. Where of late I received your letters to this effect, that I should repair up unto you at London, upon occasion, as ye wrote, which may turn me to good, so judged by a late conference with the right worshipful sir William Cecil, secretary to the queen's majesty, of long time my special good friend and master, ye shall understand that my quartane hath so much distempered the state of my health, that without apparent danger, I cannot as yet commit myself to the adventure of the air, as by divers essays I have attempted of late, to my greater pain and further hindrance; whereupon, if your opportunity might so serve, I would most heartily pray your worship to signify so much. And further, yet in con-

fidence of your old good heart to me, I would be a suiter to you, as I was once to sir John Cheek, my entire good friend and patron, to the said sir William Cecil, that where he was desirous, by his mediation, to do me good (as here you use to call it) even as I was then framed in mind, so am I at this day. I would be inwardly heavy and sorry that his favourable affection should procure me anything above the reach of mine ability, whereby I should both dishonest myself, and disappoint the expectation of such as may think that in me which I know is not; but specially I might clog and cumber by conscience to Godward, before whom I look every day to appear to make mine answer, which I think, and as I trust, is not far off: notwithstanding though I would most fain wear out the rest of my life in private state, yet concerning that very small talent credited unto me, I would not so unthankfully to God ensue my quiet, that I could not be content to bestow it, so it were there, whether my heart and conscience afore this time and daily yet doth incline me: I mean, to be no further abled, but by the revenue of some prebend (without charge of cure or of government), to occupy myself to dispense God's word amongst the simple strayed sheep of God's fold, in poor destitute parishes and cures, more meet for my decayed voice, and small quality, than in theatrical and great audience: which walk, and wish I would to be near their quarters, where we both were born, by occasion whereof I might have opportunity to wait other-while on you at Redgrave, whither I have vowed my first journey, immediately upon my strength recovered, by the occasion of your friendly request of your letters ye sent me. And if I might be yet bolder with you, as I was with the said sir John Cheek, to disclose my desire of all places in England, I would wish to bestow most my time in the university, the state whereof is miserable at this present, as I have had intelligence from time to time thereof. And if in any respect I could do service, as a weak member of the commonwealth, I think I might do it with them, having long acquaintance and some experience in the doings thereof; which judgment had the said sir John Cheek towards me: and therefore to set me on work, had once, by the favour of the said Mr. Secretary, procured to have me named to the mastership of Trinity College, which yet chanced not to that effect, God otherwise determining the matter in his providence. But to tell you my heart, I had rather have such a thing as Bennet-College is in Cambridge, a living of twenty nobles by the year at the most, than to dwell in the deanery of Lincoln, which is 200 at the least. Now, sir, ye may see herein, yet my ambition in writing thus much, but I shall pray you to accept the circumstances, which ye may better insinuate to Mr. Secretary, than I dare be bold, by my rude letters, to molest his favourable goodness, or yet prescribe to your, or his worship, wisdom and prudence. In conclusion, at the reverence of God, I pray you, either help that I be quite forgotten, or else so appointed, that I be not entangled now of new with the concourse of the world, in any respect of publick state of living, whereby I shall have an unfeigned signification of your very good will to me indeed, and be bound to pray for you during my life.

Some of your scholars at Cambridge, enjoying the benefit of your liberal exhibition, have sent your worship now their letters; some be sick and absent.

Thus reprising the quiet of my mind, and having good hope in your friendliness to the consideration aforesaid, I wish you a full recovery of your health, and a continuance in God's grace and favour, with all your family.

Your beadsman to command, M. P.

RECORDS.

A long Letter of Dr. Parker's, excusing himself from the offer of the Archbishoprick of Canterbury.—An Original.

RIGHT HONOURABLE—My duty presupposed. It is an old-said proverb, *Ubi quis dolet ibidem et manum frequenter habet*, beseeching you, for God's sake, the rather to bear the importunity of this my hand-writing, supposing that this may be one of the last solicitations that I shall molest you with.

Sir, your signification uttered to me at my first coming to you at London, concerning a certain office ye named to me, did hold me in such carefulness all my time of being there, with the recurring of a dull distemperance, set in my head by the dregs of my quartane, and as yet not remedied, whereby I had no disposition to my book; beside some other displeasing cogitations concerning the state of this time, made me have so little joy of my being at London, as I had never less in my life: most glad when my back was turned thereunto. But to come near to my intent of writing, I shall pray to God, yea, bestow that office well, ye shall need care the less for the residue. God grant it chanceth neither on an arrogant man, neither on a faint-hearted man, nor on a covetous man; the first shall both sit in his own light, and shall discourage his fellows to join with him in unity of doctrine, which must be their whole strength; for if any heart-burning be betwixt them, if private quarrels stirred abroad be brought home, and so shall shiver them asunder, it may chance to have that success which I fear in the conclusion will follow. The second man should be too weak to commune with the adversaries, who would be the stouter upon his pusillanimity. The third man not worth his bread, profitable for no estate in any Christian commonwealth, to serve it rightly.

For my part, I pray God I never fall into his indignation and wisdom; it were not for a subject to deserve his prince's displeasure, and sorry would I be to discontent Mr. Secretary and you, for whose worshipful favours I count myself more bound to pray to God, and to wish well to them for all the men in the realm beside. I speak it sincerely, without flattery; for though I have little wit, yet I can discern betwixt men who delight to be flattered, and who not, though I would not consider how dishonest it were for me to use it. But, sir, except ye both moderate and restrain your overmuch good-will in the former respect to me-ward, I fear, in the end, I shall dislike you both, and that your benevolencies should, by occasion of my obstinate untowardness, jeopard me into prison; yet there shall I bear you my good heart, which I had rather suffer in a quiet conscience, than to be intruded into such room and vocation, wherein I should not be able to answer the charge to God nor to the world—wherein I should not serve the queen's honour, which I wish most heartily advanced in all her wise and godly proceedings; nor yet should I live to the honour of the realm, and so finally should but work a further displeasing contemplation to my good friends who preferred me.

This, this is the thing that makes me afraid, my lord, though I passed not on mine own shame and rebuke; and therefore, by God's favour, and your good helps, I never intend to be of that order, better or worse, higher nor lower: *Non omnia possumus omnes; et tutissimum est ut quisque hanc artem exerceat in qua educatus, et ad quam natura homines formavit.* And as for other furnishings, I am too far behind. When I came first up to London, I had thirty pounds in my purse, not ten shillings more, whereof I have wasted a good part; and if I were placed, as some of my friends wish to me, what would

that do to begin, or to furnish my household? And I hear how the citizens of Norwich pray for the soul of their last bishop; for when upon his departure they seized his goods, to answer his debts to them, straightway came the queen's officers and discharged them all, which yet were not able, for all his spare hospitality, to pay half that he owed.

Furthermore, to come to another consideration, of a further imperfection, which I would have dissembled to you and others, but it cannot be but I must open it to you, my assured good master and friend, in secrecy, whose old good will maketh me the less abashed, to be so homely with you at this time. In one of my letters I made a little signification of it, but peradventure ye did not mark it. Sir, I am so in body hurt and decayed, *coram Deo non mentior*, that whatsoever my ability were, either of worldly furniture or inward quality, and though my heart would right feign serve my sovereign lady, the queen's majesty, in more respects than of my allegiance, not forgetting what words her grace's mother said to me of her not six days before her apprehension, yet this my painful infirmity will not suffer it in all manner of services. Flying in a night, for such as sought for me, to my peril, I fell off my horse so dangerously, that I shall never recover it; and by my late journey up, and my being there at London, not well settled, it is increased to my greater pain. I am fain sometime to be idle when I would be occupied, and also to keep my bed when my heart is not sick.

This was one cause why I was importune to you for that room, whereof I made mention in my former letters, by the which I might be able, by the portion of that stipend, in this my impoverishment, to wear out my life tolerably, and should not by that be occasioned to come up to any convocations, as having no voice in that house; and peradventure being there, I might be a mean for the fewer matters of disturbance, to come up to Mr. Secretary, now chancellor there, to molest him, more than should need, whose gentle affability might provoke some inconsiderate men not to regard his other greater affairs. And yet though I were so placed, I would not forswear London, or the court either, at times, as could stand with my ability and health of body, if my service could be any ways acceptable, and were agreeable to the proportion of my capacity.

Sir, because I may not dissemble with you, I have told you all; now do with me what ye will. I might be ashamed to spend so many words in a cause private of myself; but yet because ye must be partner of some lack, if I answered not the expectation, I could no less do but make you privy beforehand. I pray you think not that the prognostication of Mr. Michael Nostre Dame reigneth in my head. I esteem that fantastical hotch-potch not so well as I credit Lucianus' book "*De veris Narrationibus*;" nor yet all other vain prophecies of Sands, more than I regard sir Thomas More's Book of Fortune's Answers upon the chance of three dice casting. I would I saw no more cause to fear the likelihood of God's wrath deserved, for dissolute life, to fall upon the realm, by the evidence of his true word, and by God's old practices: and yet no man considereth his ire already begun, *Dum non sinit viros dolosos dimidiare dies suos*. I shall pray to God to defend you and your family, and that ye may revolve in mind Christ's serious admonition,—*Quid proderit homini, si totum mundum lucretur, si anima sue detrimentum patiatur. Et non in abundantia cuiusquam, est vita hominis ex his quæ possidet*.*

* Mat. xvi.—Luc. xii.

PART II.—BOOK III.

Sir, my duty of heart maketh me bold with you, not otherwise meaning before God, but thanking him many times that Mr. Secretary and you may have the doing of things in this greedy world, and that ye have so good credit, and ready access to the queen's majesty, to comfort her good inclination, whom I beseech the God of Heaven to preserve with her council, yea, and with the seniority of her spiritual ministers also, against whom I see a great charge set before them, to overcome that, must specially go through their hands by diligent watching, upon the unruly flock of the English people, if they were not so much acloyed with worldly collections, temporal commissions, and worldly provisions. I speak this the rather in this respect, which I thought good to put to your understanding; at my last being at London, I heard and saw books printed, which be spread abroad, whose authors be ministers of good estimation; the doctrine of the one is to prove, that a lady woman cannot be, by God's word, a governor in a Christian realm. And in another book going abroad, is matter set out to prove, that it is lawful for every private subject to kill his sovereign, *ferro, veneno, quocunque modo*, if he think him to be a tyrant in his conscience, yea, and worthy to have his reward for his attempt: *Exhorruí cum ista legerem*. If such principles be spread into men's heads, as now they be framed and referred to the judgment of the subject, of the tenant, and of the servant, to discuss what is tyranny, and to discern whether his prince, his landlord, his master, is a tyrant, by his own fancy, and collection supposed, what lord of the council shall ride quietly-minded in the streets, among desperate beasts? what master shall be sure in his bed-chamber? it is the surest way for every man to serve God truly in his vocation, to deserve the rather his protection: and then both the devil and man, foreign and intestine, shall have their malices retorted upon themselves again. But thus goeth the devil about to dull the heretical stomachs of princely men, to do good in their turn of time, to serve God and the common-wealth. They say that the realm is full of anabaptists, Ariians, libertines, free-will men, &c. against whom only I thought ministers should have needed to fight in unity of doctrine. As for the Romish adversaries, their mouths may be stopped with their own books, and confessions of late days; I never dreamed that ministers should be compelled to impugn ministers; the adversaries have good sport betwixt themselves, to prognostick the likelihood. Some protestants peradventure, perceiving how men nip them to disable them, to keep any learned men in house to confer with, and to beat down these seditious sects, if any inconvenience, for want of preaching, shall fall, they may chance to say a verse of David's psalter, *Latabique justus, cum viderit vindictam, et manus suas lavabit in sanguine peccatoris*, as not caring for their assurances, who abase them so low: and some peradventure have cast already their starting shifts, and make provision against all adventures. Well, I pray God all be conscience to God, that is sometimes so pretended: men be men, yea, after the school of affliction, men be men, hypocrisy is a privy thief, both in the clergy and in the laity. To make an end of such conference, which I would gladly have told you presently, but I could not wait so much leisure in you, and opportunity; and loth I was to have begun my tale, and not to have ended it, by reason of interruption by others. But as for the principal occasion of my writing, howsoever it may dislike you, yet shall I evermore acknowledge my duty to you, yea, though now ye give me quite up: I reverence you so much, that I had rather ye disliked me utterly by times, with your less repentence, rather than ye and other of my loving friends should bear any

envy, or any displeasant unthankfulness, and so too late to repent for your commending of me, (if a persuasion in an appearance, is not surely grounded to be seen,) when experience should have shewed the trial. And therefore I write it to you in time again, after the signification of my very first letters to prevent you, for I know ye may, with a few words, remedy all the towardness yet concluded.

And think not, I pray your honour, that I seek mine private gain, or my idle ease, put me where you will else; and if, as far as my power of knowledge and of health of body will extend, I do not apply myself to discharge my duty, let me be thrust out again like a thief. I thank God my conscience condemneth me not, that I have been aforetime any great gatherer; and now, for the upholding of two or three years more of life, to heap unproportionably, I count it madness; and more than this purpose, by God's grace, I dare promise nothing: and as for such few folks which I may leave behind me, they shall not say by me, I trust, that happy be these children whose fathers go to the devil for their sake. Your lordship knoweth with what patrimony I began the world with, and yet have hitherto lived with enough, yea, when all my livings were taken from me, yet God, I thank him, ministered to me sufficiently, above the capacity of my understanding or foreseeing. And thus commending your good lordship to that merciful governance, I pray your honourable wisdom to put this scribbling out of the way, from every man's sight and intelligence.

Right honourable, after my duty of commendations to your lordship, I am bold now to send you a fancy of my head, expressed in these few leaves; which if I had compact in a letter, it would have seemed over-long, and being comprised in leaves, may appear to be but a very little book of one sheet of paper, which yet I so devised, upon consideration of your business, which will not suffer you to be long detained in matters impertinent, and therefore ye may turn in the leaf and read it at divers leasures, if your lordship shall vouchsafe the reading. And thus wishing you joy of heart, which I feel to be a great treasure in this world, as the want, a grievous torment; I pray God preserve your honourable goodness, with my good lady your wife. If ye see ought in my quire worth reformation, ye know I am disciplinable, and have read, *quod meliora sunt vulnere diligentis, quam fraudulentia oscula odentis*: wherefore reserving mine unreasonable determination, as you shall know, I shall yield myself wholly conformable to your honour, *ubi, quomodo, quando, aliquid, vel tandem nihil*. Of an occasion lately ministered, I have sent my letters to Mr. Secretary concerning another matter, *primo Martii*.

Your assured orator,

M. P.

A Letter written to him by the Lord Keeper concerning it.—An Original.

THAT before this time I have not sent you answer to your last letters; the cause hath been, for that I could by no mean understand to what end the matter mentioned in those letters would grow unto; but perceiving this day, by a resolution made in the queen's highness' presence, that your friends shall very hardly deliver you of the charge written of in the same letters, I thought it good to make you privy thereunto; and therewith to advise you, to commit to the judgment of your friends, your ability and disability to serve, where and when you shall be called. If I knew a man to whom the description made in the beginning of your letter might more justly be referred than to yourself, I would prefer him before you; but knowing none so meet indeed, I take it to be my duty to prefer you before all others, and the rather also, because otherwise I should

not follow the advice of your own letter. The rest, which is much, I defer until our next meeting. It is like, that ere it be long, you shall receive letters, subscribed by me and others jointly. Thus right heartily farewell.—From the court, the 17th of May, 1559.

Yours assuredly, N. BACON.

An Order sent to him, requiring him to come up to London.

AFTER our hearty commendations. These be to signify unto you, that for certain causes, wherein the queen's majesty intendeth to use your service, her pleasure is, that you should repair up hither with such speed as you conveniently may; and at your coming up, you shall understand the rest. Thus right heartily fare ye well.—From the court, the 19th of May, 1559.

Your loving friends, N. BACON.
W. CECILL.

A second Order to the same Effect.—An Original.

AFTER our hearty commendations. Where before this time we directed our letters unto you, declaring thereby, that for certain causes, wherein the queen's majesty intendeth to use your service, you should repair hither with all convenient speed, whereof we have as yet received none answer; and therefore, doubting lest by the default of the messenger, the letter be not come to your hands, we have thought good again to write unto you, to the intent you should understand her highness' pleasure is, that you should make your repair hither with all speed possible. Thus right heartily farewell.—From the court, the 28th day of May, 1559.

Your loving friends, N. BACON, C.S.
W. CECILL.

Dr. Parker's Letter to the Queen, excusing himself. An Original.

PLEASETH it your most honourable majesty to be gracious lady to my poor suit, which at this time extreme necessity compelleth me to make, both in respect of my constrained conscience to Almighty God, as also in the regard of my duty which I owe to your noble estate, and most high authority. So it is, most gracious and sovereign lady, where I have understanding of your most favourable opinion toward me, your grace's most simple subject, concerning the archbishoprick of Canterbury, in consideration whereof, I ought, and do acknowledge my most bounden duty to be a faithful orator for your grace during my life. Yet calling to examination my great unworthiness for so high a function, which mine disability I might allege at length in particularity, but for molesting your grace's most weighty affairs, I am bold thus, by my writing, to approach to your honour to discharge me of that so high and chargeable an office, which doth require a man of so much wit, learning, virtue, and experience than I see, and perfectly know can be performed of me worthily, to occupy it to God's pleasure, to your grace's honour, and to the wealth of your loving subjects beside. Many other imperfections in me, as well for temporal ability for the furnishing thereof, as were seemly to the honour of the realm; as also of infirmity of body, which will not suffer me to attend on so difficult a cure, to the discharge thereof, in any reasonable expectation. And where, most gracious lady, beside my humble duty of allegiance to your princely dignity, I am otherwise, for the great benefits which sometime I received at your grace's honourable mother's benevolence (whose soul I doubt not but is in blissful felicity with God), most singularly obliged, above many other, to be your most faithful

beadsman, both in thanking Almighty God for his fatherly protection hitherto over your noble person, and also furthermore to pray for the continuance of your fortunate reign in all godly prosperity. So I am right sorry, and do lament within myself, that I am so basely qualified inwardly in knowledge, and outwardly in extern sufficiencies, to do your grace any meet service, as I would wish could be acceptable, and to your grace's expectation: assuring your noble estate, that in any other smaller vocation, under the degree of such chargeable offices, and more agreeable to my infirmity, if it shall be so seen, to your high wisdom, and merciful liberality, I shall endeavour myself to attend thereon; referring yet myself wholly to your grace's pleasure, rather than by just allegation of my unworthiness, the loyal duty of my faithful heart should be any ways suspected to your reverend majesty.

Your grace's poor subject,

MATTHEW PARKER.

NUMBER IX.

The Instrument of Dr. Parker's Consecration; with some Attestations of the Authenticalness of it.

[Ex MS. Col. C. C. Cantab.]

Rituum atque Ceremoniarum Ordo, in Consecrando Reverendissimo in Christo Patre, Mattheo Parker, Cantuariensi Archiepiscopo, in Sacello suo apud Manerium suum de Lambeth, die Dominico 17. viz. die Mensis Decembris, Anno Dom. 1559. habit.

PRINCIPIO, Sacellum Tapetibus ad Orientem adornabatur, solum vero panno rubro insternebatur, Mensa quoq; Sacris peragendis necessaria, tapeto pulvinariq; ornata ad Orientem sita erat.

Quatuor preterea Cathedræ, quatuor Episcopis, quibus munus consecrandi Archiepiscopi delegabatur, ad austrum Orientalis Sacelli partis erant posite.

Scamnum preterea tapeto pulvinaribusq; instratum, cui Episcopi genubus flexis inniterentur, ante Cathedras ponebatur.

Pari quoq; modo Cathedra, scamnumq; tapeto pulvinariq; ornatum, Archiepiscopo, ad Borealem Orientalis ejusdem Sacelli partis plagam posita erant.

Hiis rebus ita ordine suo instructis, Mane circiter quintam aut sextam per Occidentalem portam ingreditur Sacellum Archiepiscopus, toga talari coccinea caputiq; indutus, quatuor precedentibus funalibus, et quatuor comitatus Episcopis, qui ejus consecrationi inservirent (verbi gratia) Guilielmo Barlow olim Bathon. et Wellen. Episcopo, nunc vero ad Cicester. Episcopatum electo, Johanne Scory olim Cicesteri Episcopo et nunc ad Herefordensem vocato, Milone Coverdallo olim Exoniense Episcopo, et Johanne Hodgskinne Bedfordiæ Suffraganeo. Qui omnes postquam sedes sibi paratas ordine singuli suo occupassent, Preces continuo matutine per Andream Pierson Archiepiscopi Capellanum clara voce recitabantur; quibus peractis, Johannes Scory (de quo supra diximus) suggestum conscendit, atque inde assumpto sibi, in thema, *Seniores ergo* qui in vobis sunt obscuro consenior, &c. non ineleganter concionabatur.

Finita concione, egrediuntur simul Archiepiscopus reliquique quatuor Episcopi Sacellum, se ad sacram communionem paraturi, neque mora confestim per borealem portam in vestiarum ad hunc modum vestiti redeunt. Archiepiscopus nimirum linteo superpelliceo (quod vocant) induebatur. Cicesteris electus, capa serica ad sacra peragenda paratus utebatur. Cui ministrabant operamq; suam prebebant duo Archiepiscopi Capellani, Nicholau, viz. Bullingham Lincolnæ Archidiaconus, et Edmundus Gest Cantuariensis quoq; Archidiaconus, capis sericis similiter vestiti. Hereford

electus et Bedford Suffraganeus, linteis superpelliceis induebantur.

Milo vero Coverdallus non nisi toga lanea talari utebatur.

Atque hunc in modum vestiti et instructi ad communionem celebrandam perrexerunt, Archiepiscopo genubus flexis ad infimum Sacelli gradum sedente.

Finito tandem Evangelio, Hereforden. Electus, Bedfordiæ Suffraganeus et Milo Coverdallus (de quibus supra) Archiepiscopum coram Cicestren. electo apud mensam in Cathedra sedenti hiis verbis adduxerunt; Reverende in Deo Pater, hunc virum pium pariter atque doctum tibi offerimus atque presentamus, ut Archiepiscopus consecratur. Postque hæc dixissent, proferebatur illico Reginæ diploma sive mandatum pro consecratione Archiepiscopi, quo per Reverendum Thomam Yale Legum Doctorem perfectio, Sacramentum de Regio Primatu sive suprema ejus autoritate tuenda juxta Statuta I. An. Regni Serenissimæ Reginæ nostræ Elizabeth. promulgata ab eodem Archiepiscopo exigebatur, quod cum ille solemniter tactis corporaliter sacris Evangelii conceptis verbis prestitisset, Cicestrens. electus quædam præfatus atque populum ad orationem hortatus, ad Litanias decantandas Choro respondente se accinxit. Quibus finitis, post quæstiones aliquot Archiepiscopo per Cicestrien. electum propositas, et post orationes et suffragia quædam juxta formam Libri antedicti Parlamenti editi, apud Deum habita, Cicestrensis, Herefordiensis, Suffraganeus Bedfordiensis et Milo Coverdallus, manibus Archiepiscopo impositis. Accipe (inquit Anglicè) Spiritum Sanctum, et gratiam Dei quæ jam per impositionis manuum in te est excitare memento. Non enim timoris, sed virtutis, dilectionis et sobrietatis spiritum dedit nobis Deus. His ita dictis, Biblia Sacra illi in manibus tradiderunt hujusmodi apud eum verba habentes; in legendo, hortando, et docendo vide diligens sis, atque ea meditare assidue quæ in hisce Libris scripta sunt, noli in his segnis esse quo incrementum inde proveniens omnibus innotescat et palam fiat. Cura quæ ad te et ad docendi munus spectant diligenter. Hoc enim modo non te ipsum solum, sed et reliquos Auditores tuos per Jesum Christum Dominum nostrum salvabis. Postquam hæc dixissent, ad reliqua communionis solennia pergit Cicestrensis, nullum Archiepiscopo tradens pastorale baculum: cum quo communicabant una Archiepiscopus, et illi Episcopi supra nominati cum aliis etiam nonnullis.

Finitis tandem peratque sacris, egreditur per borealem orientis Sacelli partis portam Archiepiscopus quatuor illis comitatus Episcopis qui eum consecraverant, et confestim iisdem ipsis stipatis Episcopis per eandem revertitur portam albo Episcopali superpelliceo, crimeraque (ut vocant) ex nigro serico indutus, circa collum vero collare quoddam ex pretiosis pellibus sabellinis (vulgo *Sables* vocant) consutum gestabat. Pari quoque modo Cicestrensis et Herefordensis, suis Episcopalibus amictibus, superpelliceo scilicet et crimera uterque induebatur. D. Coverdallus vero et Bedfordiæ Suffraganeus togis solummodo talaribus utebantur. Pergens deinde occidentalem portam versus Archiepiscopus Thomæ Doyle Economo, Johanni Baker Thesaurario, et Johanni Marche computo Rotulario, singulis singulos Albos dedit Baculos, hoc scilicet modo eis muneribus et officiis suis ornans.

Hiis itaque hunc ad modum ordine suo, ut jam ante dictum est, peractis, per occidentalem portam Sacellum egreditur Archiepiscopus generosioribus quibusque sanguine ex ejus familia eum precedentibus, reliquis vero eum a tergo sequentibus.

Acta gesta que hæc erunt omnia in præsentia Reverendorum Episcoporum, Edmundi Gryndall Londinensis Episcopi electi, Richardi Cockes Eliensis electi,

Edwini Sandes Wigorniensis electi, Anthonii Huse Armigeri, Principalis et Primarii Registrarii dicti Archiepiscopalis, Thomæ Argal Armigeri Registrarii Cicestriæ Prerogativæ Cantuariensis, Thomæ Willet, et Johannis Incent Notariorum publicorum, et aliorum quoque nonnullorum.

Concordat cum Originali in Bibliotheca Collegii Corp. Christi apud Cantabrigiens. Ita testor Matth. Whinn Notarius Public. et Acad. Cantabr. Registrarius Principalis.—Jan. 8, 1674.

Cambridge, Jan. 11, 1674.—We whose names are hereunto subscribed, having seen the original, whereof this writing is a perfect copy, and considered the hand, and other circumstances thereof, are fully persuaded that it is a true and genuine record of the rites and ceremonies of archbishop Parker's consecration, and as ancient as the date it bears. In witness whereof we have hereunto set our hands, the day and year above written.

Hen. Paman, Orat. Publicus; Hen. More, D. D.; Ra. Widdrington, S. T. D. & D. Marg. P.

C. C. C. C.—We, the master and fellows of Corpus Christi College, in the University of Cambridge, do hereby declare and certify, that this writing, being a narrative of archbishop Parker's consecration, in Lambeth Chapel, is faithfully transcribed from the original record in our college library: and that we are fully satisfied that the said record is as ancient as the date it bears, and the occasion to which it doth refer. Nor can we doubt, but the plain and evident tokens of antiquity which it carries, will as much satisfy any ingenious persons who shall have a sight thereof: which therefore we shall readily afford to those who shall repair to the college for that purpose.

John Spencer, D.D. Master of the Coll.; John Peckover, B. D.; Erasmus Lanc, B. D.; Ri. Sheldrake, B. D.; Sam. Beck, B. D.; Hen. Gostling, B. D.; Will. Briggs, M. A.; John Richer, M. A.

NUMBER X.

An Order set down for the Translating of the Bible, by King James, with the Places and Persons agreed upon for the Hebrew, and the particular Books by them undertaken.

[EX MS. D. Borlace.]

WESTMINSTER.—Mr. Dean of Westminster; Mr. Dean of Paul's; Mr. Doctor Saravia; Mr. Doctor Clark; Mr. Doctor Leifield; Mr. Doctor Teigh; Mr. Burleigh; Mr. King; Mr. Tompson; Mr. Beadwell.—*Penteteuchon.* The story from Joshua to the first book of Chronicles, exclusive.

CAMBRIDGE.—Mr. Lively; Mr. Richardson; Mr. Chatterton; Mr. Dillingham; Mr. Harrison; Mr. Andrews; Mr. Spalding; Mr. Burge.—From the first of the Chronicles, with the rest of the story, and the Hagiographi, viz. Job, Psalms, Proverbs, Canticles, Ecclesiastes.

OXFORD.—Doctor Harding; Dr. Reynolds; Dr. Holland; Dr. Kilbye; Mr. Smith; Mr. Brett; Mr. Fairclough.—The four, or greater prophets, with the Lamentations, and the twelve lesser prophets.

CAMBRIDGE.—Doctor Dewport; Dr. Branthwait; Dr. Radcliffe; Mr. Warde, Eman.; Mr. Downes; Mr. Boyes; Mr. Warde, Reg.—The prayer of Manasses, and the rest of the Apocrypha.

The Places and Persons agreed upon for the Greek, with the particular Books by them undertaken.

OXFORD.—Mr. Dean of Christ Church; Mr. Dean of Winchester; Mr. Dean of Worcester; Mr. Dean

of Windsor; Mr. Savile; Dr. Perne; Dr. Ravens; Mr. Haviner.—The four Gospels. Acts of the Apostles. Apocalypse.

WESTMINSTER.—Dean of Chester; Dr. Hutchin-son; Dr. Spencer; Mr. Fenton; Mr. Rabbet; Mr. Sanderson, Mr. Dakins.—The Epistles of St. Paul. The Canonical Epistles.

The Rules to be observed in Translation of the Bible.

1. THE ordinary Bible read in the church, commonly called the Bishops' Bible, to be followed, and as little altered as the truth of the original will permit.
2. The names of the prophets, and the holy writers, with the other names of the text, to be retained, as high as may be, accordingly as they were vulgarly used.
3. The old ecclesiastical words to be kept, viz. the word church not to be translated congregation, &c.
4. When a word hath divers significations, that to be kept which hath been most commonly used by the most of Antient Fathers, being agreeable to the analogy of the faith.
5. The division of words to be altered either not at all, or as little as may be, if necessity require.
6. No marginal notes at all to be affixed, but only for the explanation of the Hebrew or Greek words, which cannot, without some circumlocution, so briefly and fitly be exprest in the text.
7. Such quotations of places to be marginally set down, as shall serve for the fit reference of one scripture to another.
8. Every particular man of each company, to take the same chapter or chapters, and having translated or amended them severally by himself, where he thinketh good, all to meet together, confer what they have done, and agree for their parts what shall stand.
9. As any one company hath dispatched any one book in this manner, they shall send it to the rest, to be considered of seriously and judiciously, for his majesty is very careful in this point.
10. If any company, upon the review of the book so sent, doubt or differ upon any place, to send them word thereof; note the place, and withal send the reasons; to which if they consent not, the difference to be compounded at the general meeting, which is to be of the chief persons of each company at the end of the work.
11. When any place of special obscurity is doubted of, letters to be directed, by authority, to send to any learned man in the land, for his judgment of such a place.
12. Letters to be sent from every bishop, to the rest of his clergy, admonishing them of this translation in hand; and to move and charge as many as being skilful in the tongues, and having taken pains in that kind, to send his particular observations to the company, either at Westminster, Cambridge, or Oxford.
13. The directors in each company to be the deans of Westminster and Chester for that place; and the king's professors in the Hebrew or Greek in either university.
14. These translations to be used when they agree better with the text than the Bishops' Bible, viz., Tindall's, Matthew's, Coverdale's, Whitchurch's, Geneva.
15. Besides the said directors before mentioned, three or four of the most ancient and grave divines, in either of the universities, not employed in translating, to be assigned by the vice-chancellor, upon conference

with rest of the heads, to be overseers of the translations, as well Hebrew as Greek; for the better observation of the 4th rule above specified.

NUMBER XI.

A Declaration of certain principal Articles of Religion, set out by the order of both Archbishops, Metropolitans, and the rest of the Bishops, for the Unity of Doctrine to be taught and holden of all Parsons, Vicars, and Curates, as well in testification of their common Consent in the said Doctrine, to the stopping of the mouths of them that go about to slander the Ministers of the Church, for diversity of Judgment: as necessary for the instruction of their People, to be read by the said Parsons, Vicars, and Curates, at their Possession-taking, or first entry into their Cures. And also after that, yearly, at two several times; that is to say, the Sundays next following Easter-day, and St. Michael the Archangel, or on some other Sunday, within one month after those Feasts, immediately after the Gospel.

FORASMUCH as it appertaineth to all Christian men, but especially to the ministers and the pastors of the church, being teachers and instructors of others, to be ready to give a reason of their faith when they shall be thereunto required: I for my part now appointed to be their vicar, or curate, having before my eyes your person, and the testimony of my conscience, the fear of God, for myself, and require you to assent do acknowledge.

I. — First, That there is but one living and true God, of infinite power, wisdom, and goodness; the maker and preserver here be three persons of one substance of this Godhead, the Father, the Son, and the Holy Spirit, whatsoever is contained in the

II. — I believe also, In the which Scriptures holy canonical Scriptures, unto salvation; by the which also, all errors and heresies may sufficiently be reproved and convicted; and all doctrine and articles necessary to salvation established. I do also most firmly believe and confess all the articles contained in the three creeds; the Nicene creed, Athanasius' creed, and our common creed, called the Apostles' creed; for these do briefly contain the principal articles of our faith, which are at large set forth in the Holy Scriptures.

III. — I do acknowledge also that church to be the spouse of Christ, wherein the word of God is truly taught, the sacraments orderly ministered, according to Christ's institution, and the authority of the keys duly used. And that every such particular church hath authority to institute, to change, clean, to put away ceremonies, and other ecclesiastical rites, as they be superfluous, or be abused; and to constitute other, making more to seemliness, to order, or edification.

IV. — Moreover, I confess, that it is not lawful for any man to take upon him any office or ministry, either ecclesiastical or secular, but such only as are lawfully thereunto called by their high authorities, according to the ordinances of this realm.

V. — Furthermore, I do acknowledge the queen's majesty's prerogative and superiority of government of all estates, and in all causes, as well ecclesiastical as temporal, within this realm, and other her dominions and countries, to be agreeable to God's word, and of right to appertain to her highness, in such sort as is in the late act of parliament expressed, and sithence by her majesty's injunctions declared and expounded.

VI. — Moreover, touching the bishop of Rome, I do acknowledge and confess, that by the Scriptures, and

PART II.—BOOK III.

word of God, he hath no more authority than other bishops have in their provinces and diocesses: and therefore the power which he now challengeth, that is, to be the supreme head of the universal church of Christ, and so to be above all emperors, kings, and princes, is an usurped power, contrary to the Scriptures and word of God, and contrary to the example of the primitive church; and therefore is, for most just causes, taken away and abolished in this realm.

VII.—Furthermore, I do grant and confess, that the book of Common Prayer and Administration of the Holy Sacraments, set forth by the authority of parliament, is agreeable to the Scriptures, and that it is catholic, apostolick, and most for the advancing of God's glory, and the edifying of God's people: both for that it is in a tongue that may be understood of the people, and also for the doctrine and form of administration contained in the same.

VIII.—And although, in the administration of baptism, there is neither exorcism, oil, salt, spittle, or hallowing of the water now used; and for that they were of late years abused, and esteemed necessary; where they pertain not to the substance and necessity of the sacrament, they be reasonably abolished, and yet the sacrament full and perfectly ministered, to all intents and purposes, agreeable to the institution of our saviour Christ.

IX.—Moreover, I do not only acknowledge, that private masses were never used amongst the fathers of the primitive church; I mean, publick ministration, and receiving of the sacrament by the priest alone, without a just number of communicants, according to Christ's saying, "Take ye and eat ye," &c.; but also that the doctrine that maintaineth the mass to be a propitiatory sacrifice for the quick and the dead, and a mean to deliver souls out of purgatory, is neither agreeable to Christ's ordinance, nor grounded upon doctrine apostolick. But contrary-wise, most ungodly and most injurious to the precious redemption of our saviour Christ, and his only-sufficient sacrifice offered once for ever upon the altar of the cross.

X.—I am of that mind also, that the holy communion, or sacrament, of the body and blood of Christ, for the due obedience to Christ's institution, and to express the virtue of the same, ought to be ministered unto the people under both kinds; and that it is avouched by certain fathers of the church, to be a plain sacrilege to rob them of the mystical cup for whom Christ hath shed his most precious blood, seeing he himself hath said, "Drink ye all of this." Considering also, that in the time of the ancient doctors of the church, as Cyprian, Hierom, Augustine, Gelasius, and others, six hundred years after Christ and more, both the parts of the sacrament were ministered to the people.

Last of all.—As I do utterly disallow the extolling of images, reliques, and feigned miracles; and also all kind of expressing God invisible in the form of an old man, or the Holy Ghost in form of a dove; and all other vain worshipping of God, devised by man's fantasy; besides or contrary to the Scriptures; as wandering on pilgrimages, setting up of candles, praying upon beads, and such-like superstition; which kind of works have no promise of reward in Scripture, but contrary-wise, threatenings and maledictions: so I do exhort all men to the obedience of God's law, and to the works of faith, as charity, mercy, pity, alms, devout and fervent prayer, with the affection of the heart, and not with the mouth only; godly abstinence and fasting, chastity, obedience to the rulers and superior powers, with such-like works, and godliness of life commanded by God in his word; which, as St.

Paul saith, "hath promises both of this life, and of the life to come;" and are works only acceptable in God's sight.

These things, above-rehearsed, though they be appointed by common order, yet do I, without all compulsion, with freedom of mind and conscience, from the bottom of my heart, and upon most sure persuasion, acknowledge to be true and agreeable to God's word. And therefore I exhort you all, of whom I have cure, heartily and obediently to embrace and receive the same; that we all joining together in unity of spirit, faith, and charity, may also at length be joined together in the kingdom of God, and that through the merits and death of our saviour Jesus Christ. To whom, with the Father and the Holy Ghost, be all glory and empire, now and for ever. Amen.

Imprinted at London, in Paul's Church yard, by Richard Jugge, printer to the Queen's majesty.

Cum Privilegio Regie Majestatis.

* NUMBER XII.

Sir Walter Mildmay's Opinion concerning the keeping of the Queen of Scots (October 26, 1569) at Windsor Castle.—An Original.

The question to be considered on is, whether it be less perilous to the Queen's Majesty, and the realm, to retain the Queen of Scots in England, or to return her home into Scotland?

In which question, these things are to be considered. On the one side, what dangers are like to follow if she be retained here; and thereupon, if so avoiding of them, it shall be thought good to return her, then what cautions and provisions are necessary to be had.

On the other side are to be weighed the dangers like to follow if she be returned home; and thereupon, if for eschewing of them, it shall be thought good to retain her here, then what cautions and provisions are in that case necessary.

Dangers in retaining the Queen of Scots.

Her unquiet and aspiring mind never ceasing to practise with the queen's subjects. Her late practice of marriage between the duke of Norfolk and her, without the queen's knowledge. The faction of the papists, and other ambitious folks, being ready and fit instruments for her to work upon. The commiseration that ever followeth such as be in misery, though their deserts be never so great. Her cunning and sugared entertainment of all men that come to her, whereby she gets both credit and intelligence. Her practice with the French and Spanish ambassadors, being more near to her in England than if she were in Scotland; and their continual solicitation of the queen for her delivery, the denial whereof may breed war. The danger in her escaping out of guard, whereof it is like enough she will give the attempt. So as remaining here, she hath time and opportunity to practise and nourish factions, by which she may work confederacy, and thereof may follow sedition and tumult, which may bring peril to the queen's majesty and the state. Finally, it is said, that the queen's majesty, of her own disposition, hath no mind to retain her, but is much unquieted therewith, which is a thing greatly to be weighed.

Cautions if she be returned.

To deliver her into the hands of the regent, and the lords now governing Scotland, to be safely kept. That she meddle not with the state, nor make any alteration

in the government, or in religion. That by sufficient hostages it may be provided, that neither any violence be used to her person, nor that she be suffered to govern again, but live privately, with such honourable entertainment as is met for the king of Scots mother. That the league, offensive and defensive, between France and Scotland, be never renewed. That a new and perpetual league be made between England and Scotland, whereby the queen's majesty may shew an open maintenance and allowance of the king's authority and estate, and of the present government, so as the Scots may wholly depend on her. That the regent and the lords of Scotland do make no composition with the Scots queen, neither suffer her to marry, without consent of the queen's majesty. That the faults whereof she hath been accused, and her declining and delaying to answer that accusation, may be published to the world, the better to discourage her factious party both here and in Scotland.

Dangers in returning her.

The manner how to deliver her home, with the queen's majesty's honour and safety, is very doubtful. For if she be delivered in guard, that came hither free, and at liberty, how will that stand with the queen's honour, and with the requests of the French and Spanish kings, that have continually solicited her free delivery, either into Scotland or France? or if she die in guard, either violently or naturally, her majesty shall hardly escape slander. If, again, she be delivered home at liberty, or if being in guard she should escape, then these perils may follow:

The suppressing of the present government in Scotland, now depending upon the queen's majesty, and advancing of the contrary faction depending upon the French. The alteration of religion in Scotland. The renewing of the league, offensive and defensive, between France and Scotland, that hath so much troubled England. The renewing of her pretended claim to the crown of this realm. The likelihood of war to ensue between France, Scotland, and us, and the bringing in of strangers into that realm to our annoyance, and great charge, as late experience hath shewed. The supplantation that she is like to have of the French and Spanish kings. And though peace should continue between England and Scotland, yet infinite injuries will be offered by the Scots queen's ministers upon the borders, which will turn to the great hurt of the queen's majesty's subjects, or else to her greater charges to redress them; for the change of the government in Scotland, will change the justice which now is had, unto all injury and injustice. The likelihood she will revoke the earl Bothwell, now her husband, though unlawful, as it is said, a man of most evil and cruel affection to this realm, and to his own countrymen: or, if she should marry another that were a-like enemy, the peril must needs be great on either side.

And albeit to these dangers may be generally said, that such provision shall be made, by capitulations with her, and by hostages from the regent, and the lords of Scotland, as all these perils shall be prevented:

To that may be answered.

That no fact which she shall do here in England will hold, for she will allege the same to be done in a foreign country, being restrained of liberty. That there is great likelihood of escape, wheresoever she be kept in Scotland; for her late escape there sheweth, how she will leave no way unsought to achieve it; and the country being, as it is, greatly divided, and of nature marvellously factious, she is the more like to bring it to pass. Or if the regent, by any practice,

should yield to a composition, or finding his party weak should give over his regiment, then what assurance have we, either of amity or religion? That the regent may be induced to do this, appeareth by his late secret treaty with the duke of Norfolk, for her marriage, without the queen's majesty's knowledge. And though the regent should persevere constant, yet if he should be taken away directly, or indirectly, (the like whereof is said, hath been attempted against him,) then is all at large, and the queen of Scots most like to be restored to her estate, the factions being so great in Scotland, as they are; so as the case is very tickle and dangerous to hang upon so small a thread as the life of one man, by whom it appeareth the whole at this present is contained.

And touching the hostages, though that assurance might be good to preserve her from violence in Scotland, yet it may be doubted how the same will be sufficient to keep her from escaping or governing again, seeing, for her part, she will make little conscience of the hostages if she may prevail; and the punishing of the hostages will be a small satisfaction to the queen's majesty for the troubles that may ensue. And for the doubt of her escape, or of rebellion within this realm, it may be said, that if she should not be well guarded, but should be left open to practise, then her escape and the other perils might be doubted of; but if the queen's majesty hold a stricter hand over her, and put her under the care of a fast and circumspect man, all practice shall be cut from her, and the queen's majesty free from that peril. And more safe it is for the queen to keep the bridle in her own hand, to restrain the Scottish queen, than in returning her home to commit that trust to others, which by death, composition, or abusing of one person, may be disappointed.

And if she should by any means recover her estate, the doubt of rebellion there is not taken away, but rather to be feared, if she have ability to her will. And if she find strength, by her own or foreign friends, she is not far off to give aid, upon a main land, to such as will stir for her; which, so long as she is here, they will forbear, lest it might bring most peril to herself, being in the queen's hands. The like respect no doubt will move foreign princes to become requesters, and no threateners, for her delivery.

And where it is said that the queen's majesty cannot be quiet so long as she is here, but it may breed danger to her majesty's health. That is a matter greatly to be weighed; for it were better to adventure all, than her majesty should inwardly conceive anything to the danger of her health. But as that is only known to such as have more inward acquaintance with her majesty's disposition, than is fit for some other to have; so again it is to be thought, that her majesty being wise, if the perils like to follow in returning her home were laid before her, and if she find them greater than the other, she will be induced easily to change her opinion, and thereby may follow to her majesty's great satisfaction and quietness.

Cautions if she be retained.

To remove her somewhat nearer the court, at the least within one day's journey of London, whereby it shall be the more easy to understand of her doings.

To deliver her in custody to such as be thought most sound in religion, and most void of practice.

To diminish her number, being now about forty persons, to the one half, to make thereby the queen's charges the less, and to give her the fewer means of intelligence.

To cut from her all access, letters and messages,

PART II.—BOOK III.

other than such as he that shall have the charge shall think fit.

To signify to all princes the occasion of this strait guard upon her, to be her late practice with the duke of Norfolk, which hath given the queen cause to doubt; further assuring them that she shall be used honourably, but kept safely from troubling the queen's majesty or this state.

That she be retained here until the estate of Scotland be more settled, and the estate of other countries now in garboil be quieted, the issue whereof is like to be seen in a year or two.

NUMBER XII.

A Letter written by the Earl of Leicester to the Earl of Sussex, concerning the Queen of Scots; taken from the first draught of it, written with his own hand.

[Ex MSS. Nob. D. Evilin.]

MY GOOD LORD—I received your letter in the answer of mine; and though I have not written sooner again to your lordship, both according to your desire and the necessity of our cases at this time, yet I doubt not but you are fully advertised of her majesty's pleasure otherwise. For my own part, I am glad your lordship hath prospered so well in your journey, and have answered in all points the good opinion conceived of you.

And touching her majesty's further resolution, for these causes, my lord, I assure you, I know not well what to write. First, I see her majesty willing and desirous, as reason is, to work her own security, and the quietness of her state, during her time, which I trust in God shall be far longer than we shall live to see end of. And herein, my lord, there be sundry minds, and among ourselves, I must confess to your lordship, we are not fully agreed which way is best to take. And to your lordship I know I may be bold, beside the friendship I owe you, the place you hold presently doth require all the understanding that may be, to the furtherance of her majesty's good estate; wherefore I shall be the bolder even to let you know as much as I do, and how we rest among us.

Your lordship doth consider, for the state of Scotland, her majesty hath those two persons, being divided, to deal with, the queen of Scotland, lately by her subjects deprived, and the young king her son, crowned and set up in her place. Her majesty, of these two, is to chuse, and of necessity must chuse which of them she will allow and accept, as the person sufficient to hold the principal place. And here groweth the question in our council to her majesty, Which of these two are most fit for her to maintain and join in amity with? To be plain with your lordship, the most in number do altogether conceive her majesty's best and surest way is, to maintain and continue the young king in this his estate, and thereby to make her whole party in Scotland, which by the settling of him, with the cause of religion, is thought most easiest, most safest, and most probable for the perpetual quieting and benefit to her own estate, and great assurance made of such a party, and so small charges thereby, as her majesty may make account to have the like authority and assured amity in Scotland as heretofore she had in the time of the late regent.

The reasons against the other are these shortly.

The title that the queen claimeth to this crown; the overthrow of religion in that country; the impos-

sibility of any assurance for the observing of any pact or agreement made between our sovereign and her. These be causes your lordship sees sufficient to dissuade all men from the contrary opinion. And yet, my lord, it cannot be denied, upon indifferent looking into the matter on both sides, but the clearest is full enough of difficulties. And then, my lord, is the matter disputable; and yet I think verily, not for argument sake, but even for duty and conscience sake, to find out truth, and safest means for our sovereign's best doing. And thus we differ. The first you have heard touching the young king.

On the other side, this it is thought, and of these I must confess myself to your lordship to be one: and God is my judge whether it be for any other respect in this world, but that I suppose and verily believe it may prove best for her majesty's own quietness during her time.

And here I must before open to your lordship indeed her majesty's true state she presently stands in; which, though it may be granted the former advice the better way, yet how hardly it layeth in her power to go thorow withal you shall easily judge. For it must be confessed, that by the taking into her protection the king and the faction, she must enter into a war for it: and as the least war being admitted, cannot be maintained without great charge; so such a war may grow, France or Spain setting in foot, as may cause it to be an intolerable war. Then being a war, it must be treasure that must maintain it. That she hath treasure to continue any time in war, surely, my lord, I cannot see it: and as your lordship doth see the present relief for money we trust upon, which either failing us, or it rising no more than I see it like to be, not able long to last, where is there further hope of help hereafter? For my own part I see none. If it be so, then, my lord, that her majesty's present estate is such as I tell you, which I am sure is true, how shall this council stand with security, by taking a party to enter into a war, when we are no way able to maintain it? for if we enter into it once, and be driven, either for lack or any other way, to shrink, what is like to follow of the matter your lordship can well consider? the best is, we must be sorry for that we have done, and perchance seek to make amends, where we neither would nor should. This is touching the present state we stand in. Besides, we are to remember what already we have done; how many ways, even now together, the realm hath been universally burdened.

First, for the keeping of new bands, after the furnishing of armour, and therein how continually the charge sooner hath grown than subsidies paid.

And lastly, the marvellous charge in most countries against the late rebellion, with this loan of money now on the neck of it. Whether this state doth require further cause of imposition or no, I refer to your lordship? And whether entering into a further charge than her majesty hath presently wherewithal to bear, it will force such a matter or no, I refer to wiser to judge.

And now, my lord, I will show you such reasons as move me to think as I do. In worldly causes men must be governed by worldly policies; and yet so to frame them as God, the author of all, be chiefly regarded. For him we have received laws, under which all men's policies and devices ought to be subject; and through his ordinance, the princes on the earth have authority to give laws, by which also all princes have the obedience of the people; and though in some points I shall deal like a worldly man for my prince, yet I hope I shall not forget that I am a Christian, nor my duty to God.

RECORDS.

Our question is this—whether it be meet for our sovereign to maintain the young king of Scotland and his authority, or, upon composition, restore the queen of Scots into her kingdom again? To restore her simply we are not of opinion; for so I must confess a great oversight, and doubt no better success than those that do object most perils thereby to ensue. But if there be any assurances in this world to be given, or any provision by worldly policy to be had, then, my lord, I do not see but ways and means may be used with the queen of Scots, whereby her majesty may be at quiet, and yet delivered of her present great charge. It is granted and feared of all sides, that the cause of any trouble or danger to her majesty, is the title the queen of Scotland pretends to the crown of this realm. The danger we fear should happen by her is not for that she is queen of Scotland but that other the great princes of Christendom do favour her so much as in respect of her religion, they will in all causes assist her; and specially, by the colour of her title, seem justly to aid and relieve her, and the more lawfully take her and her causes into their protection. Then is the title granted to be the chief cause of danger to our sovereign. If it be so, whether doth the setting up the son in the mother's place, from whence his title must be claimed, take away her title in the opinion of those princes, or no, notwithstanding she remain prisoner? It appeareth plainly, no; for there is continual labour and means made, from the greatest princes, our neighbours, to the queen's majesty, for restoring the queen of Scotland to her estate and government, otherwise they protest open relief and aid for her. Then though her majesty do maintain the young king in his present estate, yet it appears that other princes will do the contrary; and having any advantage, how far they will proceed men may suspect. And so we must conceive, that as long as this difference shall continue, by the maintaining of these two, so long shall the same cause remain, to the trouble and danger of the queen's majesty. And now to avoid this whilst she lives, what better mean is there to take this cause away, but by her own consent, to renounce and release all such interest or title as she claimeth, either presently or hereafter, during the life of her majesty and the heirs of her body? Albeit, here may two questions be moved.

First, whether the Scots queen will renounce her title, or no?

Secondly, if she will do so, what assurance may she give for the performance thereof?

To the first, it is most certain she hath, and presently doth offer, wholly and frankly, to release and renounce all manner of claims and titles, whatsoever they be, to the crown of this realm, during her majesty's life, and the heirs of her body.

And for the second, she doth likewise offer all manner of security and assurances that her majesty can devise, and is in that queen's possible power to do, she excepteth none.

Then must we consider what may be assurances, for here is the difficulty. For that objections be that princes never hold promises longer than for their own commodity, and what security soever they put in they may break if they will. All this may be granted; but yet that we must grant also, that princes do daily treat and deal one with another, and of necessity are forced to trust to such bonds and assurances as they contract by. And as there is no such surety to be had in worldly matters, but all are subject to many casualties, yet we see such devices made, even among princes, as doth tie them to perform that, which if they might conveniently chuse they would not. And in this matter of the queen of Scotland, since she doth offer

both to leave the cause of the difference that is between the queen's majesty and her; and also to give all surety that may be by ourselves devised to observe the same; I do not see but such means may be devised to tie her so strongly as though she would break, yet I cannot find what advantage she shall get by it. For beside that I would have her own simple renunciation to be made by the most substantial instrument that could be devised, the assent of some others should confirm the same also. Her own parliaments at home should do the like with the full authority of the whole estates. They should deliver her son and such other principal noblemen of her realm for hostages as the queen's majesty should name. She should also put into her majesty's hands some one piece or two of her realm, and for such a time as should be thought meet by her majesty, except Edinburgh. The queen's majesty might also, by ratifying this by a parliament here, make a forfeiture, if the queen of Scotland should any way, directly or indirectly, go about to infringe this agreement of all such titles and claims that did remain in the queen of Scotland, after her majesty and her issue, never to be capable of any authority or sovereignty within this realm. These I would think to be sufficient bonds to bind any prince, specially no mightier than she is. And this much more would I have, that even as she shall be thus bound, for the relief of her title to the queen's majesty and her issue, so shall she suffer the religion received and established in Scotland already, to be confirmed, and not altered. In like sort, the amity between these two realms to be such, and so frankly united, as no other league with any foreign prince should stand in force to break it. For I think verily, as the first is chiefest touching her majesty's own person, so do I judge the latter—I mean the confirmation of the religion already there received—to be one of the assuredst and likeliest means to hold her majesty a strong and continual party in Scotland. The trial hereof hath been already sufficient, when her majesty had none other interest at all but only the maintenance of the true religion, the same cause remaining still the same affection in the same persons that do profess it. I trust, and it is like will not change. And though the Scots queen should now be settled in her kingdom again, yet is she not like to be greater or better esteemed now than heretofore, when both her authority was greater, and her good-will ready to alter this religion, but could not bring it to pass. No more is it like, these further provisions being taken, she shall do it now. And the last cause also is not without great hope of some good success; for as the oppression of strangers heretofore had utterly wearied them of that yoke, so hath this peaceable time, between them and us, made them know the liberty of their own, and the commodity of us their neighbours.

This, my lord, doth lead me to lean to this opinion, finding thereby rather both more surety, and more quietness, for my sovereign's present time, having, by the contrary, many occasions of trouble cut off, and the intolerable charge eschewed, which I cannot find by any possible means her majesty able to sustain for any long time.

Thus hastily I am driven to end my long cumbersome letter to your lordship, though very desirous to impart my mind herein to your lordship.

NUMBER XIII.

The Bull of Pope Pius the Fifth, Deposing Queen Elizabeth; absolving her Subjects from the Oaths of Allegiance, and Anathematising such as continued in their Obedience.

Pius Episcopus Servus Servorum Dei ad futurum rei memoriam.

REGNANS in Excelsis, cui data est omnis in Cælo, et in Terra Potestas, unani Sanctam, Catholicam, et Apostolicam Ecclesiam, extra quam nulla est Salus, uni soli in Terris, videlicet Apostolorum Potestas Principi Petro, Petriq; Successori Romano Pontifici in potestatis plenitudine tradidit gubernandam. Hunc unum super omnes gentes, et omnia Regna Principem constituit, qui evellat, destruat, disperdat, plantet et edificet: ut fidelem populum mutæ charitatis nexu constrictum, in unitate Spiritus contineat, salvumq; et incolumem suo exhibeat Salvatori. Quo quidem in munere obeundo nos ad prædictæ Ecclesiæ gubernacula Dei benignitate vocati, nullum laborem intermittimus, omni opere contententes, ut ipsa Unitas et Catholica Religio (quam illius autor ad probandum suorum fidei, et correctionem nostram, tantis procellis conflictare permisit) integra conservetur.

Sed impiorum numerus tantum potentia invaluit, ut nullus jam in Orbe locus sit relictus, quem Elizabethæ illi pessimis doctrinis corrumpere non tentarint, admittente inter ceteros flagitiorum Serva Elizabetha prætensa Angliæ Regina, ad quam, veluti ad asylum, omnium infestissimi profugium invenerunt. Hæc eadem Regno occupato, Supremi Ecclesiæ capitis locum in omni Anglia, ejusq; præcipuam autoritatem atq; Jurisdictionem monstrose sibi usurpans, Regnum ipsum jam tum ad fidem Catholicam et bonam frugem reductum, rursus in miserum exitium revocavit. Usu namq; veræ Religionis, quam ab illius desertore Henrico Octavo olim versam, claræ memoriæ Maria Regina legitima, hujus sedis præsidio reparaverat, potenti manu inhibito, Secutisq; et amplexis Hæreticorum erroribus, Regium Consilium ex Anglica Nobilitate confectum diremit, illudq; obscuris hominibus Hæreticis complevit; Catholicæ Fidei cultores oppressit, improbos Concionatores, atq; impietatum administratos reposuit; Missæ Sacrificium, Preces, Jejunia, Ciborum delectum, Coelibatum, Ritusq; Catholicos abolevit: libros manifestam Hæresim continentes, toto, Regno proponi, impia mysteria, et instituta ad Calvinii præscriptum a se suscepta, et observata, etiam a subditis servari mandavit: Episcopos, Ecclesiarum Rectores, et alios Sacerdotes Catholicos, suis Ecclesiis et Beneficiis ejicere, ac de illis, et aliis rebus Ecclesiasticis, in Hæreticos homines disponere, deque Ecclesiæ causis decernere ausa, Prelatis, Clero et Populo, ne Romanam Ecclesiam agnoscerent, neve ejus præceptis Sanctionibusque Canonice obtemperarent, interdixit; pterosque in nefarias leges suas venire, et Romani

Pontificii autoritatem, atque obedientiam abjurare, seque solam in Temporalibus et Spiritualibus Dominam agnoscere, jurejurando coegit: poenas et supplicia eis, qui dicto non essent audientes, imposuit, easdemq; ab iis, qui in unitate fidei et predicta obedientia perseverarunt, exegit: Catholicos Antistes et Ecclesiarum Rectores in vincula conjecit: ubi multi diuturno languore et tristitia confecti, extremum Vitæ diem misere finierunt.

Quæ omnia cum apud omnes Nationes perspicua et notoria sint, et quamplurimorum testimonio ita comprobata, ut nullus omnino locus excusationis, defensionis, aut tergiversationis relinquatur: Nos multiplicatis aliis atque aliis super alias impietatibus et facinoribus, et præterea fidelium persecutione, religionisque afflictione, impulsu et opera dictæ Elizabethæ, quotidie magis ingravescente; quoniam illius animus ita obfirmatum atque induratum intelligimus, ut non modo pias Catholicorum Principum, de sanitate et conversatione preces, monitionesque contempserit, sed ne hujus quidem sedis ad ipsam hac de Causa Nuncios in Angliam trajicere permiserit; ad arma justitiæ contra eam de necessitate conversi, dolorem lenire non possumus, quod adducamur in illam animadvertere, cujus majores de Rep. Christiana tantopere meruerunt.

Illius itaq; autoritate suffulti, qui nos in hoc supremo Justitiæ Throno, licet tanto oneri impares, voluit collocare, de Apostolicæ potestatis plenitudine, declaramus prædictam Elizabetham Hæreticam, et Hæreticorum faultricem, eique adherentes in predictis, anathematis sententiam incurrisse, esseque, a Christi Corporis unitate præscisos: Quin etiam ipsam pretenso Regni prædicti jure, necnon omni et quorumque Dominio, dignitate, privilegioque privatam: Et item proceres, subditos et populos dicti Regni, ac cæteros omnes, qui illi quomodocunque juraverunt a Juramento hujusmodi, ac omni prorsus dominio, fidelitatis, et obsequii debito, perpetuo absolutos, prout nos illos præsentium autoritate absolvimus, et privamus eandem Elizabetham prætenso jure Regni, aliisque omnibus supradictis. Præcipimusque et interdicimus Universis et singulis Proceribus, Subditis, Populis et aliis prædictis; ne illi, ejusve monitis, mandatis, et legibus audeant obedire: Qui secus egerint, eos simili Anathematis sententia innodamus. Quia vero difficile nimis esset presentes quocunque illis opus erit perferre; Volumus ut earum exempla, Notarii Publici manu, et Prelati Ecclesiastici, ejusve Curie Sigillo obsignata, eandem illam prorsus fidem in judicio et extra illud ubique gentium faciant, quam ipsæ presentes facerent, si essent exhibitæ, vel ostensæ.

Datum Romæ apud Sanctum Petrum, Anno Incarnationis Dominicæ Millesimo quingentesimo Sexagesimo Nono. Quinta Kalend. Martii, Pontificatus nostri Anno Quinto.

CÆ. GLORIERIUS.
H. HUMYN.

AN APPENDIX

CONCERNING SOME OF

THE ERRORS AND FALSEHOODS IN SANDERS' BOOK OF THE
ENGLISH SCHISM.

It has been observed of thieves, that by a long practice in that ill course of life, they grow so in love with it, that when there is no advantage to be made by stealing, yet they must keep their hand in use, and continue their address and dexterity in it: so also liars, by a frequent custom, grow to such a habit, that in the commonest things, they cannot speak truth, even though it might conduce to their ends more than their lies do. Sanders had so given himself up to vent reproaches and lies, that he often does it for nothing, without any end but to carry on a trade, that had been so long driven by him that he knew not how to lay it down. He wrote our history merely upon the reports that were brought him, without any care or information about the most public and most indifferent things: but not content to set down those tattles, he shews his wit in refining about them, and makes up such politics and schemes of government, as might suit with those reports, and agree with his own malice. His work is all of a piece, and as it was made out in the former volume, how ignorantly and disingenuously he writ concerning king Henry the Eighth's reign; so I shall add a further discovery of the remaining parts of his book, which will sufficiently convince, even the most partial readers, of the impudence of that author; who seems to have had no other design in writing but to impose on the credulity and weakness of those who he knew were inclined to believe every thing that might cast blemishes on a work against which they were so strongly prejudiced as the reformation of this church: since a field which they so often reaped, and with whose spoils their court was so enriched, was no more at their devotion. So they are ever since concerned in interest to use all the ways they can think on to disgrace a change that was so fatal to them. But as the reformation of this church has hitherto stood, notwithstanding all their designs against it; so it is to be hoped, that the history of it will be hereafter better understood, notwithstanding all the libels and calumnies by which they have endeavoured to represent it, in such black and odious colours to the world.

Sanders says, page 176, "King Edward was in the ninth year of his age when he came to the crown."

This is of no great consequence, but it shews how little this author considered what he writ, when in so public a thing as the king's age, he misreckons a year, for he was born the 12th of October 1537; so in January 1547 he was in the tenth year of his age.

2. He says, page 176, "King Edward was not only declared king of England and Ireland, but made supreme head of the church;" and upon that runs out to shew how incapable a child was of that power.

This is set down in such terms, as if there had been some special act made for his being supreme head of

the church, distinct from his being proclaimed king, whereas there was no such thing; for the supremacy being annexed to the crown, the one went with the other: and it being but a civil power, might be as well exercised by the king's governors, before he came to be of age, as the other rights of the crown were.

3. He says, page 177, "The earl of Hartford was made by himself duke of Somerset."

This was done by order of the whole council, in pursuance of king Henry's design, proved by those witnesses that were beyond exception: and that king having by his will charged his executors to fulfil those things which he intended to do, this was found to be one of them.

4. He says, page 178, "The duke of Somerset made himself the only governor of the king and protector; none daring to oppose it openly but Wriothesley, whom king Henry, when he was dying, had made lord chancellor."

The protector was advanced to that dignity by the unanimous consent of the whole council; to which the lord chancellor consented, and signed the order about it, the original whereof is yet extant; for though he argued against it before it was done, yet he joined with the rest in doing it: nor was he made chancellor by king Henry at his death, but two years before.

5. He says, page 178, "On the 27th of February, two days before the king was crowned, the protector persuaded the king to create many new peers; who were all hereticks, except Dudley earl of Warwick."

Our author, by this shew of exactness, would persuade the reader, that he had considered dates, and the smallest particulars, with the care that became an historian: but he little thought that any would come after him and examine what he said. By this account the king must have been crowned the 1st of March, but it was done February 20, and the peers were created on the 16th of February, four days before. They were not all hereticks, for he forgot that Wriothesley was at the same time made earl of Southampton, which he afterwards insinuates was done upon another account. But all those creations were in pursuance of king Henry's designs, and in obedience to his latter will.

6. He says, page 178, "They forced Wriothesley to resign his office, and turned both him and the earl of Arundel out of the council because they were catholicks."

Wriothesley was turned out upon no account of religion, but for putting the great seal to a commission that was against law, (according to the opinion which the judges declared under their hands,) without any warrant from the council; himself acknowledging the justice of the sentence. The earl of Arundel was not turned out of the council; on the contrary, in the

patent by which the protector held his office, that passed after the chancellor was removed, he is named to be one of the privy-council.

7. He says, page 179, "The protector would needs force all the clergy to submit in every thing to the king's orders;" and sets down the form in which the king writ to archbishop Cranmer.

In this nothing was done but what was begun by king Henry, and to which all the clergy, even his beloved Bonner not excepted, had formerly submitted. So this was no new thing set up by the protector, it being only the renewing the bishops' patents in the new king's name: and this was no part of the reformation, for it was done only to awe the popish bishops, but was soon after laid aside. What he sets down as a letter of king Edward's to Cranmer, is the preamble of the patent he took out. So little did this writer know the things that truly make to the advantage of the cause which he designed to assert.

8. He says, page 180, "The new protector, among the first things he did, restrained all preaching, and silenced all the bishops and pastors: so that none were licensed to preach but the Lutherans and Zuinglians."

The first injunctions set out in the king's name, required all bishops to preach at least four times a year in their dioceses; and to keep learned chaplains who might be able to preach, and should be often much employed in it. And thus matters stood the first year of this reign. In the beginning of the second year, upon complaints made of the rashness of some preachers, a proclamation was put out, that none should preach without a license from the king, or the archbishops, or the bishop of the diocese; except incumbents in their own parishes. Afterwards there was, for some little time, a total prohibition of preaching, but that was to last for a short while, till the book of common prayer, which was then a preparing, should be finished. This was equally made on both hands; for the prohibition was universal, without exception: so falsely has our author stated this matter; which one would think he ignorantly drew from what queen Mary did, applying it to this reign; for she, upon her coming to the crown, did prohibit all preaching, excepting only such as were licensed to it by Gardiner, under the great seal.

9. He says, page 181, "Latimer was turned out of the bishopric of Worcester, by king Henry, upon suspicion of heresy."

Latimer did freely resign his bishoprick, upon the passing of the act of the six articles, with which he could not comply with a good conscience.

10. He says, page 182, "The protector put Cox and Cheek about the king, that they might corrupt his mind with heretical doctrines."

These were put about him three years before, by king Henry's order; as that young king himself informs us in his journal.

11. He says, page 184, "The heads of the colleges were turned out, and the catholick doctors were forbid to preach."

I do not find one head of a college in either university was turned out*; for though they generally loved the old superstition, yet they loved their places much

* Day, provost of King's, was not turned out, as has been said by Mr. Wharton, for he resigned, though perhaps not altogether voluntarily, though his resignation is said to be voluntary. But Rowland Swinburn, master of Clare Hall, was certainly turned out by the king's visitors, as appears from a Journal of the Visitation, MS. C. C. C., nor can there be any doubt but Gardiner was turned out at Trinity Hall, where his successors, Haddon and Mowse, are styled masters *de facto*.
—A NON. CORRECT.

better. And indeed the whole clergy did so readily conform themselves to every change that was made, that it was not easy to find colours for turning out Bonner and Gardiner. All preachers had the liberty of their own pulpits, except for a very little while.

12. He says, page 184, "They decried the school-divinity, and the works of Lombard, Aquinas, and Scotus, and so threw all learning out of the schools."

They could not do that more than Sir Thomas More, Erasmus, and other popish writers had done before them; who had expressed their scorn of that way of treating divine matters, so copiously, that it was no wonder it was much despised. Those writers had, by a set of dark and barbarous maxims and terms, so intangled all the articles of faith, and imposed on the world, by an appearance of saying somewhat, when really they said nothing: and pretending to explain religion, they had so exposed it, that their way of divinity was become equally nauseous and ridiculous.

13. He says, page 186, "Bucer and Peter Martyr, being brought out of Germany, did corrupt the universities; and entertained the youth with discourses of predestination, reprobation, and a fatal necessity of things."

This was so far from being much taught, that on the contrary, in one of the articles of religion, the curious enquiries into those abstruse points was by public authority forbid. Bucer and Martyr read for most part in the chairs, upon the mass, and the other corruptions of the popish worship. They also declared St. Austin's doctrine about grace, but I do not find they ever meddled with reprobation.

14. After a long invective, which is to pass as a piece of his wit and poetry, he says, page 190, "Bucer was inclined to become a Jew, and was descended from Jewish parents; and that the lord Paget had heard him say, that the corporal presence was so clear in the Scripture that no man could deny it who believed the gospel; but for his part, he did not believe all that was said in the New Testament concerning our Saviour."

This is as suitable to our author's honesty as can be: Bucer was never accused of this by any of his enemies as long as he lived. No man in that age writ with a greater sense of the kingdom of Christ than he did. And for the story of the lord Paget, we have nothing for it but the author's word; and poets must make circumstances, as well as more signal contrivances, to set off their fables. But there was no occasion for Bucer's saying this, since he never declared against the corporal presence; but was for taking up that controversy in some general expressions. So it was not suitable to his opinion in that matter for him to talk so loosely of the Scriptures. And is it credible that a story of this nature should not have been published in queen Mary's time, and been made use of, when he was condemned for an heretick, and his body raised and burnt? But our author, perhaps, did not think of that.

15. He says, page 191, "Peter Martyr was a while in suspense concerning the Eucharist, and stayed till he should see what the parliament should appoint in that matter."

P. Martyr argued and read in the chair against the corporal presence four years before the parliament meddled with it: for the second Common Prayer Book, which contained the first public declaration that the parliament made in this matter, was enacted in the fifth year of king Edward; and Peter Martyr, from his first coming to England, had appeared against it.

16. He said, page 193, "The first parliament under king Edward, appointed a new form to be used in

ordaining priests and bishops; who till that time had been ordained according to the old rites, save only that they did not swear obedience to the pope."

This is a further evidence of our author's care in searching the printed statutes; since what was done in the fifth year of this reign he represents as done in the first. His design in this was clear; he had a mind to possess all his own party with an opinion that the orders given in this church were of no force, and therefore he thought it a decent piece of his poem to set down this change as done so early: since if he had mentioned it in its proper place, he knew not how to deny the validity of the orders that were given the first four years of this reign, which continued to be conferred according to the old forms.

17. He said, page 193, "The parliament did also at the same time confirm a new Book of Common-Prayer and of the Administration of the Sacraments."

This is of a piece with the former; for the act confirming the Common Prayer Book, which is also among the printed statutes, passed not in this session of parliament, but in a second session, a year after this. These are indications sufficient to shew what an historian Sanders was, that did not so much as read the public acts of the time concerning which he writ.

18. He says, page 193, "They ordered all images to be removed, and sent some lewd men over England for that effect; who either brake or burnt the images of our Saviour, the Blessed Virgin, and the Saints; therein declaring against whom they made war; and they ordered the king's arms, three leopards, and three lilies, with the supporters, a dog and a serpent, to be set in the place where the cross of Christ stood: thereby owning that they were no longer to worship Jesus Christ, whose images they broke, but the king, whose arms they set up in the room of those images."

In this period there is an equal mixture of falsehood and malice. 1. The parliament did not order the removal of images; it was done by the king's visitors, before the parliament sat. 2. The total removal of images was not done the first year, only those images that were abused to superstition were taken down, and a year after the total removal followed. 3. They took care that this should be done regularly, not by the visitors, who only carried the king's injunctions about it, but by the curates themselves. 4. They did not order the king's arms to be put in the place where the cross had stood. It grew indeed to be a custom to set them up in all churches, thereby expressing, that they acknowledged the king's authority reached even to their churches; but there was no order made about it. 5. I leave him to the correction of the heralds, for saying, the king's arms are three leopards, when every body knows they are three lions, and a lion, not a dog, is one supporter, and the other is a dragon, not a serpent. 6. By their setting up the king's arms, and not his picture, it is plain they had no thought of worshipping their king, but did only acknowledge his authority. 7. It was no less clear, that they had no design against the worship due to Jesus Christ, nor that inferior respect due to the Blessed Virgin and Saints; but intended only to wean the people from that, which at best was but pagantry; but as it was practised, was manifest idolatry. And the painting on the walls of the churches the Ten Commandments, the Creed, the Lord's Prayer, with many other passages of Scripture that were of most general use, shewed, they intended only to cleanse their churches from those mixtures of heathenism that had been brought into the Christian religion.

19. He says, page 193, "They took away the sacrifice of the body and blood of Christ, that they

might thereby give some colour to the converting of the sacred vessels to the king's use."

They took away no part of the institution of Christ, for they set it down in the act past about it; and recited all the words of the first institution of the sacrament; they only condemned private masses, as contrary to Christ's institution. They did not convert the holy vessels to the king's use, nor were they taken out of the churches till five years after this; that the necessities of the government, either real or pretended, were alleged to excuse the taking away the superfluous plate that was in churches: but this was not done by act of parliament, but by commissioners empowered by the king, who were ordered to leave in every church such vessels as were necessary for the administration of the sacraments.

20. He says, page 193, "The parliament ordered the prayers to be in the vulgar tongue; and upon that he infers, that the Irish, the Welch, and the Cornishmen, were now in a much worse condition than before; since they understood no English, so that the worship was to them in a tongue more unknown than it had formerly been."

The parliament made no such order at this time: the Book of Common Prayer was set out first by the king's authority, and ratified by the subsequent session of parliament. There was also a design which though it was then accomplished, yet it was done afterwards, of translating the liturgy into these tongues: but still the English was much more understood by all sorts of men among them, than the Latin had been.

21. He says, page 194, "The office of the communion, appointed by this parliament, differed very little from the mass, save that it was in English."

The error of the parliament's appointing the new offices runs through all he says on this subject. But in the new office of the communion, the idolatry of worshipping, carrying about or exposing the sacrament, was laid aside. The trade of particular masses for private occasions, the prayers to the saints, the denying the people the chalice, with a great many of the rites and gesticulations formerly used, were all laid aside; so that there were great changes made. Every thing was not done at once, but they began with the abuses that did most require a reformation, and went on afterwards to the changing of lesser things.

22. He says, page 194, "Sir Ralph Sadler took the wife of one Matthew Barlow; so, upon pretence of his being dead, his wife married Sadler: but her first husband coming home, he sought to have his wife again. It was brought into the parliament in king Henry's time, and now it was enacted, that she should be Sadler's wife; he being the richer and greater man. So against the laws of the gospel, a wife, while her husband was yet alive, was adjudged to a second husband."

This is, as far as I can learn, a forgery from the beginning to the end: and it seems Sadler, that was a privy-councillor in queen Elizabeth's time, did somewhat that so provoked Sanders, that he resolved to be revenged of him and his family, by casting such an aspersion on him. I find no footsteps of any such story; sure I am, there is nothing concerning it in the records of this parliament. And for the business of the dissolution of marriages for adultery, absence, or any other cause, there was so great and so strict an enquiry made into it after the parliament was ended, in the case of the marquess of Northampton, that it is clear it was the first of that sort that was examined; and might perhaps, after it was confirmed in parliament, in the fifth year of this reign, have been made a precedent for other cases; but this of Sadler, in the first parliament, is a contrivance of our author's. It is not

improbable, that when afterwards it was judged that the marriage-bond was dissolved by adultery, they might likewise declare it dissolved, upon voluntary and long absence, since St. Paul had said, "that a brother or a sister were not under bondage in such cases."

23. He says, page 196, "Gardiner, Bonner, Tonsal, Heath, and Day, were much grieved at the changes that were made: yet they complied in many things, till being required to deliver some blasphemous doctrines in their sermons, they refusing to give obedience in that, were deprived; but were afterwards condemned to perpetual imprisonment under queen Elizabeth; all which were the effects of God's displeasure on them for complying with king Henry in his schism."

I shall grow tedious if I insist on all the falsities that do occur in this period. First, only Gardiner and Bonner were questioned and deprived for their sermons: Tonsal was deprived for misprision of treason; Heath and Day were judged by lay-delegates; so it is like their offences were also against the state. 2. There was nothing enjoined Bonner or Gardiner to preach, upon which they were censured, but that the king's authority was the same when he was under age that it was afterwards; which is a point that belongs only to the laws and constitutions of this government: and so there was just reason to impute their silence in that particular, when they were commanded to touch upon it in their sermons, to an ill design against the state. 3. Three of these bishops did concur in all the changes that were made the first four years of this king's reign, and both preached and wrote for them; and even Bonner and Gardiner did not only give obedience to every law or injunction that came out, but recommended them much in their sermons. 4. These did not suffer perpetual imprisonment under queen Elizabeth; Gardiner and Day died before she reigned, and so were not imprisoned by her. Heath was never put in prison by her, but lived at his own country house; and Tonsal lived at Lambeth in as much ease, and was treated with as much respect, as if it had been his own house; so that Bonner was the only man that was kept in prison; but that was believed to be done in kindness to him, to preserve him from the affronts which otherwise he might have met with from the friends of those he had butchered.

24. He says, page 197, "The lady Mary never departed from her mother's faith and constancy."

It appears, by many of her letters, that she complied with everything that had been done by her father; so it seems she was dispensed with from Rome, to dissemble in his time; for otherwise her constancy had very likely been fatal to her, but she presumed on the mildness of her brother's government, to be more refractory afterwards.

25. He says, page 198, "The king was sorry when he understood how hardly his sister had been used by the council."

It was so far otherwise, that when the council, being much pressed by the emperor to connive at her having mass, were resolved to give way to it; the king himself was so averse to it, thinking it a sin in him to consent to the practice of idolatry, that the council employed the bishops to work on him, and they could hardly induce him to tolerate it.

26. He says, page 200, "The visitors carried with them over England, Bibles of a most corrupt translation, which they ordered to be set up in all the churches of England."

In king Henry's time, it had been ordered, that there should be a Bible in every church; so this was not done by the visitors in this reign, as may appear by the injunctions that were given them, which have been often printed.

27. He says, page 200, "The visitors did everywhere enquire whether all the images were broken down; and if the altars were taken away, and communion tables were put in their rooms; and if all the old offices were destroyed."

Here he confounds in one period what was done in several years. In the first year the images that had been abused by pilgrimages were ordered to be removed. In the second year, all images were taken down without exception. In the third year the old books of the former offices were ordered to be destroyed. And in the fourth year, the altars were turned to communion tables; so ignorantly did this author write of our affairs.

28. He says, page 201, "The visitors did everywhere encourage the priests to marry, and looked on such as did not marry as inclined to popery."

The marriage of the clergy was not so much as permitted till near the beginning of the third year of this reign; and then it was declared that an unmarried state was more honourable and decent; so that it was recommended, and the other was only tolerated; and so far were they from suspecting men to be firm to the reformation that were married, that Ridley and Latimer, the most esteemed next to Crammer, were never married: nor was any ever vexed for his not being married, as he falsely insinuates.

28. He says, page 202, "The protector bore great hatred to Gardiner and Tonsal, both because they opposed the hereticks, and because they had been made equals to him, if not preferred before him, by king Henry's will, in the government during the king's being under age."

This is another of our author's figures. Gardiner was not mentioned in king Henry's will, neither as an executor nor so much as a counsellor; and by it none were preferred to another, all being made equal. And for Tonsal, he continued still in a firm friendship with the protector, and was so well satisfied with the first changes that were made, that he was complained of as well as Crammer, by Gardiner, in the letters which he writ to the protector.

29. He says, page 202, "The protector made a speech about religion before the king, and therefore he put, first Gardiner, then Tonsal, and at another time, the bishops of London, Chichester, and Worcester, in prison."

Gardiner and Bonner were indeed imprisoned some time, during the protector's government; the latter was also deprived while he was protector. But Tonsal was not put in prison till two years after, and it was at the time of the duke of Somerset's total fall, and by the same person's means that wrought his ruin; from which it appears he was always a firm friend to the duke of Somerset. The bishops of Worcester and Chichester were also brought in trouble, long after the government was taken out of the protector's hands.

30. He says, page 202, "They were all deposed from their degree."

They were not deposed from their degree, but deprived of their bishopricks; for they having accepted commissions, by which they held their sees, only during the king's pleasure, they might well be deprived by a sentence of the delegates. But had they been to be deposed, and thrust from their order, it must have been done by a synod of bishops. They were deprived, as many bishops were under the Christian emperors, by selected synods that sat in the court, and judged of all complaints that were brought before the emperors.

31. Page 204. "He reckons up the judgments of God upon the hereticks, and says, the protector made kill his brother, and Dudley took him away."

This is a way of writing familiar enough to our author, to represent things in such a manner as might fill the reader with horror, as if these persons had been secretly murdered, whereas the one was condemned in parliament, the other by a judgment of his peers.

32. He says, page 204, "King Edward died not without suspicion of being poisoned by Dudley and the duke of Suffolk, who aspired to the crown."

It was never suspected that the duke of Suffolk had any hand in poisoning the king, nor could I ever see any reason to conclude that he was poisoned; but neither of these dukes aspired to the crown; the one resigned any pretension he could ever have to his daughter; and the other intended only that his fourth son should reign.

33. He said, page 205, "The protector's lady claimed the precedence of the queen dowager, and upon the denial of it, conspired the ruin of the admiral."

All this is a contrivance of the enemies of that family; for as it had been absurd for the duchess of Somerset to have disputed precedence with the queen dowager, so in that whole matter it is plain the admiral began with his brother, and conspired his ruin; and the protector was often reconciled to him, and forgave him many faults, till it appeared that his ambition was incurable.

34. He says, page 205, "There being no ground of any accusation against him, the duchess of Somerset got Latimer to accuse him of treason in a sermon."

The articles upon which he was condemned shew what matter there was against him. Latimer did never accuse him of treason; but being a man of great plainness of speech, he reflected on him as ambitious, and not sincere in the profession of religion: and when it was suspected that the duchess of Somerset had set him on to make these reflections, he did vindicate her in a most solemn manner. Nor is there any reason to think that how indiscreet soever he might be in preaching in such a sort, that he did it to flatter or to aspire by such means, for he refused to accept of any preferment, though the house of commons interposed to have him repossessed of the see of Worcester.

35. He says, page 205, "At the same time that he was beheaded, the queen dowager died."

She died in September 1548, and he was beheaded in March following; and one of the articles against him was, that after her death he intended to have married the king's sister Elizabeth; and it was suspected, that to make for that he had poisoned her.

36. He says, page 206, "The men of Devonshire and Cornwall did, with one consent, take up arms for the faith."

In one thing he says true, that this rebellion was set on by the priests, and made on the account of religion; but the brutal cruelty of those rebels shewed it was not for the faith, but in compliance to their priests and leaders, that they rose.

37. He says, page 209, "The clergy finding that their being married was generally an ingrateful thing, procured an act of parliament, declaring that there was no human law against their marriages; and this was all they were concerned in, for they cared little for the law of God."

This is a genuine piece of our author's wit. If the parliament meddles in declaring what is the law of God, he accuses them for meddling in things without their sphere: and if they only declare what is the law of the land, he says they have no regard to the law of God: so he is resolved, do what they will, they shall not escape his censure. But in this he shews his

ignorance as well as his malice. The lawfulness of the marriage of the clergy was inquired into with such exactness, that scarce anything can be added since to what was then written on that argument. It was made out that there was no law of God against it: it was also proved that there was no general law made by the primitive church about it, but that it was a part of the yoke that the popes laid on the clergy, to engage them more zealously in their concerns. It was at first carried in the convocation that they might lawfully marry; then an act of parliament passed permitting it: of all which our author takes no notice. Then three years after, some that were ill-affected to them, taking advantage from the words of the statute, as if the permission had only been such a conniving at it as had been formerly to the stewards, a second act passed confirming those marriages, and the issue by them.

38. He says, page 210, "The catholick doctors in the universities grew more courageous in the defence of the faith, and so desired a publick dispute concerning the corporal presence."

They were so courageous, that as soon as any change was made, they all complied most obsequiously to it, as will appear both by Ogleshorpe and Smith's submissions. But while the changes were under consultation, they seeing it could bring them into no trouble, were very stout; but as soon as they were to lose or suffer anything for their consciences, then they grew as tractable as could be. In such a zeal, let him glory as much as he will.

39. He says, page 210, "Smith did often challenge Peter Martyr to a public dispute at Oxford; but he declined it, till Dr. Cox, a man of a lewd life, was sent to moderate in the dispute, and till Dr. Smith was banished the university."

Smith did once challenge Peter Martyr to a dispute, to which he presently consented, upon two conditions; the one was, that a license should first be obtained of the king and council, and delegates be appointed by them to make a just report of the dispute: the other was, that it should be managed in the terms of Scripture, and not in the school terms: they were both more proper for matters of divinity, and more easily understood by all people. Upon this the council sent down delegates; and then Smith, who intended only to raise a tumult in the schools, withdrew himself, and fled beyond sea, but was never banished. His calling Dr. Cox a man of a lewd life, is one of the flowers he stuck in to adorn the rest. All the writers of that age make honourable mention of him; he was first set about this king by his father, and continued with him in all the turns of affairs, and did so faithfully discharge that high trust, that it appears he must have been a very extraordinary man. This was so well known to the whole nation, that in the beginning of queen Mary's reign he met with more than ordinary favour. This, considering the hatred which the popish party bore him, is a clear evidence of his great worth, and that they were afraid to be severe to a man so universally esteemed.

40. He says, page 210, "Cox saw he was so much pressed by the doctors that disputed with him, and the hearers did so hiss him down, that he broke off the dispute, giving Peter Martyr a high commendation for his learning, and exhorting the rest to live peaceably. Peter Martyr afterwards printed the disputation falsely, but by the judgment of the university he was doubly baffled, both that he refused to dispute with Smith, and that he did acquit himself so ill with those doctors that disputed with him."

It is probable the hearers might have been set on to hiss, but the printed disputation will decide this

matter, and shew who argued both more nervously and more ingenuously. We have no reason to believe it was falsely printed, unless we will take it on this author's word; for I do not find the popish doctors did, either at this time, or afterwards in queen Mary's reign, when the presses were all in their hands, publish anything to the contrary of what P. Martyr printed; so that he neither refused to dispute with Smith, nor was he baffled by those that undertook it. Smith fled, and the rest were clearly worsted. And for the university, there was no judgment passed by them, unless he means the rudeness and clamours of some that might be set on to it.

41. He says, page 211, "The dispute with Bucer at Cambridge had the same effect."

It had so indeed; the printed relation shews the weakness and disingenuity of the popish disputants, and that was never contradicted.

42. Page 211. He gives account of many other disputes, and of Gardiner's book, under the name of Marcus Constantius, which he says was a full confutation of all the books then written for the contrary opinion. He also mentions the sermons and imprisonment of Crispine, Moreman, Cole, Seaton, and Watson.

These other disputes could be no more than private conferences; but I can give no account of these, having met with them in none of the writers of that time. As for Gardiner's book, such as will compare it with Cranmer's book, which it pretends to answer, will soon see in it the difference between plain, simple reasoning on the one side, and sophistical cavilling on the other. But for the sufferings of that party, there is no great reason to boast of them; for they universally complied with everything that was commanded: even the lady Mary's chaplains did it, in the churches where they were beneficed. Nor do I find any one man turned out of his cure for refusing to conform; but it was found some of these did privately say mass, either in the lady Mary's chapel, or in private houses, and did secretly act against what they openly professed; and it was no wonder if such dissemblers were more severely handled. But there was no blood shed in the quarrel, so that if the popish party made such resistance as our author pretends they did, it very much commends the gentleness of the government at that time, since they were so mercifully handled. It was far otherwise in queen Mary's time.

43. Page 212. He runs out in a discourse of the sufferings of his party, of their zeal and constancy; and particularly mentions Story, who, he says, suffered martyrdom, under queen Elizabeth. "He had said in the parliament, 'Wo to thee, O land, whose king is a child;' and this drew so much hatred on him, that he was forced to fly out of England."

What the zeal and constancy of the party was, may be gathered from what has been already said. This Story did say these words in the house of commons, and was, by order of the house, sent to the Tower: for though it was a text of Scripture that he cited, yet the application carried with it so high a reflection on the government, that it well deserved such a censure: but upon his submission, the house of commons sent an address to the protector that he and the council would forgive him, which was done, and he was again admitted to the house: so that he was not forced on this account to fly out of England. And for his martyrdom under queen Elizabeth, the record of his trial shews the ground of that sentence: he had endeavoured all he could to set on many in queen Mary's time to advise the cutting off queen Elizabeth: his ordinary phrase was, "It was a foolish thing to cut off the branches of heresy, and not to pluck it up by the

root." He knowing how faulty he had been, fled over to Flanders in the beginning of her reign: and when the duke of Alva was governor there, he pressed him much to invade England; and gave him a map of some of the roads and harbours, with a scheme of the way of conquering the nation. He had also consulted with magicians concerning the queen's life; and used always to curse the queen when he said grace after meat. These things being known in England, some got him to go aboard a ship in Flanders, on another pretence, and presently set sail for England; where yet the government was so gentle, that two years past before he was brought to his trial: and then the defence he made was, that he was not accountable for what he had done in Flanders, it not being in the queen's dominions; and that he was not her subject, having sworn allegiance to the king of Spain. But this being contrary to his natural allegiance, which he could never shake off, he was found guilty of treason, and was there executed. These are our author's martyrs, and are of a piece with his faith.

44. "In the room of the bishops that were turned out," he says, page 216, "there were put some apostate and lustful (that is, as he explains it, married) monks, Scory, Bird, Holgate, Barlow, Harley, Coverdale, and Ridley;" on whom he bestows many such epithets, as may be expected from him.

This is such a piece of history as one can hardly meet with any thing like it. 1. Bird was made bishop of Chester by king Henry, and was the first that sat in that see, it being of that king's foundation. 2. Holgate was put in the see of York by king Henry, when it was void by Lee's death. 3. Barlow was also put in Bath and Wells by the same king, it being likewise void by the death of Knight. 4. Coverdale was put in the see of Exeter, upon Veysey's free resignation, he being then extreme old. 5. Harley was also put in Hereford, upon the former bishop's death. 6. Ridley and Harley were never married, nor Coverdale, for ought I can find*: so exact is our author in delivering the history of that time.

45. He says, page 216, "Poinet, that was made bishop of Winchester in Gardiner's room, besides one wife to whom he was married, took a butcher's wife from him; but the butcher sued for his wife, and recovered her out of his hands:" and to make this pass the better, he adds a jest of Gardiner's about it, that he had said, "why might not he hope to be restored to his bishopric, as well as the butcher was to his wife?"

The falseness of this story is clearly evinced by the answer that Dr. Martin set out in the beginning of queen Mary's reign, to a book that Poinet had writ in the defence of the married clergy. Martin's answer is writ with so much spite, and so many indecent reflections, that though it is not reasonable to believe all he says, yet it is almost a certain argument, that this story concerning Poinet is a forgery; since if it was a thing so public as our author makes it, Martin must have heard of it, especially living in Gardiner's house: and it is not to be imagined that if he did know it he would have concealed it: so this, and the jest that hangs upon it, must pass as one of the flourishes of our author's pen.

46. He says, page 217, "Hooper, that used formerly to rail at the luxury of the catholic bishops, being made a superintendent himself, for so the Zuinglians called their bishops, enjoyed at once two bishopricks, Worcester and Gloucester."

* Coverdale was married; he and Machabeus married two sisters. Fox, vol. iii. p. 182. Holingshed, vol. ii. p. 1309, speaks of Coverdale's wife twice in one page. Eight of the protestant bishops in this reign were married. Parkhurst, Epigram. Juv. pp. 56, 165, 166.—ANON. CORRECT.

The Zuinglians had no superintendents, for ought I can find; nor was Hooper ever called superintendent, but bishop. He was made bishop of Gloucester, which had been before king Henry the Eighth's time a part of the bishoprick of Worcester. And now these sees came to be united; so that Hooper had not two bishopricks, but one that had been for some years divided into two: he only enjoyed the revenue of Gloucester, for Worcester was entirely suppressed.*

47. He says, page 219, "On the 9th of July, the money was cried down one fourth part; and forty days after another fourth part: so that the whole nation was thereby robbed of the half of their stock."

This king's counsellors found the coin embased; and they were either to let it continue in that state, to the great prejudice of the state of the nation, or to reduce it to a just standard; so our author condemns them for correcting what they found amiss. But no wonder he that quarrels with them so much for reforming of religion, should be likewise offended with them for reforming the coin.

48. He says, page 222, "The duke of Somerset was condemned, because he had come into the duke of Northumberland's chamber with intention to have killed him, and was thereupon beheaded."

This was indeed said to be the cause of his death; but it is not mentioned in the record, in which it is only said, that he intended to have seized on the duke of Northumberland, without adding that he designed to have killed him.

49. He says, page 223, "The two younger sisters of lady Jane Gray were married to the eldest sons of the earls of Pembroke and Huntington."

This error is of no great consequence, but it shews how much our author was a stranger, even to the most public actions: for the youngest sister to the lady Jane was married to one Keys that was groom-porter. The earl of Huntington's son married the duke of Northumberland's daughter.

50. He says, page 223, "Soon after the marriages, the king began to sicken, and to fall in decay."

The king had been ill four months before these marriages were made: and it is probable his sickness made them be the more hastened.

51. He says, page 223, "Dudley was very desirous to have the lady Mary in his power, not being much concerned about the lady Elizabeth, for she being descended of Ann Boleyn, he did not much consider her."

It was natural for Dudley to desire rather to have the elder sister in his power than the younger; who could not claim to the crown but after the other: but it appeared by the submission of the whole nation to queen Elizabeth, though still professing popery, that she was every whit as much considered as her sister had been formerly.

52. He says, page 224, "Lady Mary having been sent for by Dudley's order, understood, when she was not far from London, that the king was expiring; and that she would be in great danger if she came in court; upon which she turned back."

Queen Mary had not been sent for by Dudley's order, the council had writ to her, that the king being ill desired her company: the news sent her from court was, that the king was dead; so she was desired to stir no further: and upon that retired to her house in the country.

53. He says, page 224, "Twenty days after that, she heard the king was dead; whereupon she made proclaim herself queen."

* Worcester was not entirely suppressed; for he was entitled bishop of Worcester, and enjoyed a great part of the revenues of Gloucester and Worcester, and kept great hospitality with them.—STRYPE'S CORRECT.

The discovery of the former error clears this; for she immediately gathered the people of Suffolk about her, and gave them her royal word that they should enjoy their religion as it had been established in king Edward's time; but though they were the first that proclaimed her queen, and came about her to defend her right, they were among the first that felt the severities of her reign.

54. He says, page 225, "Mary queen of Scots was married to the dolphin of France."

She was then but a little past ten years old, and was not married to the dolphin till five years after this.

55. He says, page 229, "Queen Mary, as soon as she came to the crown, without staying for an act of parliament concerning it, laid aside the prophane title of being head of the church."

We may expect as true a history of this reign as we had of the former, when in the first period of it there is so notorious a falsehood. She held two parliaments before she laid aside that title; for in the writ of summons for both, she was styled supreme head of the church; and all the reformed bishops were turned out by virtue of commissions which she issued out as supreme head. There was also a visitation made over England by her authority; and none were suffered to preach but upon licenses obtained under her great seal; so that she both retained the title and power of supreme head a year after she came to the crown.

56. He says, page 229, "She discharged the prisoners she found in the Tower; recalled the sentence against cardinal Pool, and discharged a tax due to her by the subjects."

The queen did free the prisoners of the Tower at her coming to the crown, and discharged the tax at her coronation: but for recalling the sentence against cardinal Pool, that being an act of parliament, she could not recall it; nor was it done till almost a year and an half after her coming to the crown.

57. He says, page 229, "She took care of the coin, that her subjects might suffer no more by the embasing it; so that they all saw the difference between a catholic and heretical prince."

I do not find any care was taken of the coin all her reign; and the bringing that to a just standard is universally ascribed to queen Elizabeth. If there was a public joy upon her coming to the crown, it did not last long; and there was a far greater when she died. This observation is much more proper to the beginning of queen Elizabeth's reign, who began and continued to reign with so great and so uninterrupted a felicity, that none but a writer like our author would have made such a remark on the beginnings of this reign.

58. He says, page 230, "She overcame Wiat's rebellion, rather by her own faith, than by any force she had about her."

This is to make the reader think she defeated Wiat as Gideon did the Amalekites; but Wiat brought up not above 3000 men, and she had thrice that number about her. It was a desperate attempt, and that which was rather the effect of a precipitated design, than of prudent counsel.

59. He says, page 230, "She put her sister in the Tower, when it had appeared to the senate (which in his style is the parliament) that she had been engaged in Wiat's conspiracy."

This is said to cover her barbarous cruelty towards her sister; the matter never came before the parliament, and there was no ground ever given to justify the suspicion. It is true, Wiat hoping to have saved his

† Queen Mary did set forth in August 1553 a proclamation "for assigning the value of the coin."—STRYPE'S CORRECT.

life, by so foul a calumny, accused her : but when he saw he must die, he vindicated her openly on the scaffold. It is certain, if they could have found any colours to have excused severe proceedings against her, both the queen and the clergy who governed her were much inclined to have made use of them.

60. He says, page 231, "The queen was more ready to pardon crimes against herself, than offences against Christ and religion."

The more shame for those who governed her conscience, that made her so implacable to all whom she esteemed hereticks; since the Christian religion came not into the world, as the Author of it says of himself, "to destroy men's lives, but to save them:" yet she was not so merciful as he would represent her; witness her severities against her sister, and against Cranmer, even after he had signed the recantation of his former opinions.

61. He says, page 231, "Though some of the bishops were guilty of treason, yet she would not have them to be tried by the temporal laws, and referred even Cranmer himself to the spiritual jurisdiction."

Cranmer was tried for treason by virtue of a commission issued out by the queen; and all the other reformed bishops were turned out by delegates, empowered for that end by the queen's commissions.

62. He says, page 231, "Cranmer was condemned of treason in the parliament."

He was found guilty of treason by a jury of commissioners, and thereupon condemned by a commission of Oyer and Terminer; and not by the parliament. It is true, the parliament did afterwards confirm the sentence.

63. He says, page 231, "Before he was condemned, he feigned himself a catholic, and signed his retractation seventeen times with his own hand: but the bishops discovering his hypocrisy, degraded him and delivered him to the secular arm, upon which he was burnt at Oxford."

The popish party have but too great advantages against Cranmer in this last part of his life; so it was needless for our author to have mixed so much falsehood with this account: but he must go on in his ordinary method, even though it is not necessary for any of the ends he had set before himself. Cranmer stood out above two years and an half, in all which time he expressed great constancy of mind, and a readiness to die for that faith which he had before taught: nor would he fly beyond sea, though he had many opportunities to do it, and had reason enough to apprehend he could not escape at home. Upon his constant adhering to his former doctrines, he was condemned, degraded, and appointed to be burnt; and then the fears of death wrought that effect on him that he did recant, which he signed thrice: but the queen being set on revenge, would needs have him burnt after all that: so there was no discovery made of his hypocrisy, nor was there a sentence past upon it; but he, for all his recantation, was led out to be burnt: and then he returned back to his former doctrines, and expressed his repentance for his apostasy, with all the seriousness and horror that was possible.

64. He says, page 231, "The laws for burning hereticks were again revived, and by them not only Cranmer, but some hundreds of the false teachers were burnt."

A man's inclinations do generally appear in the lies he makes: so it seems our author wished it had been as he relates it was; but so far it was from this number, that there was not above a quarter of an hundred of the ministers burnt, (there were some hundreds of others burnt,) so ignorant was he of our affairs.

65. He says, page 232, "The queen did at first command all the strangers that were hereticks to leave the kingdom; upon which above 30,000, as was reckoned, went out of England."

The greatest number of the strangers were the Germans, and of these not above 200 went away, as themselves published it; but our author was generous and free-hearted, so that he would make the exiles to bear some proportion to the ministers that were burnt; and as he made some hundreds of the one, so 30,000 was but a moderate number to be exiled: 200 would have sounded pitifully in such an heroic work.

66. He says, page 232, "It was brought under debate, whether Peter Martyr should be burnt; but because he came into England upon the publick faith he was let go; yet his wife's body was raised out of the church-yard, and cast into a dunghill; and Bucer and Fagius's bodies were burnt."

It could not be debated whether Peter Martyr should be burnt; for the laws of burning were not made till a year after he went out of England: and the raising his wife's body, and the burning the other bodies, was done almost four years after this; though our author relates it as done at the same time.

67. He says, page 232, "The queen at first could not repeal the laws then in force for heresy; but she suspended them all, and exhorted her subjects to return to the catholic rites, upon which the people did universally return to them."

The queen could neither repeal nor suspend the laws then in force; and she did neither. When she was in Suffolk, she promised the religion established by law should not be changed: when she came to London, she declared she would force no consciences; but soon after she added a limitation to this, "till the parliament should order it." After that, all people were encouraged to set up the mass everywhere, and it did spread into most parts of the kingdom: but this was done both against law and the queen's royal word.

68. He says, page 232, "All pulpits were opened to catholic preachers, and the hereticks were not suffered to preach."

This he relates as if it had been the effect of the people's zeal; but it flowed from a proclamation of the queen's, that none should preach unless he obtained a license under the great seal, which was as high an act of supremacy as ever her father did.

69. He says, page 232, "She made first of all funeral rites to be performed for her brother, after the form of the catholics, though he had died in heresy: and intended to have had such rites for her father, but being better instructed, she found it could not be done, for him that had been the chief author of the schism, and of all the evil that followed it."

King Edward was buried according to the rites of the English liturgy; so that the funeral rites were not according to the old forms. It is true, the queen had in her own chapel such rites for him. As for her father, some of the writers of that time say, it was much pressed, to have his body at least raised and carried out of the consecrated ground, if not burnt: and in this she is said to have stood upon the dignity of a crowned head, and the decency of a daughter's duty to her father's ashes; so that she would not consent to so barbarous a thing.

70. Page 233. He condemns those, who having been defiled with heresy, and thereby under censures, did, notwithstanding that, administer the sacraments, and do the other offices of priesthood, before they were reconciled to the see of Rome. This, he says, was such a sin, that it may be reckoned one of the causes of that queen's dying so soon; and he sets down

as a caution for the future, that if we should come to be again reconciled to that see, we might not relapse into the like error.

This was indeed cardinal Pool's advice, that the whole kingdom ought to have been put under an interdict, and that all holy offices were to cease, till they were reconciled to the see of Rome; but the whole clergy, not only many, as he says, being involved in those censures, if they had stayed for officiating till they had been reconciled to the see of Rome, perhaps it had not been done at all.

71. He says, page 233, "The queen, partly by her authority, partly by the concurrence of the parliament, got the ancient way of the service to be again restored, the hereticks not daring to oppose it much."

All that was done in the first parliament, was the restoring things to the same state they had been in when king Henry died; which was indeed the setting up that they called schism by law. It was no wonder those he calls hereticks could not oppose it much; when so many of their bishops had been turned out and imprisoned; others were violently thrust out of the house of lords, and the elections of the members of parliament had been so managed, that in many places force was used, and false returns were made in other places.

72. He says, page 234, "Only one that was bolder than the rest, threw a dagger at him who preached the first catholick sermon at St. Paul's: and another discharged a pistol at another, preaching in the same place."

This, one would think by his relation, was done after the parliament had set up the mass again; whereas it was soon after the queen came to the crown, long before the parliament; and that of the pistol was some months after the parliament. But if he had designed to deliver a true history to the world, he should have added, that upon the tumult that was raised against the preacher, he prayed Mr. Bradford and Mr. Rogers (two afterwards burnt for the reformed religion) to speak to the people, and persuade them to be quiet; upon which they both exhorted the people to behave themselves more peaceably and reverently; and Bradford went into the pulpit, that he might be the better heard; and so near was he to the danger, that the dagger pierced his sleeve; yet these two were had in such esteem that the tumult was quieted; and they carried the preacher safe home. One of them being to preach in the afternoon, exhorted the people to be peaceable and quiet, and severely condemned the tumult that had been in the morning. But such was the gratitude and justice of the popish party, that it was pretended, because they had appeased the tumult, that therefore they had also raised it: so they were upon that pretence put in prison, where they lay a year and a half, till the laws for burning were revived, and were then burnt for heresy.

73. He says, page 235, "Commendone was sent by order from the pope into England, who obtained a writing from the queen wherein she promised obedience to the see of Rome; upon which Pool was appointed legate."

It is no wonder our author understood not the affairs of the reformation aright, when he was so ill informed about the transactions of his own party. Commendone was not sent by the pope to England. The legate at Brussels sent him over from thence without staying for orders from Rome.

74. He says, page 239, "William Thomas, clerk of the council, had conspired to kill the queen; for which he justly suffered."

Of this I find nothing on record; so it must depend on our author's credit, which is not infallible.

75. He says, page 239, "The imposture of Elizabeth Crofts was set up by the persuasion of many of the hereticks: and when it was discovered she confessed she had been set on to it by other, and by one Drake in particular; but they all fled."

In the account that was then published of that imposture, Drake only is accused for it: what he was does not appear to me, for I have never found him mentioned but on this occasion; so there was no reason to transfer the private guilt of this conspiracy on a whole party, as our author does; though upon his credit one of our writers has also done it.

76. He says, page 243, "Those in whose hands the church lands were, had great apprehensions of their being forced to restore them, because the queen had restored all the lands that were in her hands, and had again converted the collegiate church of Westminster into an abbey; but to prevent the ill effects that might have followed on this, the cardinal did, in the pope's name, absolve them from all censures for possessing those lands, and that was confirmed by letters sent over from the pope."

He observes the order of time very exactly, when he sets the queen's restoring the church-lands, and founding the Abbey of Westminster, as the occasions of the fears the laity were in, of being forced to restore the rest of the church-lands; and of the cardinal's absolving them from all censures for keeping them still in their hands. The order in which this was done was thus; in November 1554, in the act of reconciliation with the see of Rome, there was a special proviso made for the church-lands, which the cardinal confirmed in the pope's name. In the year after that the queen gave up into the cardinal's hands all the church-lands that belonged to the crown; and two years after, she founded the Abbey of Westminster; so little influence had these things on the other that were done before. But he was grossly mistaken when he said the pope approved all: for he, in plain terms, refused to ratify what the cardinal had done; and soon after set out a severe bull, cursing and condemning all that held any church-lands.

77. He says, page 244, "All the bishops being sensible of their schismatical way of entering into their sees, did desire and obtain a confirmation from the pope. Kitchin, bishop of Landaff, only excepted, who afterward relapsed into heresy under queen Elizabeth;" and says, "it is likely the want of this confirmation made him be more easily overcome."

This our author wrote, being a thing very probable; and seldom do his authorities for what he asserts rise higher. It was also a pretty strain of his wit, to make the omitting of it fall singly on the only bishop that conformed under queen Elizabeth. But it is certain there was no such thing done at all; for if any had done it, Bonner was as likely as any other; since as none had been more faulty in king Henry's time, so none studied to redeem that with more servile compliances than he did; yet there is nothing of this recorded in his register, which continues entire to this day.

78. He said, page 246, "The state of the universities was restored to what it had been, and Oxford in particular, by Petrus a Soto's means, who was in the opinion of all much preferred to P. Martyr."

He that gathered the antiquities of Oxford, though no partial writer on this occasion, represents the state of that university very differently; that there were almost no divines in it, and scarce any public lectures. But when Sanders writ his poem, the Spanish councils were so much depended on by him and his party, that it was fit to put that complement on the nation concerning Petrus a Soto. Whether it was true or false,

was a circumstance which he generously overlooked for most part.

79. He says, page 248, "Queen Elizabeth had done many things in queen Mary's time, both against her person and government."

He knew this was so false, that there was never a circumstance or a presumption brought against her but the information which Wiat gave, hoping thereby to save himself; and yet he denied that on the scaffold. If there had been any colour to have justified the taking away her life, both the queen and her counsellors were as much inclined to it as our author himself was.

80. He says, page 248, "King Henry said in parliament, she was not and could not be his daughter, for a secret reason he had revealed to the archbishop of Canterbury."

This was aptly enough said by a writer, that had emancipated himself from the laws of truth and veracity, to appeal to such a story; yet to have made it pass the better, he should have named other circumstances; for such a thing cannot be easily believed, since after Ann Boleyn's death, the king continued to treat Elizabeth still as his daughter; so that when she writ to his next queen she subscribed daughter: she was in all things educated with the care and state that became a king's child; and was, both by act of parliament and by his will, declared to be so. Now to think that such a king would have done all this after he had in parliament declared that she could not be his child, is a little too coarse to be believed, and so should have been supported with more than ordinary proofs.

81. He says, page 248, "She came to the crown merely by virtue of the act of parliament, without being legitimated."

In this, she and her sister were upon the same level; for neither of them were declared legitimate; so this was not to be objected to the one more than to the other sister.

82. He says, page 249, "Queen Mary being declared by act of parliament in the beginning of her reign legitimate, and her mother's marriage being declared good, Elizabeth was thereby of new illegitimated; yet she never repealed the laws against her title; but kept the crown merely upon the authority of an act of parliament, without having any regard to her birth."

Queen Mary came to the crown being in the same condition, and was either a lawful queen before that act was made, or else that act was of no force if it had not the royal assent given by a lawful queen. So queen Elizabeth was as much queen before any such act could have passed as afterwards: and therefore since it was not necessary for the securing her title, it was a sign of her tenderness of her father's memory, to which queen Mary had no regard, not to revive the remembrance of things that must have turned so much to his dishonour as that would have done.

83. He says, page 250, "Queen Mary not being able to prevent her sister's succession, sent a message to her on her death-bed, desiring her to pay her debts, and to preserve the catholic religion; both which she promised, but performed neither."

This is said without any proof, and is not at all probable; but is an ornament added to set off the one and blemish the other. Queen Mary's sickness was concealed as much as was possible. A week before her death, they were burning heretics as busily as ever; and by the managing affairs in the parliament, it appears there was great care taken to conceal the desperate condition she was in: so it is not likely that any such message was sent by her to her sister.

And thus far have I traced our author in the history he gives of the reigns of king Henry the Eighth, Edward the Sixth, and queen Mary, and have discovered an equal measure of ignorance and malice in him: but he was the fitter to serve their ends who employed him, and were resolved to believe him, how false or improbable soever his relation might be. We see what use they have made of him ever since that time. His friends were so sensible of the advantage their cause received from such a way of writing, that they resolved to continue down the history through queen Elizabeth's reign, in which, we are told, Sanders himself made some progress; but that not being done to such a perfection as Rishton and others intended to bring it, they undertook it; and have written so skillfully after the copy Sanders had given them, that if it is possible, they have outdone him in these two particular excellences of writing histories—in which he was so great a master,—impudence, and falsehood as to matter of fact. In one thing they had manifestly the better of him, that they writing of what fell out in their own time, could not be ignorant of the truth of things; whereas he writing of what was done before he was born, or when he was but a child, might have said many things more innocently, delivering them as he had them by report. But this excuse cannot fit them, who did knowingly, and on design, prevaricate so grossly in matters of fact: a little taste of these I shall give, only so far as I have carried down the history of this queen; for to examine all the faults they have committed would require a new volume; but from the taste I shall give the reader, he will easily know what judgment to pass on the whole work.

As for the decency of the style, the first period gives an essay of it, in which the author promises such a description of the queen's reign, that "this lioness shall be known by her claws:" and for his sincerity in writing, the whole preface is one indication of it, in which he accuses the queen for acting against the laws of nature and religion in assuming the supremacy; and represents it so, that the reader must needs think she was the high-priest of England, that ordained bishops and ministers, and performed all other holy offices: whereas she was so scrupulous in this point, that as she would not be called the supreme head of the church, so she made it be declared, both in one of the articles of religion set forth in the beginning of her reign, and afterwards in an act of parliament, what was the nature of that supremacy which she assumed; making it both a part of the religion, and the law of the land. By these it was declared, "that they gave her not the ministry of God's word, or of the sacraments; but only that prerogative which was given by God himself in the Scriptures to godly princes; that they should rule all committed to their charge by God, whether they be ecclesiastical or temporal, and restrain with the civil sword the stubborn and evil doers." If men were not past shame, they could not, after such an express and public declaration, put on the confidence of writing as this author does. I shall follow him in some more steps, and doubt not but I shall convince the reader, that he was the fittest man that could be found to have writ a continuation of Sanders's history.

1. He says, page 255, "Henry the Second of France, in a solemn assembly, did, after queen Mary's death, declare the queen of Scotland, his daughter-in-law, queen of England and Ireland."

This was neither done in a solemn assembly, nor presently after queen Mary's death; nor was it done by Henry the Second. The queen of Scotland did, by her uncle's advice, assume that title, without any public act: and it was not done till they understood

that Philip was moving for a dispensation in the court of Rome for marrying queen Elizabeth ; king Henry did only connive at it, but neither ordered it nor justified it, when the queen's ambassador complained of it. An author that is so happy in his first period as to make three such mistakes, is likely to give us an excellent history.

2. He says, page 255, "The archbishop of York, and all the other bishops, one only excepted, refused to anoint her."

This was one of the most extraordinary things that ever was in any government, that the bishops refusing to crown the queen, were not only not punished for it, but continued to hold their bishoprics still : and the archbishop of York was continued a privy-councillor many months after this. This is none of the claws of the lioness, but rather a slackness and easiness of clemency that deserves censure, if it had not been that the queen resolved to begin her reign with the most signal acts of mercy that were possible.

3. He says, page 256, "Cecil and his friend Bacon raised vast estates to themselves, and involved the government into vast difficulties, and brought the queen's revenue into great, or rather inextricable confusion."

This may pass among foreigners, and perhaps be believed ; but we at home, that when we wish for happy times, and excellent counsellors, do naturally reflect on the days of that glorious queen, and her wise councils, will not be much wrought on by it. The revenue was never better managed, the undertakings of the government were never greater, and the charge was never less. This gives a character of those ministers beyond all exception. Sir Nicholas Bacon never raised himself above that quality which he brought with him into the court. And Cecil was not advanced above the lowest rank of nobility, though he was in the chief ministry above thirty years ; and though they both left good estates behind them, yet far short of what might have been expected after so long a course in such great and high employments.

4. He says, page 257, "There was an oath enacted in the parliament for the queen's supremacy ; and those who refused to swear it, for the first offence were to forfeit their benefices, and all their goods, and to be prisoners for life ; the second offence was made treason."

Such a false recital of a printed act, deserves a severer animadversion than I shall bestow on it. The refusing that oath did infer no other punishment but the forfeiture of benefices and offices ; and the parties so refusing were subjected to no other danger, nor was the oath to be put to them a second time. It is true, if any did assert the authority of any foreign potentate, that was more penal : yet that was not as our author represents it : for the first offence there, was a forfeiture of one's goods ; or in case of poverty, one year's imprisonment : the second offence brought the offender within a premunire : and the third was treason.

5. He says, page 258, "The change that was made, of the title of supreme head, into that of supreme governor, deceived many ; yet others thought that the queen might have thereby assumed an authority for administering the sacraments ; but to clear all scruples, she in the first visitation ordered it to be thus explained, that she thereby pretended to no more power than what her father and brother had exercised."

In the first visitation ordered by the queen, there was an injunction given explanatory to the oath of supremacy ; declaring that she did not pretend to any authority for the ministry of Divine service in the church, and challenged nothing but what had at all

times belonged to the crown of England ; which was a sovereignty over all manner of persons under God ; so that no foreign power had any rule over them ; and so was willing to acquit such as took it in that sense of all the penalties in the act. So that it is plain she assumed nothing but the royal authority, and was ready to accept of such explications as might clear all ambiguities.

6. Page 259. He reckons, among the laws that were made, this for one, that "bishops should hold their sees only during the queen's pleasure, and exercise no other authority but only as they derived it from her."

The laws he reckons were those made by king Henry now revived : but this law is falsely recited in both the parts of it : for the bishops were to hold their sees, as all others do their freeholds, without any dependence on the queen's pleasure ; and were to exercise their jurisdiction in their own names, and according to the ecclesiastical laws, and were not forced to take commissions to hold their bishopricks during the queen's pleasure, as had been done both in king Henry and king Edward's time.

7. Page 263. After a long discourse against the queen's supremacy, he says, "the laws concerning it, and other points of religion, did pass with great difficulty in the house of lords, all the bishops opposing them, and those noblemen in particular who had gone to Rome upon the embassy queen Mary sent thither did very earnestly dissuade it."

It is true, all the bishops did oppose them, though both Tonstal, Heath, Thirleby, and some others had consented to and written for king Henry's supremacy ; which was (at least as to the manner of expressing it) of a higher strain than that to which the queen did now pretend. They had also submitted to all the changes that had been made in king Edward's time. For the temporal lords, none dissented from the act of supremacy but the earl of Shrewsbury and the viscount Montacute, so the opposition was small where so few entered their dissents ; and of these, only the viscount Montacute had been at Rome, sent thither by queen Mary. It is true, the marquess of Winchester, and the lords, Morley, Stafford, Dudley, Wharton, Rich, and North, dissented from the bill for the Book of Common Prayer, and some other acts that related to the reformation ; but these being but few in number, were far short of those that were for them : and it is clear the queen left the peers wholly to their freedom, since the marquess of Winchester, notwithstanding his dissent, continued to hold that great office of lord treasurer, in which he had been put in king Edward's time, and which he had kept all queen Mary's reign, till his death, fourteen years after this ; this may perhaps be justly censured, as looking too like a remissness in the matters of religion, when he that dissented to the reformation was yet so long employed in the greatest trust in the kingdom ; but certainly this is none of the "claws to know the lioness by."

8. He says, page 263, "The queen gave the earl of Arundel some hopes that she would marry him, and so persuaded him to consent to the laws now made ; but afterwards slighted him, and declared "she would live and die a virgin."

The journals of parliament shew how false this is ; for the address was made to the queen, persuading her to marry ; to which she made the answer set down by our author on the 6th of February, and the act of supremacy, with the other acts concerning religion, passed in April thereafter ; so that the queen, after so public a declaration of her unwillingness to marry, could not have deluded the earl of Arundel with the hopes of it.

9. He says, page 263, "She wrought on the duke

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of Norfolk, by promising him a dispensation in the business of his marriage, which he could not obtain of the pope."

It is not like the duke of Norfolk was denied any such dispensation from Rome, nor are there any dispensations granted in England for marrying in the forbidden degrees: cousin-germans are the nearest that may marry. The obtaining a license for that at Rome is a matter of course, so the fees are but paid; and the law allows that to all in England. Nor are there any dispensations in matrimonial matters except concerning the time, the place, or the asking of bans; and it is not likely these were ever denied to any at Rome. As for his long excursion concerning that duke's death, it not falling within the compass of my history, I shall not follow him in it.

10. He says, page 266, "The protestants desired a public disputation: so the queen commanded the bishops to make ready for it; they refused it a great while, since that seemed to make the faith of the church subject to the judgment of the ignorant laity; but at last they were forced to yield to it, and the points were, communion in both kinds, prayer in a known tongue, and the like."

The act of council has it otherwise: by it we see that the archbishop of York, being then a privy-councillor, did heartily agree to it, and undertook that the rest of his brethren should follow the orders that were made by the council concerning it; though it is not to be denied but some of the bishops were secretly dissatisfied with it, as they had good reason, since a public disputation was like to lay open the weakness of their cause, which was never so safe as when it was received in gross, without descending to troublesome enquiries concerning it. The communion in both kinds was not one of the articles.

11. He says, page 266, "Bacon, a layman, was judge, the archbishop of York sitting next to him, only for form's sake."

Bacon was not judge; the whole privy-council were present to order the forms of the debate; and he, as the first of that board, did only give directions, according to the order that had been formerly agreed on.

12. He says, page 226, "On the 3rd of April they disputed, but there was nothing done with order or justice; the time was spent in declamations, while the profane judge directed all things at his pleasure, so that it came to nothing."

It is true, the order was broken; but it had been unkindly done of our author to tell by whom. The papists refused the first day to give their reasons in writing, as had been agreed on before, and as was accordingly done by the reformed; and upon the second day they refused to proceed, unless, contrary to what had been concluded, the reformed should read their papers first: so the disputation broke up, it appearing evidently that the one side were not afraid of a public hearing, but that the other were.

The Conclusion.

I pursue these calumnies no further, because I cannot offer a confutation of them without a larger digression, since I break off my history in the second year of this reign, so that I cannot refer the reader to

those more copious accounts given by me, as I have done in the former remarks, where a short hint was sufficient. And I do not judge it worth the while to enter into such a full search of these matters as a confutation would require, only to expose Rishton. These evidences which I have given of his ignorance and injustice will satisfy impartial readers; and I am out of hopes of convincing those that are so wedded to an interest, that they are resolved to believe all that is said of their side, how improbable soever it may appear, or how slenderly soever it may be proved.

And now I hope the reformation of this church appears in its true colours, and the calumnies by which its adversaries have endeavoured so long to disgrace it, are so evidently confuted, that they will be no more supported by their own side, nor so tamely assented to by any that in their hearts may perhaps love the reformation, and yet are too easily prevailed on to drink in the prejudices that are raised by the confidence with which those slanders have been vented. Now, the matter is better understood, and though at this distance, and after the rasure of records made in queen Mary's reign, it must be acknowledged that there are many things either quite past over or so defectively related by me, that this work wants that perfection which were to be desired. Yet notwithstanding all these disadvantages, besides the faults of style, method, or way of expression which may be more justly put to my account, though having done it in the best manner I could, I have little to answer for but the presumption of undertaking a design too high for me to perform with that life and perfection that such a subject required; and even in that I rather submitted to the authority of others who engaged me in it, than vainly fancied myself able to accomplish it; but after all those allowances that are necessary, of which there can none be more sensible than myself, I am not out of hope but this work may have some good effect on such as shall read it impartially and with candour; and that those who are already of our church shall be induced to like it the better, when they see what the beginnings of our reformation were: and those who are not of our communion may the more easily be brought into it, when they see by what steps and upon what reasons the changes were made: and if this success follows my poor endeavours, I shall think my time and pains have been well employed.

I am apprehensive enough of the faults I may be guilty of; but I shall now give the reader such an assurance of my readiness to correct them, as soon as I am convinced of them, that I hope if anything occurs to any that deserves censure, they will communicate it first to myself; and if I do not, upon better information, retract what I have written, then I shall allow them to make it public in what manner they please. And it may be presumed I will not be for the future unwilling to do this, by the following account of the mistakes which I made in the former part, communicated to me by Mr. Fulman*, of whom I made mention in the preface. With these I conclude this work.

* The corrections sent to the author by Mr. Fulman and others have been in this edition either given in the form of notes, or embodied in the text.—Ed.

A COLLECTION OF RECORDS, LETTERS,

ORIGINAL PAPERS;

OTHER INSTRUMENTS REFERRED TO IN THE THIRD PART OF THE
FORMER HISTORY.

A COLLECTION OF RECORDS.

NUMBER I.

The Bull of Pope Paul the IVth, annulling all the Alienations of Church Lands.

[Bullar. Cherubini. Bulla secunda Pauli Quarti.]

Rescissio alienationum et locationum quorumcunque bonorum Ecclesiasticorum, in damnum Ecclesiarum, vel non servatis juris solemnitatibus aut alias nulliter factarum.

SIMILEM rescissionem fecit, Leo X. et postea Jul. III. quas prætermisi tanquam minus necessarias, et eas inseruit Rodoan. in suo Tract. de Reb. Eccles. non alienan. et eandem edidit etiam Pius IV. quo ad bona Sedis, et Cameræ Apostolicæ in Const. 104. Apostolica. Quamvis prius ipse hanc bullam generaliter reduxisset ad terminos juris communis in Const. 11. Provida. Sed Pius V. ejusmodi bonorum omnium Ecclesiasticorum alienationis rescissionem commisit Collegio Fabricæ Basilicæ S. Petri de Urbe, ut in sua Const. 98. et si de singulis.

De alienationibus istis, habes supra Const. 1. Leonis 1. Fol. 1. et Pauli II. in Const. 5. Ambitiosæ. Fol. 329. Et de alienationibus ac infeudationibus Civitatum et Terrarum sedis Apostolicæ, ac bonorum quæ subditi Papæ habent in ejus statu Ecclesiastico, plene dicam in constitut. 1. Innocent IX. Quæ ab hac.

Paulus Episcopus, servus servorum Dei. *Ad futurum rei memoriam.*

[Edita A. D. 1555.]

1. Injunctum nobis desuper, meritis licet imparibus,

Symmachus Papa bona Ecclesiastica alienari prohibuit. In c. 6. de Reb. Eccles. non alienan.

Apostolicæ servitutis officium, mentem nostram continua pulsant instantia, ut bona Ecclesiastica, quæ cæca hominum cupiditate occupata detinentur, nostræ operationis Ministerio, ad jus, et proprietatem eorum

quorum antea erant, omnino reducantur. Cum itaque (sicut nobis innotuit) licet alias fel. re. Symmachus Papa Prædecessor noster prædium Ecclesiæ pro aliqua necessitate quovis modo alienari, aut jura Ecclesiæ in usum fructum dari prohibuerit, et lege hujusmodi omnes custodes astringi, ac donatorem, ac censuatorem, et venditorem honorem perdere, et qui præmissis subscriberet, anathema esse, cum eo qui daret, sive reciperet, nisi restituerentur, et quas libet Ecclesiasticas personas contradicere, et cum fructibus alienata reposcere posse, hocque non solum in Ecclesia Romana conservari, verum etiam in universis per provincias Ecclesiis convenire voluerit.

2. Et piæ mem. Paulus Papa 2. etiam prædecessor

Paulus 2. alienationes bonorum Ecclesiasticorum, et ultra triennium locationes, &c. interdixit in Const. cit. in rubr.

noster omnium rerum, et bonorum Ecclesiasticorum alienationem, omneque pactum, per quod ipsorum dominium transferretur, ac concessionem, hypothecam, locationem, et conductionem ultra triennium, necnon infeudationem, vel contractum

emphyteuticum, præterquam in casibus à jure permissis, ac de rebus et bonis in emphyteusim ab antiquo concedi solitis, fieri prohibuerit. Et si quis contra hujus posterioris prohibitionis seriem, de bonis et rebus eisdem quicquam alienare presumeret, alienatio, hypotheca, concessio, locatio, conductio, infeudatio hujusmodi nullius omnino essent roboris, vel momenti, et tam qui alienaret, quam qui alienatas res, et bona reciperet, sententiam excommunicationis incurreret, et nihilominus res et bona alienata hujusmodi, ad Ecclesias, monasteria, et loca pia, ad quæ antea pertinebant, libere reverterentur.

3. Nihilominus à nonnullis annis citra diversæ per-

Alienationes tamen multe factæ fuerunt in damnum Ecclesiarum, vel non servatis solemnitatibus.

sonæ, tam seculares quam Ecclesiasticæ, complura Castra, Terras, Oppida, Civitates, et loca, tam Romanæ prædictæ, quam diversarum Cathedralium, etiam Metropolitanum et aliarum Ecclesiarum, necnon Monasteriorum, domorum, et aliorum Regularium locorum, ac Hospitalium, et aliorum Piorum locorum, prætextu diversarum alienationum, eis de castris, terris, oppidis, civitatibus, et locis prædictis in evidens damnum Ecclesiarum, Monasteriorum, domorum, Hospitalium, et aliorum Regularium, et Piorum locorum, seu alias non servatis solemnitatibus à jure requisitis factarum occupaverint, et occupata detinuerint, detineant de præsentis, ac ex inde factum sit, ut non solum Ecclesiarum, Monasteriorum, et domorum Prælati, ac Hospitalium, et aliorum Regularium, et Piorum locorum hujusmodi Rectores, qui ex fructibus, redditibus et proventibus castrorum, terrarum, oppidorum, civitatum, et locorum hujusmodi, Ecclesias, Monasteria, et domus, Hospitalia, et alia loca prædicta gubernabant, et illustrabant, ac eorum Ministris alimoniam prebebant, notabiliter sint damnificati, verum etiam Rom. Pont. qui antea egenis, et miserabilibus personis, præsertim nobilibus ad hanc Almam Urbem pro tempore confugientibus alimenta aliunde subministrare consueverat, vix se et familiam suam sustentare, ne dum aliis alimenta subministrare possit, in divinæ Majestatis offensam, et ordinis clericalis opprobrium, ac plurimorum Christi fidelium scandalum.

4. Nos præmissa conniventibus oculis pertransire ideo hic Pont. nequeunt, quinimmo cupientes eis, alias rescindit, quantum cum Deo possumus, opportunum remedium adhibere, motu proprio, et annulat.

et ex certa nostra scientia, ac de Apostolicæ potestatis plenitudine, omnes et singulas alienationes, et in emphyteusim, seu census perpetuum, aut tertiam, vel aliam generationem, seu hominis vitam, aut aliud tempus ultra triennium locationes vel concessiones, seu permutationes, hypothecas, et obligationes, de quibus vis castris, terris, oppidis, civitatibus, et locis, aut aliis bonis immobilibus, seu rebus, et juribus, tam spiritualibus quam temporalibus ejusdem Romanæ, et quarumcunque Cathedralium, etiam Metropolitanum, et aliarum Ecclesiarum, necnon Monasteriorum,

domorum, et aliorum Regularium locorum, et quorumvis beneficiorum Ecclesiasticorum, cum cura et sine cura, secularium, et quorumvis Ordinum Regularium, necnon Hospitalium, et aliorum piorum locorum quorumlibet, per quosunque etiam Rom. Pont. prædecessores nostros, seu eorum auctoritate, vel mandato, Camerarios suos, et Clericos Cameræ Apostolicæ Præsidentes; ac quosvis Ecclesiarum, Monasteriorum, et domorum Prælatos, et beneficiatos, necnon Hospitalium, et aliorum Regularium, et piorum locorum Rectores, cujuscunque dignitatis, status gradus, ordinis, et conditionis existentes, etiam si Cardinalatus honore pollerent, in damnum Ecclesiæ, seu non servatis solemnitatibus à jure requisitis, aut alias nulliter hactenus factas, et contractus superinde sub quibusvis formis, et verborum expressionibus habitos, et Celebratos, etiam si juramento vallati existant, et quantumvis longa temporis præscriptione robur sumpsisse dici possint, ac ipsius Romanæ Ecclesiæ favorum, aut commodum concernant, eorum omnium tenores, ac si de verbo ad verbum insereretur, præsentibus pro expressis habentes, Apostolica auctoritate, tenore præsentium rescindimus, irritamus, cassamus, et annullamus, ac viribus omnino evacuamus, ac pro rescissis, irritis, cassis, et nullis, ac penitus infectis haberi Volumus.

5. Ipsosq; detentores ad Castra, terras, oppida, civitates, et loca occupata, ac bona, res, Detentores q. debere relaxare bona occupata, et fructus restituere declarat. et jura prædicta Romanæ et Cathedralibus, etiam Metropolitanæ ac aliis Ecclesiis, necnon Monasteriis, domibus, Hospitalibus, et beneficiis, ac Regularibus, et piis locis relaxandum, et de fructibus, tam hactenus perceptis quam in posterum percipiendis, realiter satisfaciendum teneri, et ad id etiam sententiis, censuris, et pœnis Ecclesiasticis, ac etiam pecuniariis, omnibusq; aliis opportunit, juris et facti, remediis cogi, et compelli posse.

6. Sicque in præmissis omnibus et singulis per quosunque Judices, et Commissarios, quavis auctoritate fungentes, etiam causarum Palatii Apostolici Auditores, et ipsius Romanæ Ecclesiæ Cardinales, ac eorum Collegium in quavis causa, et instantia, sublata eis, et eorum cuilibet quavis aliter judicandi, et interpretandi auctoritate, et facultate, judicari, et definiri debere ac si secus super his à quoquam quavis auctoritate, scienter vel ignoranter contigerit attentari, irritum et inane decernimus.

7. Non obstantibus constitutionibus, et ordinationibus Apostolicis, ceterisque; contrariis quibuscunque. Nulli ergo &c. Si quis &c.

Dat. Romæ apud Sanctum Marcum, anno Incarnationis P. An. 1. die titionis Dominicæ, 1555. Pridie idus Julii, Pont. nostri Anno primo:

NUMBER II.

A Letter of Queen Katherine's to King Henry, upon the Defeat of James the IVth, King of Scotland.—An Original.

[Vespasian. F. 3. P. 15.]

SIR,—My lord Howard hath sent me a letter open to your grace within oon of myn, by the whiche ye shall see at length the grete victorye that our Lord hath sent your subjects in your absence: and for this cause it is noo nede herin to trouble your grace with long writing; but to my thinking this batell hath been to your grace and al your realme the greatest honor that coude bee, and more than ye shuld wyn al the crown of Fraunce: thankend bee God of it, and I

am suer your grace forgeteth not to doe this, which shal be cause to sende you many more suche grete victoryes, as trust he shal doe. My husband, for hastynesse with Rogecrosse, I coude not send your grace the peese of the king of Scotts' cote, which John Clyn now bringeth, in this your grace shall see, how I can kepe my promys: sending you for your baners a king's cote. I thought to send himself unto you, but our Englishe mens harts wold not suffer it: it shuld have been better for hym to have been in peas than to have this rewarde, al that God sendeth is for the best. My lord of Surroy, my Henry, wold fayne knowe your pleasure in the buryeing of the king of Scotts' body, for he hath written to me soo, with the next messenger your grace pleasure may bee herin known; and with this I make an ende, praying God to sende you home shortly: for without this no joye here can be accomplished: and for the same I pray and now go to our Lady at Walsingham, that I promised soo longe agoe to see, at Woborne the xvj day of September.

I send your grace herin a bill founde in a Scottyshe man's purse, of suche things as the Frenshe king sent to the said king of Scotts to make warre against you: beseeching you to send Mathewe Heder assone this messenger cometh to bringe me tydings from your grace.

Your humble wife and true servant,
KATHERINE.

NUMBER III.

A Letter of Cardinal Wolsey's to King Henry, with a Copy of his Book for the Pope.—An Original.

[Paper-Office.]

SIR,—These shall be onely to advertise your grace that at this present tyme I do sende Mr. Tate unto your highnes with the booke bounden and dressed, which ye purpose to send to the pope's holynes, with a memoriall of such other, as be also to be sent by him with his autentique bulles to all other princes and universities. And albeit, sr, this booke is right honorable pleasant and fair, yet I assure your grace, that which Hall hath written (which within four days wolbe parfited) is ferre more excellent and princely: and shall long contynue for your perpetuall memory whereof your grace shall be more plenariye informed by the said Mr. Tate. I do send also unto your highnes the choyse of certeyne versis to be written in the booke to be sent to the pope of your owne hande: with the subscription of your name to remain in *Archivis Eccl'ie ad perpetuam et Immortalem vestre Magestatis gloriam, laudem, et memoriam*, by your Most humble chaplain,

T. CAR'LIS. EBOR.

NUMBER IV.

A Letter of Cardinal Wolsey's to King Henry, about Foreign News; and concerning Luther's Answer to the King's Book.—An Original.

SIR,—After my most humble and lowly recommendations, these shall be to advertise your highness that as yet our Lord be thanked there is not commen any confirmation either from Rome, Venice, Italy, France, or Flanders, of the late newes, which was sent from the archduke to the lady Margaret: whereof by many other letters I advertised your grace. So that nowe the said newes be generally reputed and taken but as frasks: and the bragging avaunts of the Spaniards be so accalmed that they not only account such money as they have hitherto layde upon the said newes to be thereby lost, but also they dare not nowe aventre fyve,

four, or thre for a hundred. Howbeit, sir, I do not a lytel marvyll that synnes the seventh day of the last month in the which it was wrytten that the feate against the Venetians should be doon, there be more letters comen either from France, Rome, Venyse, or Italy. It is bruted in Flanders that Pavy by dedition should be delivered to the said Venetians' hands, which if it be true your grace shall shortly here of the Spaniards' total exterminion out of Italy.

I forbere, sir, to dispech your letters to the cardinal of Magunce and the duke George of Saxe : because I have not as yet neyther Luther's original letters, which were very necessary to be sent to the pope's holiness, nor also any copy thereof, which must nedee be sent with your answer to the said cardinal and duke. It may be your pleasure to take orders that the said original letter or copy thereof may be sent unto me with diligence. Other news I have none to signify unto your highness at this present tyme ; but as other shall occur I shall not fail to advertise your grace of the same accordingly. At your grace' mannor of Hampton Court, the fourth day of August, by your

Most humble chapleyn,

T. CAR'LIS. EBOR.

To the King's most Noble Grace,
Defender of the Faith.

NUMBER V.

A Letter of Cardinal Wolsey's to King Henry, sent with Letters that the King was to write to the Emperor.—An Original.

[Paper-Office.]

AND forasmuch as at my comyng to your town of Calais, I suppose I shall be greatly pressed to repair to the emperor's presence, which to do without your letters written with your owne hand I cannot conveniently do, therefore I have divided two short letters, the one to the said emperor, and the other to my lady, beseechyng your grace to take the payne to write and sende the same unto me by this berer ; whom I perposely sende at this tyme to your grace, surely to bring the same unto me with diligence. And albeit I shall have your said letters in redyness, yet I shall never the rather advance my journey towards hym till such tyme as I shall see oportunitie : so that I have takyn some convenient order, with the ambassadors of France for voidyng of all jelousie and suspition : and as I shall proceed with the ambassadors on both parties, and fynde them disposed, so shall I advertise your grace with all diligence from tyme to tyme. And thus Heauen preserue your most noble and roiall estate. At Dover, the first day of August, by your

Most humble chapleyn,

T. CAR'LIS. EBOR.

To the King's grace.

NUMBER VI.

A Letter of Cardinal Wolsey's to the King, concerning the Emperor's Firmness to him.—An Original.

[Paper-Office.]

SIR,—Thes wrytten with my owne hand shall be onely to advertise your grace, what I do perceyve and be in the emperor's owne parson, wich I assure your grace for his age is very wyse and wel understanding hys afferys : ryth colde and temperat in spech, with assury'd maner towchyng hys words, ryth wel and to good purpose when he doth speke : and undowgtydly by all appearance he shall prove a very wyse man,

getly inclyned to tregth and observance of his promyse ; determyned not onely fastly holly and entirely for ever, from hens forth to be joynd with your grace, leving all other practyse and intellygens apart : but also in all his afferys to take and folowe your counsell and advise : and nothing to do without the same, and lyke as your grace hath your singular affiance in me, puttynge the burdeyn of your offcys on my shulders, though I knowleg my self farr unmeet for the same ; so he ys determyned to do for his part. And hereunto he hath not onely bowndyn him sylf to me apart, twys or thrys by hys feyth and trowth givyn in my hande ; but also he hath to every one of your privy counsell in most constant wyse declary'd the same, in suche maner and fashion as we all may perceyve that the same procedyth of his harte, without colour, dissimulation or fashion. Wherfor, syr, ye have cause to give thanks to Almighty God, wich hath given you grace so to ordyr and comen your afferys, that ye be not only the ruler of thys your realme, wich ys in an angle of the worlde ; but also by your wisdome and counsel Spayne, Italy, Almayne, and thes Lowe Cowntyes, wich ys the grettest parte of Chrystendome, shall be ruled and governed. And as for France, thys knot nowe beyng assurdyly knit, shall not fayle to do as your grace shall commande. What honour thys is to your highnes I dought not but that your grace of your high wysdom can ryth well consyder : giveyng most hartly thanks to Almighty God for the same accordingly, beseechyng your grace most humbly so to do, whereby thys thyng thus honorably commensyd shall not fayle to your great exultation, to come to the desyryd ende : to the atteynyng wherof I shall empley my poore parson wyt expensyons, substance and blood. From Grevelynge, the 28th day of August, with the rude hand of your

Most humble chapleyn,

T. CAR'LIS. EBOR.

To the Kings grace ys owne hands onely.

NUMBER VII.

The First Letter of Cardinal Wolsey, to King Henry, about his Election to the Popedom upon Adrian's Death.

[From the Originals lent me by Sir William Cook.]

SIR, it may like your highnesse to understand I have this houre received letters from your orators resident in the court of Rome, mentioning how the xivth day of this instant moneth it pleased Almighty God to call the pope's holynesse to his mercy, whose soul our Lord pardon. And in what trayn the matters there were at that time for election of the future pope, your highnesse shall perceive by the letters of your said orators, which I send unto the same at this tyme, whereby appeareth that mine absence from hence shall be the onely obstacle (if any be) in the election of me to that dignity ; albeit there is no great semblance that the college of cardinals shall consent upon any being there present, because of the sundry factions that be among themselves, for which cause, tho afore God, I repute myself right unmeet and unable to so high and great dignity, desiring much rather to demure, continue and end my life with your grace, for doing of such service as may be to your honour and wealth of this your realm, than to be X popes ; yet nevertheless, remembering what mind and opinion your grace was of, at the last vacation, to have me preferred thereunto, thinking that it should be to the honour, benefit, and advancement of your affaires in time coming : and supposing verily that your highnesse

persisteth in the same mind and intent, I shall devise such instructions, commissions, and other writings, as the last time was delivered to Mr. Pace for that purpose: and the same I shall send to your grace by the next post, whom it may like to do farther therein as shall stand with your gracious pleasure, whereunto I shall always conform my self accordingly. And to the intent it may appear farther to your grace what mind and determination they be of towards mine advancement, which, as your orators wrote, have now at this present time the principal authority and chief stroke in the election of the pope, making in manner "Triumviratum," I send unto your highnesse their several letters to me addressed in that behalf, beseeching our Lord that such one may be chosen as may be to the honour of God, the weal of Christ's church, and the benefit of all Christendom. And thus Jesu preserve your most noble and royal estate. At the More, the last day of September, by

Your most humble chaplayn,

T. CAR'LIS. EBOR.

NUMBER VIII.

The Second Letter of Cardinal Wolsey to the King, about the Succession to the Popedom.

SIR,—It may like your grace to understand that ensuing the tenor of my letter sent unto your highnesse yesterday, I have devised such commissions and letters to be sent unto your counsellors the bishop of Bath, Mr. Richard Pace, and Mr. Thomas Hanibal, jointly and severally, as at the last time of vacation of the papall dignity were delivered unto the said Mr. Richard Pace, for the preferment either of me, or that failing of the cardinal de Medici unto the same, which letters and commissions if it stand with your gracious pleasure to have that matter set forth, it may like your highnesse of your benign grace and goodness to signe, so to be sent to the court of Rome in such diligence as the importance of the same, with the brevity of the time, doth necessarily require. And to the intent also that the emperor may the more effectually and speedily concur with your highnesse for the furtherance hereof, albeit I suppose verily that ensuing the conference and communications which he hath had with your grace in that behalf, he hath not prætermitted before this time to advance the same, yet nevertheless for the more acceleration of this furtherance to be given thereunto, I have also devised a familiar letter in the name of your grace to be directed unto ~~his~~ ^{our} majesty, which if it may please your highnesse to take the payne for to write with your own hand, putting thereunto your secret sign and mark, being between your grace and the said emperor, shall undoubtedly do singular benefit and furtherance to your gracious intent and vertuous purpose in that behalf. Beseeching Almighty God that such effect may ensue thereof as may be to his pleasure, the contentation of your highnesse, the weal and exaltation of your most royal estate, realm, and affaires; and howsoever the matter shall chance, I shall no lesse knowledge my self obliged and bounden farr above any my deserts unto your highnesse, then if I had attained the same, whereunto I would never in thought aspire, but to do honour, good, and service unto your noble person and this your realm. And thus Jesu preserve your most noble and royal estate. At the More, the first day of October, by

Your most humble chaplayn,

T. CAR'LIS. EBOR.

NUMBER IX.

The Third Letter of Cardinal Wolsey; giving an Account of the Election of Cardinal Medici to the Popedom.

SIR,—After my most humble and lowly recommendations, this shall be onely to advertise your highnesse that after great and long altercations and contrariety which hath depended between the cardinals in the conclave, they at the last fully resolved and determined (the faction of France abandoned) to elect and choose either my lord cardinal de Medici or me, which deliberation coming to the knowledge of the nobles and citizens of Rome, they alledging that the affairs of Italy being in the trayn as they then were, it should be to the extreme danger thereof to choose a person absent, which could not ne might in time come to put remedy unto the same, made sundry great exclamations at the conclave-window, whereby the cardinals being in fear not only of the inconvenience like to ensue unto Italy, but also of their own persons, albeit they were in manner principally bent upon me, yet for eschewing of the said danger and murmur, by inspiration of the Holy Ghost, without further difficulty or businesse the sixth day of the last month in the morning elected and chose the said cardinal de Medici, who immediately was published pope, and hath taken the name of Clement VII. Of which good and fortunate news, sir, your highness hath much cause to thank Almighty God: forasmuch as not onely he is a perfect and faithful friend to the same, but that also much the rather by your means he hath attained to this dignity. And for my part, as I take God to record, I am more joyous thereof than if it had fortunèd upon my person, knowing his excellent qualities, most meet for the same; and how great and sure a friend your grace and the emperor be like to have of him, and I so good a father, by whose assumption unto that dignity, not only your and the said emperor's affairs, but also of all Christendom shall undoubtedly come to much better and more prosperous perfection: like as upon the first knowledge thereof the Frenchmen be clearly departed from Milan, and passed a river towards France called Ticino, trusting that the next news which shall come from thence shall be of their arrival at home, wherein as I shall have further knowledge, so I shall advertise your highnesse thereof accordingly; and thus Jesu preserve your most noble and royal estate. At my poor house besides Westminster the vith day of December, by

Your most humble chaplayn,

T. CAR'LIS. EBOR.

NUMBER X.

A Remarkable Passage in Sir T. More's "Utopia," left out in the latter editions.

CÆTERUM Theologus quidam frater hoc dicto in Sacerdotes ac Monachos adeo est exhilaratus, ut jam ipse quoque cæperit ludere, homo aliqui prope ad torvitatem gravis. At ne sic quidem, inquit, extricaberis à mendiciis, nisi nobis quoque prospereris fratribus. Atqui, inquit, parasitus, hoc jam curatum est. Nam Cardinalis egregie prospexit vobis quum statueret de coerendis, atque opere exercendis erroribus. Nam vos estis erronei maximi. Hoc quoque dictum, quum coniectis in Cardinalem oculis, eum viderent non abnuere, cæperunt omnes non illibenter arripere, excepto fratre. Nam is (neque equidem miror) tali perfusus aceto, sic indignatus est,

atque incanduit, ut nec à conviciis quidem potuerit temperare: Hominem vocavit nebulonem, detractorem, susurroneum, et filium perditionis, minas interim terribiles citans è scriptura sacra. Jam scurra serio scurrari cepit. Et erat planè in sua Palæstra. Noli, inquit, irasci bone frater, scriptum est, in patientia vestra possidebitis animas vestras. Rursum frater (referam enim ipsius verba) non irascor, inquit, furcifer, vel saltem non pecco. Nam Psalmista dicit, Irascimini et nolite peccare. Admonitus deinde frater à Cardinale suavit, ut suos affectus compesceret. Non domine, inquit, ego loquor nisi ex bono zela, unde dicitur, zelus domus tuæ comedit me. Et canitur in ecclesiis, Irrisores Helizei, dum condescendit domum Dei, zelum calui sentiunt, sicut fortasse sentiet iste derisor, scurra, ribaldus. Facis inquit Cardinalis, bono fortassis affectu, sed mihi videris facturus, nescio an sanctius, certe sapientius, si te ita compares, ne cum homine stulto et ridiculo, ridiculum tibi certamen instituas. Non domine inquit, non facerem Sapientius nam Solomon ipse Sapientissimus dicit: Responde stulto secundum stultitiam ejus, sicut ego nunc facio, et demonstro ei foveam in quam cadet, nisi bene præcaveat. Nam si multi irrisores Helizei, qui erat tantum unus caluus, senserunt zelum calui, quanto magis sentiet unus derisor multorum fratrum, in quibus sunt multi calui? Et etiam habemus bullam Papalem, per quam omnes qui derident nos sunt excommunicati.

BOOK II.

NUMBER XI.

A Letter of the Pope's upon his Captivity, to Cardinal Wolsey. An Original.

[Cotton. Library, Vitellius, B. 9.]

DILECTE fili noster, Calamitas nostra cum à nobis digne explicari nequeat tuæ Circumspectioni per dilectum filium Equitem Castalium referretur qui interfuit ipse omnibus, et filium nobis amantem exhibens quam essent grata ejus in nos officia ad extremum ostendat. Nos in tanto constituti dolore et luctu unicum solamen ac spem in tuæ Circumspectionis apud illum Serenissimum Regem auctoritate et ipsius Regis erga nos et S. Ecclesiam pietate reponimus; ut pro vestra consuetudine et bonitate S. Ecclesiam tam indigne afflictam commendatam suscipiatis: sicut ex eodem Equite atque ex Nuntio nostro omni alio presidio quam tuæ benignitatis spoliato intelliget. Datum in Arce S. Angeli sexta Junii 1527. J.

NUMBER XII.

A Part of Cardinal Wolsey's Letter to the King concerning his marriage. Taken from the Original.

[Cotton. Library, Vitellius, B. 9. P. 146.]

We dayly and howerly musing and thinking on your grac's gret and secrete affayre, and howe the same may cume to good effecte and desired ende, aswel for the deliverance of your grace out of the thrauld, pensif, and dolorous lyf that the same is in, as for the continuance of your helth and the suertie of your realme and succession, considering also that the pope's consent, or his holines deteyned in captivite, the auctorite of the cardinalls now to be convoked into France equivalent thereunto, must concurre for approbation of such processe as I shal make in that

behault; and that if the quene shal fortune, which it is to be supposed she will doe, eyther appele or utterly decline from my jurisdiction (one of the said auctorites is also necessarily requisite) I have noon other thought ne studye but howe in avaylable maner the same may be attayned. And after long discussion and debating with my self, I finally am reduced and resolved to two points: the oon is, that the poope's consent cannot be obtayned and had in this case, oonles his delyveraunce out of captivite be first procured; the other is, that the cardinalls canne nothing doe in this behalfe, oonless there be by them consultation and order taken, what shall be doon in administratione rerum ecclesiasticarum durante dicta captivitate summi pontificis.

As touching the restitution of the pope to libertie, the state of the present affaires considered the most prompt, sure, and reedy waye is, by conclusion of the peace betwixt the emperor and the French king: for the advancement and setting forward whereof I shall put myself in extreme devour, and by al possible meanes induce and persuade the said French king to strayne himself and condescende to asmuch of the emperor's demands as may stande with reason and suertie of his and your grac's affayres; moving him further, that forasmuch as the emperor taketh your highnes as a mediator making fayre demonstration in words, that he wil at your contemplation and arbitre, not oonly declare the botom of his mynde concerning his demaund, but also remitte and relent in the same, he wil be contented that your grace forbering the intimacion of hostiletie maye in the managing of the said peace and inducyng the emperor to reasonable conditions, be so taken and reputed of him, without any outward declaration to the contrary untill such tyme as the conducing of the said peace shalbe clerely desperate: whereby if the said French king canne be induced thereunto, maye in the meane season use the benefite of their entercourse in the emperor's Lowe-Countries: not omitting nevertheles for the tyme of solliciting the said peace, the diligent zeal and effectual execution of the sworde by Monsieur de Lautrek in the parties of Italy: wherby your grac's said mediation shal be the more set by and regarded.

And in case the said peace cannot be by these means brought to effecte, wherupon might ensue the pope's delyverance, by whose auctorite and consent your grac's affayre shuld take most sure, honestable, effectual, and substancial ende, and who I doubt not, considering your grac's gratitude, wold fadly be induced to doe all things therein that might be to your grace's good satisfaction and purpose, thenne and in that case there is noone other remedy but the convocation of the said cardinalls, who, as I am enformed, will not nor canne conveniently convene in any other place but at Avinion, where the administration of the ecclesiastical jurisdiction hath been in semblable cases heretofore exercised. To the which place, if the said cardinalls canne be induced to cume, your highnes being soo contented, I purpose also to repare, not sparing any labour, travayl, or payne in my body, charges or expense, to doe service unto your grace in that behalfe, according to my most bounden dutie and harty desyre, there to consulte and devise with them for the governance and administration of the auctorite of the church during the said captivite, which shall be a good grounde and fundament for the effectual execution of your grac's secrete affayre.

And for asmuch as thus reparing to Avinion I shall be nere to the emperor's confines, and within an hundred myles of Perpinian, which is a commodious and convenient place to commen and treate with the

emperor's persone, I think in my poor opinion that the conducting of peace by your grace's mediation not being desperate, nor intimation of hostile made on your behalfe, it should much conferre aswell for the delyverance of the poepe as for concluding of the peace between the French king and the emperor, if his majestie canne be soe contented that a meeting might be between him, my lady the French kinge's modre, and me at the said Perpinian; to the which—

This is all the copy written in Cardinal Wolsey's hand.

NUMBER XIII.

A Letter written by King Henry VIII. to Cardinal Wolsey, recalling him home.

[Among S. W. Cook's Papers.]

MY LORD,—This shall be to thank you of your great paines and travaile which you have sustained since your departure hence, for our bysnesse and causes: wherin you have done to us no little honour, pleasure, and profit, and to our realm an infinite goodnesse; which service cannot be by a kind master forgotten, of which fault I trust I shall never be accused, specially to youward which so laboriously do serve me. Furthermore, because as yet since the pope's captivity we never sent to salute him, nor have no man resident there to advertize us of the affaires there; and also lest the queene should prevent us by the emperor's means in our great matter; we think it meet to send this bearer thither, of whose truth and sincerity we have had long proof, praying you to give him such instructions and commissions as shall be for our affairs there requisite; and that with convenient diligence, to the intent our affairs there may have some stay. No more at this time, but that greatly I desire your return home, for here we have great lack of you, and that you give full credence to my secretary this bearer. Written with the hand of your loving sovereign lord and friend,

HENRY R.

NUMBER XIV.

A Letter from Rome by Gardiner to King Henry, setting forth the Pope's Artifices.—An Original.

[Paper-Office.]

PLEASETH it your majestie to be advertised that endeavoring our selfs to the best of our powers al joyntely and I my self aparte applying al my poore wit and lernyng to attayne at the pope's hande sum parte of the accomplyshement of your highnes' desires, finally have nothing prevayled; but now see it called in question, whether the auctorite geven to the legats there shulde be revoked or noe. The circumstance wherof, and what hath been doon and said therin, your highnes shall understande by our commen letters which we have written to my lorde legat's grace, but to saye as I conjecture I think that matier was moved but for a stop of our other suts, and that it is not earnestly ment: and albeit there is mencion of the queen in that matier as thowe she should have a procter for the same, yet the pope, two dayes before, in an other communication, said that the emperor had advertised him, how the queen wolde do nothing in this matier, in saying nor speaking to any man for the let, delaye, or hindrance of this matier, but as your highnes shall wil and command her to doe; and that the emperor said, he would therefore more earnestly looke unto the cause himself. I marveled much when the pope said this, and me thought he spoke it as

though he wolde we shuld signifie the same unto your highnes, and I noted it the more, for because your highness had commanded me to enquire out who shuld be here the queen's proctor; and it semed spoken for the nones, as to put me out of doubt therof. But whither the pope hath this written out of Spayne or out of Englande, I wot not what to saye. But it seemed strange to us to rede in cardinal Campegnis's letters, that neyther he nor Campanus made on the pope's behalfe any promyse to your highnes, but only in general terms, considering that upon these special terms *de plenitudine potestatis*, and trust that the pope wolde use that in your highnes' cause, I was sent hither, like as in my instructions is conteyned: which failing, your highness I doubt not right well remembreth how master Wolman, Mr. Bell, and I showed your highnes such things as wer to be required, not to be impetrable: my trust is that your highnes wil accept in good part my true harte and good will, which according to my most bounden duty shall never want, but be holly applied where your highnes shall command without respecke or regard of any other lving creature, being very sory to see your highnes' cause handled in this sorte. But your highnes hath so much vertue in you, wherof God is to be thanked, as may suffice to converte other men's faults into goodness, to your highnes gret glory, renowne, and immortal fame: which is all that canne be said after my poor witt herin, considering that your highnes hath been not well handled, nor according to your merits by the pope, or sum other: it becometh not me to arrecte the blame certainly to any man. And the pope shewith cardinal Campegnis's letters for his discharge, which thing your highnes shall much better judge and consider by your high wisdom thenne I canne write, most humbly desiring your highnes that being in these termes with the pope's holyness, we may know of your highness what to say further.

As touching the bulles to be here impetracte for your highness, I have spoken with the pope's holynes, and he is content in all points to grant as I required him, saving in that matier *de animadversione in clericos*, to the which he wolde not absolutely assent, but said he wolde with the cardinal *Sanctorum quatuor* devise that shuld be to your highnes' satisfaction: wishing then that he might grante as easely our other petitions, which he knoweth your highnes to have more to harte, as he may these, adding by and by that he would for the welth of Christendom, the queen wer in her grave: and as he thought the emperor wolde be thereof most glad of al: saying also that he thought like as the emperor hath destroyed the temperaltis of the church, soe shall she be the cause of the destruction of the spiritualities. Making exclamation of his misfortune in whose persone these two adversites shuld chaunce, and upon the occasion of that familie. Whenne we speak with him, we think we shuld have all things, and in the ende his counsaill denyeth all: by reason the cardinall *Sanctorum quatuor* hath been sick, and is every other day sikely, and for the most parte when the cardinal is hol the pope is sike, we have yet no expedition of the said bulles, trusting that your highnes will have consideration of these letts, accordingly praying Almighty God to preserve your most noble and royll estate. From Rome the 4th daye of Maye.

Your highnes most humble
Subject, servant, and dayly orator,
STEVEN GARDYNER.

NUMBER XV.

The Pope's Promise in the King's Affair.

[Cotton Library, Vitellius, B. 12.]

Cum nos Clemens Domina providentia illius nominis papa septimus modernus iustitiam ejus causæ perpendences quam charissimus in Christo Filius noster Henricus Octavus Angliæ Rex illustris Fidei Defensor et dominus Hiberniæ, de ejus Matrimonii nullitate tanquam Notorium Publicum et famosum, apud nos exposuit, quod cum charissima in Christo Filia nostra Catharina claræ memoriæ Ferdinandi Hispaniarum regis catholici Filia nulliter et de facto contraxisse et consummasse affirmati leges tam dominas quam per humanas in ea parte notorie transgrediendo, prout revera sic transgrediebatur. Ad dilectos nobis in Christo Filios Thomam et Laurentium miseratione divina sancta Cecilie et sanctæ Mariæ transtiberim respective titularum nostri et sedis Ap'licæ in Regno Angliæ predicto legatos de lacere commissionem sub certa tunc expressa forma, quam pro hic inserta et expressa haberi volumus et habemus; emisimus, ac eosdem nostros in ea parte vicegerentes ac competentes Judices deputaverimus, prout sic etiam tenore presentium effectualiter et plenissime conjunctim et divisim committimus et deputamus, quo animi nostri eidem Henrico Regi in iusticia illa quam celerime administranda propensionem certius et clarius attestemur securiorem que reddamus de iudiciorum labyrintho longo varioque ambitu in causis (ut nunc sunt mores) iustissimis non una forte ætate explicabili, denique ut processus per eosdem deputatos nostros nuper et secundum tenorem dictæ commissionis habitus et factus fiendus ve aut habendus validus et firmus ac inconcussus maneat, promittimus et in verbo Romani Pontificis pollicemur, quod ad nullius preces requisitionem instantiam mero ve motu aut aliter, ulla unquam literas, breviam, bullas; aut rescripta aliave quecunque per modum vel iustitiæ vel gratiæ aut aliter, quæ materiam emissarum ante hac in causa predicta commissionum vel commissionis ve predictæ processus ve per huiusmodi deputatos nostros nuper et secundum tenorem dictarum commissionum vel commissionis ve predictæ habitus et factus habendi ve aut fiendi, inhibitoria, revocatoria, aut quovismodo prejudicialia quacunque ratione contineant atque ut dictarum commissionum vel commissionis processus vero huiusmodi plenam perfectam finalem et effectuale executionem remorentur, impediunt, aut in aliquo contrariantur, illa ve aut eorum aliqua revocentur, aut eiisdem vel eorum aliquibus in toto vel in aliqua parte eorundem prejudicent, concedemus: sed datas a nobis eiisdem deputatis nostris commissiones et commissionum huiusmodi processum quæ per huiusmodi deputatos nostros iuxta et secundum tenorem dictarum commissionum vel commissionis ve predictæ habitum et factum, habendum qua et fiendum sua plenissima vi auctoritatum robore et efficacia realiter et cum effectu confirmabimus, ratihabemus, tenebimus et defendemus. Denique omnes tales literas breviam, bullas, aut rescripta alia ve quæ dictarum commissionum vel commissionis ve huiusmodi processus ve antedicti executionem aut ejusdem virtute decreta, definita, et pronuntiatum per eosdem deputatos nostros, confirmare possint aut valent absque mora recusatione, difficultate, quacunque de tempore in tempus realiter et cum effectu valida et efficacia, dabimus et concedemus. Et insuper promittimus et in verbo Romani Pontificis pollicemur quod præmissa vel eorum aliqua nullatenus infringemus nec aliquid contra ea vel eorum aliqua directe vel indirecte tacite vel expresse, principaliter vel incidenter, quovis quesito colore vel ingenio, nisi vi vel metu coacti, vel dolo aut fraude ad

hoc inducti, attemptabimus aut faciemus: sed ea omnia et singula firma valida inconcussa et inviolabilia patiemur et permittemus. Ac infurum si (quod absit) aliquid contra præmissa vel eorum aliqua quovismodo faciemus aut attemptemus, illud pro casso irritum inani et vacuo omnino haberi volumus et habemus: ac nunc prout ex tunc, et extunc pro nunc, cassamus, annullamus et reprobamus, nullius quæ roboris aut efficaciæ fore vel esse debere pronunciamus, decrevimus, et declaramus. Datum Viterbiæ, die xxiii Julij Millessimo quingentissimo vigesimo octavo, Pontificatus nostri Anno Quinto.

Ita est Clemens Papa Septimus Antedictus.

NUMBER XVI.

Some Account of the Proceedings of the University, in the Case of the Divorce, from Dr. Buchmaster's Book M.S. C. C. C.

Quod hodie studia vestra interpellaverim, Doctissimi Senatores, ac Viri gravissimi, Voluntas Regia in Causa est, cui pro insigni bonitate sua, ac summo quem erga nos et studia nostra gerit amore, tum etiam pro aliis forsitan negotiis, in quibus vestras prudentias consulere decrevit sua Majestas, visum est placuitque literis suis vos omnes salutare, quas si diligenter auscultare velitis, à me statim per legente audietis.

To our Trusty and Well-beloved the Vice-Chancellor, Doctors, and other Regents and Non-Regents of our Universitie of Cambridge.

BY THE KYNG.—Trusty and well-beloved, we grete you well. And wheras in the matter of matrimony between us and the queene, uppon consultation had with the gretest clerks of Christendom, as well withoute this our realme, as within the same, thei have in a grete nombre affirmed unto us in writing, and therunto subscribed their names, that, "ducere uxorem fratris mortui sine liberis sit prohibitum jure Divino et naturali," which is the chefe and principall point in our cause. We therefore desire to knowe and understand your myndes and oppynions in that behalf, and nothinge dowingte, but like as ye have always founde us to you and that our universitie, favourable, benevolent, and glad to extend our auctoritie for your wealth and benefite, whan ye have required the same, ye will now likewise not omytt to doo any thyng wherby ye shulde mynistrer unto us gratuite and pleasour, and specially in declaration of the truth, in a cause so near touching us your prince and soveraine lorde, our soule, the wealth also and benefite of this our realm, have sent lither purely for that our purpose, our trusty and right well-beloved clerks and counsaillors, mayster doctor Gardyner our secretary, and mayster Fox, who shall on our behaulf further open and declare unto you the circumstances of the premiss: wherfore we will and require you, not onely to gyve ferme credence unto them, but also to advertise us by the same under the comen seale of that our universitie of such oppynion in the proposition aforesayd, as shall be ther concluded, and by the consent of lerned men shall be agreed upon. In doing wherof, ye shall deserve our especiall thanks, and gyve us cause to encrease our favour towards you, as we shall not faile to do accordingly. Yeven under our signet at York's Place the 16th daye of February.

Accipistis modo quod postulat à vobis Regia Majestas, Intelligitis quæ sit ejusdem voluntas, nimirum nihil aliud, nisi ut veritas ejusdem conclusionis agnoscat atque inter nos determinetur, quam ut sua refert plurimum scire, ita et nos pro studio illo ac amore quem omnes gerere debemus in Principem nostrum

alioque Clementissimum, benignissimum et de nobis omnibus ac Achademia nostra optime meritum, omne studium ac diligentiam adhibere debemus, ut quod tam rationabiliter postulaverit, id impetretur nobis. Si de veritate questio aliquando emergat, ubi potius aut melius investigaretur, quam inter ipsos veritatis Professores, si veritas perquiri debeat, ubi melius quam in ipsa Achademia, ubi et bona semper vigent studia, solida iudicia, ac mentes ab omni ambitione sunt aliena. Verum ego prudentias vestras prolixiori oratione non detinebo, vobis ac vestro iudicio ista relinquam. Est cuique suus animus liber ac ingenuus. Dictet cuique in hac Causa Conscientia sua, Quod melius expedire viderit. Ego quod ad officium meum spectat, perficiam sedulo, nempe ut primi consulatur seniores, quid melius in hoc negotio putent faciendum, deinde et vestras scrutabitur sententias atque suffragia postulabimus. Dixi.

The Forme of the Grace that was axed and graunted in the Accomplishment of the Kyng's Requeste.

Placet vobis ut Vicecancellarius, Doctores, Salcot, Watson, Reps, Thomson de Collegio Michaelis, Venetus, Edmonds, Downes, Wygan, Crome, Boston, et Magistri, Mydelton, Heynes, Mylsente, Shaxton, Latymer, Symon, Mathew, Longforthe, Thyxte, Nycols, Hutton, Skyp, Goodrick, Hethe, Hadway, Deye, et Bayne, una cum Procuratoribus, habeant plenam facultatem et auctoritatem nomine totius Universitatis, respondendi literis Regie Majestatis in hac Congregatione lectis, ac nomine totius Universitatis definendi et determinandi questionem in eisdem literis propositam: Ita quod quicquid duæ partes eorum presentium inter se decreverint respondendum dictis literis, et definierint ac determinaverint super questione proposita in eisdem, habeatur et reputetur pro responsione, definitione et determinatione totius Universitatis. Et quod liceat Vicecancellario, Procuratoribus, Scrutatoribus, literis super dictarum duarum partium responsione, definitione, et determinatione, concipiendis, sigillum Commune Universitatis apponere: Sic quod publice disputetur, et antea legantur coram Universitate absque ulteriori gratia, desuper obtinenda aut petenda.

9. die Martii.

Haudquaquam vos fugit (opinor) Clariss. Viri ac Senatores gravissimi, ut nuper Excellentissimi Principis nostri literas acceperitis, quibus cum super quadam questione inter illum ac Illustrissimam Reginam Controversâ, nostram sententiam desideraret, flagitaret impense, nos (ut nos decuit) tanti Principis petitioni haudquaquam inique morem gerere volentes, tandem in illam omnium (presertim Seniorum) suffragiis convenimus sententiam, ut selectis quibusdam Sacræ Theologiæ tum Professoribus tum Baccalauriis ac aliis Magistris, tantam questionem examinandi, determinandi, ac definendi, nomine totius Universitatis Provincia delegaretur. Illi (inter quos et ego minimus à vobis selectus) tantæ rei curam demandatam agentes, omni consultatione, deliberatione, diligentia, ac sacra Scripturæ locorum conferentia, tum etiam Interpretum, denique publicâ disputatione præmissis, tandem ad illius questionis determinationem ac diffinitionem devenerunt. Super quâ ut nullus est vestrum (quibus ea provincia commissa est) qui aut ambigere aut refragari possit: Ita et vobis omnibus (quod et Gratia à vobis concessa postulat) eandem compertam esse Volumus. Accipite igitur ac amplectimini, quod vestra causa, vestrisque nominibus, à Fratribus vestris, per ingentes labores, ac summam industriam exantlatum est. Determinatio in hiis scriptis comprehensa sic habet.

Nos Universitas studentium Academiæ Cantabri-

giensis, omnibus infra scripta lecturis audituris ve salutem. Cum occasione causæ Matrimonialis, inter Invictissimum et Potentissimum Principem et Dominum nostrum Henricum octavum Dei gratia Angliæ Franciæque Regem, Fidei Defensorem, ac Dominum Hiberniæ, et Illustrissimam Dominam Catharinam Reginam controversæ, de illa questione nostra rogaretur sententia: videlicet, An sit jure Divino et naturali prohibitum, ne Frater ducat in uxorem Relictam fratris mortui sine liberis? Nos de ea re deliberaturi more solito convenientes; atque communicatis consiliis, Matura consultatione tractantis quomodo, quo ordine ad investigationem veritatis certius procederetur, ac omnium tandem suffragiis, selectis quibusdam ex doctissimis Sacræ Theologiæ Professoribus, Baccalauriis, ac aliis Magistris ea cura demandata, ut scrutatis diligentissime Sacræ Scripturæ locis, illisque collatis referrent ac renunciarent, quid ipsi dicte questioni respondendum putarent. Quoniam auditis, perpensis, ac post publicam super dicta questione disputationem matura deliberatione discussis hiis, quæ in questione prædicta alterutram partem statuere et convellere possint; Illa nobis probabiliora, validiora, veriora, etiam et certiora, ac genuinum et syncerum Sacræ Scripturæ intellectum præ se ferentia, Interpretum etiam sententiis magis consona visa sunt, quæ confirmant et probant, jure Divino et naturali prohibitum esse, ne Frater uxorem fratris mortui sine liberis accipiat in conjugem: Illis igitur persuasi, et in unam opinionem convenientes, ad Questionem prædictam ita respondendum decrevimus, et in hiis scriptis, nomine totius universitatis respondemus, ac pro Conclusionem nobis solidissimis rationibus et validissimis argumentis comprobata affirmamus, quod ducere uxorem Fratris mortui sine liberis, cognitam à priori viro per Carnalem copulam, nobis Christianis hodie est prohibitum jure Divino ac naturali. Atque in fidem et testimonium hujusmodi nostræ responsionis et affirmationis, hiis Literis sigillum nostrum commune curavimus apponi. Dat. Congregatione nostra Cantabrigiæ, die nono Martii Anno Domini Millesimo quingentesimo vicesimo nono. Dominica 2. Quadragesimæ Anno Domini 1529, in Wyndesor.

Delivered by me W. B. Vicechancellor in the Chambre of Presence, post vespas.

Your Universitie of Cambridge have them most humbly commended unto your grace, and here thei have sent unto your highness their letters. Than kisse them and so deliver them.

Furthermore as touching your request expressed in your letters dyrected unto them by Mr. Secretary and Mr. Fox, your most wyse counsaillers in the accomplishing of the same, they have done their devors, and here in writing under their comon seale, thei have sent unto your grace ther sentence, desyring the same to accept, and to take it in parte and good worthe. And if thei had any thing ellys to gratify your grace wythall, their lettres and their studies, your highness shuld be suer therof to the uttermost of their powers.

M.S. C.C.C. Given to the college by Dr. Jegon, master.

To the Right Worshipfull Master Doctor Edmonds, Vicar of Alborne in Wiltshire.

My duty remembered, I hartly commend me unto you, and I let you understand, that Dominica Secunda at afternoon, I came to Wyndsor, and also to part of Mr. Latymer's sermon, and after the end of the same I spake with Mr. Secretary, and also with Mr. Provost, and so after even-song I delivered your letters in the Chamber of Presence, all the court beholding. The king with Mr. Secretary did there read them, but not the letters of determination, notwithstanding that I

did there also deliver them, with a proposition. His highness gave me there great thanks, and talked with me a good while. He much lauded our wisdoms and good conveyance in the matter, with the great quietness in the same. He shewed me also what he had in his hands for our university, according unto that that Mr. Secretary did express unto us, &c. So he departed. But by-and-by he greatly praised Mr. Latimer's sermon, and in so praising sayd on this wise: This displeaseth greatly Mr. Vicechancellor yonder. Yon same, sayd he unto the duke of Norfolk, is Mr. Vicechancellor of Cambridge, and so pointed unto me. Then he spake secretly unto the said duke, which after the king's departure came unto me, and welcomed me, saying amongst other things, that the king would speak with me on the next day; and here is the first act. On the next day, I waited untill it was dinner time; and so at the last Dr. Butt came unto me, and brought a reward, twenty nobles for me, and five marks for the younger proctor which was with me; saying that I should take that for a resolute answer, and that I might depart from the court when I would. Then came Mr. Provost, and when I had shewed him of the answer, he sayd, I should speak with the king at after-dinner for all that, and so brought me into a privy place, where as he would have me to wait at after-dinner. I came thither and he both, and by one of the clock the king entred in. It was in a gallery. There were Mr. Secretary, Mr. Provost, Mr. Latimer, Mr. Proctor, and I, and no more: the king there talked with us untill six of the clock. I assure you he was scarce contented with Mr. Secretary and Mr. Provost that this was not also determined, *An Papa possit dispensare*, &c. I made the best, and confirmed the same that they had shewed his grace before, and how it would never have been so obtained. He opened his minde, saying, that he would have it determined at after Ester, and of the same was counsailed a while.

I pray you therefore study for us, for our business is not yet at an end, *An Papa potest dispensare cum Jure Divino*, &c. Much other communication we had, which were too long here to recite. Thus his highness departed, casting a little holy water of the court: and I shortly after toke my leave of Mr. Secretary and Mr. Provost, with whom I did not drink, ne yet was bidden, and on the morrow departed from thence, thinking more than I did say, and being glad that I was out of the court, where many men, as I did both hear and perceive, did wonder at me. And here shall be an end for this time of this fable.

All the world almost crieth out of Cambridge for this act, and specially on me; but I must bear it as well as I may. I have lost a benefice by it, which I should have had within these ten dayes. For there hath one false in Mr. Throckmorton's gift, which he hath faithfully promised unto me many a time, but now his mind is turned and alienate from me. If ye go to the court at after-Ester, I pray you have me in remembrance there, as ye shall think best. But of this no more.—Mr. Latimer preacheth still, *quod amuli ejus graviter ferunt*. I am informed that Oxford hath now elected certain persons to determine the king's question. I hear say also that Mr. Provost was there in great jeopardy. Other tidings I have none at this time, but that all the company be in good health, and heartily saluteth you. And thus fare you heartily well. At Cambridge, in *Crastino Dominic. Palmarum*.

Your own to his power,

WILLIAM BUCKMASTER.

The king willed me to send unto you, and to give you word of his pleasure in the said question.

M.S. C.C.C. Miscellan. P.

NUMBER XVII.

Three Letters written by king Henry to the University of Oxford, for their opinion in the cause of his Marriage.

[Ex MS. D. Kennet.]

Letter I.

BY THE KING.—Trusty and well-beloved subjects, we greet you well. And whereas we have, for an high and weighty cause of ours, not only consulted many and substantial well-learned men within our realm and without, for certaine considerations our conscience moving, we think it also very convenient to feel the minds of you amongst you in our university of Oxford, which be erudite in the faculty of divinity, to the intent we may perceive of what conformity ye be with the others, which marvelously both wisely and substantially have declared to us their intent and mind: not doubting but that ye, for the allegiance and fidelity that ye are bound unto us in, will as sincerely and truly without any abuse declare your minds and conscience in this behalf, as any of the other have done. Wherefore we will and command you, that ye not leaning to wilfull and sinister opinions of your own several minds, not giving credence to misreports and sinister opinions or perswasions, considering we be your sovereigne leige lord, totally giving your true mind and affection to the true overture of divine learning in this behalf, do shew and declare your true and just learning in the said cause, like as ye will abide by; wherein ye shall not only please Almighty God, but also us your leige lord. And we for your so doing shall be to you and our university there so good and gracious a sovereigne lord for the same, as ye shall perceive it well imploied to your well fortune to come; in case you do not uprightly according to divine learning hand your selves herein, ye may be assured, that we, not without great cause, shall so quickly and sharply look to your unnaturall misdemeanour herein, that it shall not be to your quietness and ease hereafter. Wherefore we heartily pray you, that according both to duty to God and your prince, you sett apart all untrue and sinister informations, and accomodate yourselves to the meer truth as it becommeth true subjects to do; assuring you that those that do, shall be esteemed and set forth, and the contrary neglected and little set by. Trusting that now you know our mind and pleasure, we shall see such conformitie among you, that we shall hereof take great consolation and comfort, to the great allevation of our conscience; willing and commanding you among you to give perfect credence to my lord of Lincolne, our confessor in this behalfe and matter: and in all things which he shall declare unto you or cause to be declared in our behalfe, to make unto us either by him or the authentick letters full answer and resolution, which your duty's well remembred, we doubt not but that it shall be our high contentation and pleasure. Given under, &c.

Letter II.

BY THE KING.—Trusty and well-beloved, we greet you well. And of late being informed, to our no little marvell and discontentation, that a great part of the youth of that our university, with contentious factions and manner, daily combining together, neither regarding their duty to us their sovereigne lord, nor yet conforming themselves to the opinions and orders of the vertuous, wise, sage, and profound learned men of that university, wilfully to stick upon the opinion to have a great number of regents and non-regents to be associate unto the doctors, proctors, and batchelors of divinity, for the determination of our question; which we believe hath not been often seen, that such a

number of right small learning, in regard to the other, should be joined with so famous a sort, or in a manner stay their seniors in so weighty a cause: which as we think should be no small dishonour to our university there, but most especially to you the seniors and rulers of the same, assuring you that this their unnatural and unkind demeanour is not only right much to our displeasure, but much to be marvelled of, upon what ground and occasion they being our meere subjects, should shewe themselves more unkind and wilfull in this matter, than all other universities, both in this and all other regions do. Finally, we trusting in the dexterity and wisdom of you and other the said discreet and substantial learned men of that university, be in perfect hope, that ye will conduce and frame the said young persons unto good order and conformity, as it becommeth you to do. Wherefore we be desirous to hear with incontinent diligence, and doubt you not we shall regard the demeanour of every one of the university, according to their merits and deserts. And if the youth of the university will play masteries, as they begin to do, we doubt not but that they shall well perceive, that *non est bonum irritare crabrones*. Given under, &c.

Letter III.

To our Trusty and Well-beloved the Commissary-Regents and Non-Regents of our University of Oxon.

Trusty and well-beloved, we greet you well. And whereas by sundry our letters, sent and delivered at sundry times by the hands of our counsellors unto you, with credence declared unto you by the same, we have only required and made instance unto you, for the obtaining of that which at the least desire of any Christian man ye be bound and obliged to do; that is to say, to declare and shew your opinions and sentence in such a doubt, as upon the dissolution and determination whereof dependeth the tranquillity, repose, and quiet of our conscience, we cannot a little marvell that you neither having respect to our estate, being your prince and sovereign lord; nor yet remembring such gratuities and benefits as we have always shew'd unto you, as well to the particular wealth of diverse as to the common body of that our university, without any correspondency shew'd on their behalfe againe, have hitherto delay'd and deferr'd not only to send us your determination and resolution to our demand and question, but also refused to take order, or enter into any way or meane, whereby you might declare or shew unto us, that ye be of mind and determination to endeavour your selfe for an accomplishment of our desire in that behalfe. And so much the more marvell we at this your manner of delays, that our university of Cambridge hath within far shorter time not only agreed upon the fashion and manner to make answers unto us effectually, and with diligence following the same; but hath also eight days since sent unto us their answers under common seale, plainly determining, "prohibitionem esse Divini et naturalis juris, nē frater uxorem fratris etiam mortui sine liberis ducat uxorem." For the searching of the truth in which matter, if ye had before this time condescended upon the manner and fashion convenient in that behalfe, we could then have taken any delay afterward, upon any other cold pretence made, but in good part: whereas now the refusing to agree upon any such order, and denying to do that which should be but the entrie into the matter for declaration of your forwardness, good will, and diligence: we can't otherwise think of you, but that you neither behave your selves towards us, as our merits towards you have deserved, as good subjects to a kind prince and sovereign lord; as by the learning ye professe, ye be

obliged and bound. Wherefore revolving this in our mind, and yet nevertheless considering you to be there by our authority and grant, as a body politique, in the ruling whereof in things to be done in the name of the whole, the number of the private suffrages doth prevaile, and being loth to shewe our displeasure, whereof we have so great cause ministered unto us, unto the whole in general; whereas the fault perchance consisteth and remaineth but in light and willfull heads; for the tender consideration we bear to learned men, and the great desire we have to nourish, maintaine, and favour those that are good; have thought convenient to send unto you these letters by our trusty and right well-beloved clarke and counsellor, Mr. Edward Fox, trusting verily that ye which be heads and rulers there, well considering and weighing your duties in the accomplishment of our request, for the searching the truth in such a cause, as touching your prince and sovereign lord, our soul, and the wealth of this our realme: and your great lack and blame with just cause of high displeasure to be worthily conceiv'd by us in the denyall and slack doing thereof, will so order and accomodate the fashion, and passing such things as should proceed from that university in this case, as the number of the private suffrages given without reason, prevaile not against the heads, rulers, said sage fathers, to the detriment, hindrance, and inconvenience of the whole. But so to examine, try, and weigh the opinions and minds of the multitude, as the importance of the matter doth require: wherein we doubt not but your body is established in such wise, that there be left waies and means to the heads and rulers how to eschew and avoid such inconveniences, when they shall chance: as we trust ye that be heads and rulers for the comprobation and declaration of particular good minds, ye will not faile to do accordingly, and so by your diligence to be shew'd hereafter, to redeem the errors and delaies past. The favour we beare to the maintenance of learning, we would be very glad, as our said well-beloved counsellor can shew unto you on our behalfe; unto whom we will you give firme credence. Given under our signet at our castle of Windsor.

NUMBER XVIII.

Copy of the King's Letters to the Bishop of Rome.

[Ex MSS. Rymer.]

ETSI videamus vel temporum vel Hominum iniquitate fieri, ut postulata nostra, quantumvis equa ac naturali ratione subnixā, parum expeditur, nihil etiam proficere, in causa nostra justissima, Charissimi fratris et Consanguinei ac perpetui Confederati nostri, Christianissimi Regis Amicissimas preces; Nobilium autem nostrorum intercessionem non modo contemni, sed etiam derideri, quod eos equo animo non laturos existimamus. Denique re ipsa nihil prestari quod nos afflictos atque vexatos sublevet; hæc omnia, licet aperius cernamus quam velimus, tum autem ex Oratoribus nostris quos apud vos habemus, tum à vestro isthic Oratore cognoscamus; est tamen spei opinionisque nostræ tam diversus exitus ut subinde cogitantibus nobis ac memoria repetentibus omnes causæ nostræ circumstantias, porro autem singula Conferentibus que precesserant queque secuta sunt, fidem factorum, dictorum atque responsorum vestræ Sanctit. in hac causa nostra quam aliqui certam et firmam, fide dignorum Oratorum et vestrorum et nostrorum relatio constituit, ipsa ratio Communis labefactet atque convellat; atque in re certissima tam dubium reddit ut certo interdum non credamus Sanct. vest. fecisse que fecisse cognoscimus quum ea facere non debuissē in-

telligamus. Nam ut omittamus ea quæ longius precesserunt, quod nuperime efflagitavimus de dandis in Anglia Judicibus, quis credidisset Sanctitatem vestram negare voluisse; longe aliter sperabamus nos. Aliter certe credidit Christianissimus Rex qui nobiscum una id petiit: Aliter crediderunt sui Consiliarii, quorum suasu id fecit: Secus crediderunt nobiles nostri omnes, et omnes omnium ordinum primi viri. Qui ad nostra postulata suas literas adjunxerunt, et quem non ad id adigerit ratio ut crederet Sanctitatem vestram facturam Dei respectu quod debuisset, et in principum gratiam quod inculpate potuisset: debuisset certe permittere sacrosanctis olim Consiliis id definientibus, ut controversia illic terminetur ubi primum nata est. Illic enim Judices et propius vident et cernunt certius: Ut Gloriosissimo Martyri Cypriano placuit. Et Divus Bernardus ad Eugenium scribit bene facis tu quod appellationum negato Suffragio remittis negotia ad cognoscentes et qui noscere citius possunt: ubi enim certior et facilius notio, ibi decisio tutior et expeditior esse potest: potuisset autem Sanctitas vestra nam olim se potuisse ostendit cum Judices ad nos in Angliam mitteret quos postea revocavit. Quod si debuisset quidem quod negari non poterit, et potuisset etiam ut quidem factis antea suis de consilio suorum declaravit, quis dubitaret de voluntate siquidem ut deberet ipsam liberam rectam et certam tenere Sanctitas vestra, non ad aliena arbitria accomodatam ac humanis respectibus inservientem quod res ita se habet ut habet fuerunt aliquando vices nostri, nunc ut videmus aliorum sunt: Non in Lege Domini, sed in rerum vicissitudine meditandem est, ut de vestræ Sanctitatis Manu aliquod auxilii expectemus, sed auxilium nostrum à Domino certum est, et in Domino sperantes non infirmabimur. Nam in conspectu omnium, acta probant voluntatem Sanctitatis vestræ totam Cæsari addictam esse: Illius nutu flecti, ad illius arbitrium attemperari. Si quid petimus, si quid rogamus, quod officii vestri esset, prima ratio est, ut ne quid Cæsari displiceat. Quem cunctis amicis habeamus, tamen dominantem in illo naturæ affectum ut improbare omnino non possumus, ita in hac causa nostra iniquiorem nobis non sine causa refugere debemus et recte gravissimam nobis injuriam factam et vestro officio indignissimum dedecus admissum videmus, ut cum Cæsar se in hac causa interposuerit, etiam cum se opposuerit definitioni appellatione interposita, cum se partem publice professus sit, vestra Sanctitas tamen eundem semper consultorem adhibeat: ad illius imperium figat, ac refigat, differat, proroget, mutet et statuatur quodcumque temporis rationi opportunum videatur. Et si quid ab adverso dicatur statim creditur: Si quid nos proposuerimus omnino rejicitur, scilicet creditur nunc Reginæ Regnum nostrum Angliæ non esse tutum locum in quo causa judicetur: Et creditur unicæ allegationi sine testibus contra tam preclara et aperta documenta quæ nos in diversum edidimus, non verbis et assertionibus quæ fingi possunt, sed rebus ipsis et factis quæ non mentiuntur. Nos enim quanta cum libertate atque impunitate audivimus omnes in nos, liberius etiam quam oportuit, quod videbatur proferentes, nemini unquam aliam opinionem extorsimus, quam que animo videretur suo: diversum à nobis sentientes etiam in cæteris, favore et prosequimur et prosecuti sumus. Et tamen, post tot argumenta securitatis, et cum nullum signum adhuc apparuerit cur timere quisquam à nobis merito deberet, credit vestra Sanctitas nudam Reginæ allegationem in diversum. Quo tempore dubitari potuit qualiter essemus laturi quod ageretur et quanta cum equanimitate passuri quod fieri, si quid contra nos fieret. Missi sunt ad nos Judices in Angliam, a Sanctitate vestra, hunc vero cum id amplius factitari non potest, non

modo dubitatur sed creditur diversum ejus, quod nos probavimus. Probavimus autem nos Regnum nostrum locum esse tutum in quo causa nostra judicetur viz. cum hæcenus summam omnibus dicendi libertatem permiserimus. Regina vero tantum allegat diversum, et si quas probationes attulerit, vanæ sint oportet et falsæ nec verisimiles. Quæ quum ita sint, aliud tamen cur Judices non dederit, non respondit Sanctitas vestra, nisi quod Regina allegavit locum suspectum. Et quis crederet Sanctitatem vestram ista nobis respondisse, nec aliud dixisse ne Judices daret in partibus: certe referentium credulitatem exigit res vero ipsa negat. Si sequamur quod antea diximus eam persuasionem ut credamus Sanctitatem vestram voluntatem suam ita Cæsari addixisse, ut non ex animi vestri summa prudentia præditi sententia sed ex Cæsaris affectu respondere contendant. Quæ res facit ut iterum atque iterum repetitis literis Sanctitatem vestram adeamus, expressuri nimirum si quid aliud moverit Sanctitatem vestram cur nostris ultimis desideriis non annuerit cupidi etiam literis vestris intelligere cui causæ potissimum, denegando innixa sit. Sic enim expressius et certius mentes invicem et animi nostri sententias communicabimus: Si in causis hiisce gravioribus et postulata et responsa scriptis mandaverimus. Itaque petimus denuo hiis literis a Sanctitate vestra ut causam nostram in Anglia datis Judicibus, illis quos inter oratores tanquam indifferentes et equissimos nominabimus, decidi patiatur, atque permittat. De Judicibus autem nullam ut accipimus facit difficultatem Sanctitas vestra, tantum de loco Questio fuit, quum sacra Consilia jam definierunt et Sanctus etiam Cyprianus et Divus Bernardus ut prædiximus, utique convenientissimum affirmant, ut in eo loco causa terminetur ubi primum nata est. Durum certe esset probare nudam Reginæ allegationem de loco suspecto, contra ea Argumenta quæ nos ostendimus. Et facile videt prudentia vestra non levem nobis notam iniuri, ut ea infamia aspergamur, quasi in causa tanti Sacramenti suspecti haberebimur, ne eam ex equo et bono Divinarum legum præscripto intra Regni nostri limitem terminari pateremur: Suspicio talis crimen esset etiam in infimo homuncione famosum, in principe viro tanto magis angustor facinoris atrocitas, quanto sublimius consurgit fastigium dignitatis: Nec possumus certe pati, nedum equanimitate ferre, ut de suspicionem tam gravi immerito accusemur, ac sine teste etiam à vestra Sanctitate inique condemnemur. Quæ si communis Patris et Boni pastoris officioungeretur, in eo potius laboraret ne quid temere cuiquam fiat, et ne sine omni sua culpa ledatur nec immerito notetur. Atque hoc nimirum est Christi vices in Terris gerere, conservandæ Charitatis exempla prebere, ita suum vindicare ne quid alteri detrahatur, ex equo et bono omnia disceptare, plane, simpliciter, et aperte agere, promissa prestare non obliquo ductu, alio tendere quam quod cursum aperte institueras. Hac omnia non ascribimus Sanctitati vestræ, nec de occultis Sacre Literæ permittunt judicare, et nos semper temeraria judicia fugimus, nec in alium libenter admittimus, quod in nos ipsos fieri equanimitate non ferremus. Sed si vestræ Sanctit. oratores, si vestri nuntii, vestri Magistratus, Auctore Sanctitate vestra faciunt quod faciunt, cujus Rei certum iudicium Conscientiæ vestræ sit, clara certe verisimilitudo interim elucet: sed si Auctor est vestra Sanctitas, si Conscia est, si facta probat, immo si non improbat aperte, non corrigit: Graviores sunt his quæ supra memoravimus quæ in Sanctitatem vestram dici possunt, nam quum Sanctitas vestra omnibus modis primum conata est impedire ne quis in Cauca nostra suam sententiam libere proferret, ac deinde post multas longas et varias preces, Justitiæ Administrandæ necessitate adacta, ut suum cui-

quæliberum iudicium permetteret, scribendi et dicendi quod suæ Conscientiæ videretur, literis tandem in publicum missis permisit, omnibus liberam in Causa nostra scribendi facultatem: Magistratus interea vestri, vestro etiam nomine, multis gravissime minati sunt, si quis scripserint in Potestatem vestram. Hoc Bononiæ et aliis in locis permultis factum scimus. Cæsaris vero Oratores ubique in Italia, ac vestris præsertim ditionibus, contempto vestræ Sanctitatis edicto, indies incessant Terrores, Minas, et cætera quæque Terrimenta inculcare; sciente et volente, vel saltem non impediante sed connivente Sanctitate vestra, his qui in Causa nostra scripserunt ac scriberent, ni revocent atque recantent. Et, qua Conspiratione nescimus effectum est, ut Literarum nostrarum nec liber sit commeatus nec tutus. Christianissimus vero Rex nobis significavit, quomodo Orator vester qui apud illum est, de Causa nostra etiam nomine Sanctitatis vestræ, ut quidem asseruit, in verba pronuntiavit: nec veritus est tanto Principi audacter et impudenti mentiri; ut diceret Causam nostram contra omne jus et fas intendi, nullo jure aut ratione niti. Quæ verba, si ex animi vestri sententia protulit, non semper ex animi sui sententia, et scripsit et locuta est Sanctitas vestra, quæ Causam nostram aliquando iustissimam appellavit. Quod si temeritas illius hominis à Sanctitatis vestræ sinceritate remota est, quod libentius vellemus, tamen quum eo munere fungatur, in quo ad mandatorum præscripta agere videatur, saltem aliqua ratione diluenda suspitio est: sicque illis agendum, quos Splendor Dignitatis reddit conspicuos; ne ullam scandalum occasionem præstent, his quos in obsequio et amicitia continere cupiant. Nobiscum autem ita agat Sanctitas vestra, ut Naturæ Præcepta non transiliat; si suum sibi integrum servari cupiat, ne nostrum attingat, ne recipiat appellationes ad se in Causa nostra: Et si quas receperit, ne contra iustitiam eas tueri studeat; sed secundum iustitiam, eas in Regnum remittat; ne exercere conetur inhibitiones suas, in hac Causa contra nos, aut subditos nostros, quos illis modis non convenit deterreri. Sinat Leges et Prærogativas nostras Regniq; nostri Angliæ, nec tempore nec auctoritate vestris cedentes, sua vi procedere: Inhibitiones istas, si quas fecerit, quod non credimus, maturiori Consilio revocet quæ factæ sunt, et cum alieni juris præiudicio, ne deinceps emitat. Summatim autem quod petitur; hoc est, ut ne ad se, neve ad Curiam Romanam, Causæ illius Cognitionem deferri patiatur, quæ intra Regni nostri Limites debet terminari. Nec credat Sanctitas vestra, ut cum Leges certas et fixas habeat hoc Regnum nostrum Angliæ, ne Causæ quæcumq; Regiam Personam, aut Rempublicam quouomodo tangentes, extra Regni Limites Iudiciis tractentur; vel permissuros nos eas nobis regnantibus infringi et violari; vel passuros Regni nostri Nobiles, tam grave præiudicium huic Regno inferri. Brevis site nil moveat Persona rogantis, moveat saltem Causa rogandi. Rogamus enim nos, quia Naturæ et Rationi consonum est, ut quod nostrum est nobis illibatum conservare studeamus. Rogamus autem Auctoribus Sacrosanctis Consiliis, hoc est, vestris Legibus; viz. ut in sua cuiusque Provincia Causa terminetur. Rogamus ex sententia Divorum Cypriani et Bernardi, quibus hoc, ut supra diximus, equum visum est. Denique rogamus, quod Leges nostræ diversum non patiantur, et nos à Contentionibus abhorremus. His certè non annuere non potest Sanctitas vestra, si illum Charitatis fervorem habeat, quem et Titulus Dignitatis præ se fert, et nos etiam habemus. Veruntamen, si hæ Causæ Rogandi Sanctitatem vestram moverint, ut concedat quod iustum est, eatenus tamen apud nos valebunt, ne de Sanctitatis vestræ manu patiamur quod iniustum

est: Nec quisque facile patitur auferri, quod suum est. Et nos etiam in aliena illibenter irruimus, sed à Contentione non abest detrimentum: Et nullius ferè compendio semel natæ Controversiæ transiguntur: Quid animi habeat Sanctitas vestra, quid autem nobis respondere decreverit, rogamus ut per Literas velit significare.

NUMBER XIX.

A Letter of Gr. Cassali, from Compiegne.—An Original.

[Cotton Library, Vitellius, B. 13.]

SERENISSIME et INVICTISSIME Domine mi Supreme, Salutem. Compendium Regem Christianissimum, quemadmodum sibi placere ipse mihi dixerat, sum subsequutus. Cum ejus Majestati duo adhuc agenda supererant: Primum, quia meorum Literis certior factus sum, brevi Pontificem cum Cæsare conventurum, Literæ ad duos Cardinales, qui Parisiis sunt, ab hoc Rege Christianissimo conscribendæ videbantur; quibus illis mandaret, quæ celerius poterint magnis itineribus in Italiam festinent. Itaque veluti à Rege postulavi, ut hujusmodi Literæ exarentur. Deinde valde existimabam necessarium, cum hoc Principe agere, ut duobus Cardinalibus daret in mandatis, ut ante omnes Cardinalis de Monte meminissent. Eique Pensionem annuam, saltem trium millium aureorum, ex quadraginta millibus, quæ mihi dixerat velle in Cardinales distribuere assignarent. Et Rex quidem hoc etiam scribi ad duos Cardinales jussit Secretario Vitandri: Quicum ego postmodo super iis Pensionibus Sermonem habui, cognovique sic in animo Regem habere, ut duo Cardinales quum Romæ fuerint, videant, qui potissimum digni hac Regia sint Liberalitate, in eoque, quum quid in Regno Galliæ Ecclesiasticumicare contigerit, ex meritis unius cuiusque Pensionem conferantur. Tunc autem nihil in promptu haberi quod Cardinali de Monte dari possit: Verum Regis nomine illi de futuro esse promittendum, quod mihi certè summopere displicuit; et Secretario Vitandri non reticui, ostendens Pollicitationes hujusmodi centies, am Cardinali de Monte factas fuisse; et modo si terum fiant nihil aliud effecturas, nisi ut illius Viri quasi ulcera pertractent id quod Vitandri verum esse fatebatur, pollicitusque est se, quum Rex à Venatu redisset, velle ei suadere, ut Cardinalem de Monte aliqua presenti Pensione prosequatur; qua quidem te nihil conducibilis aut opportunius fieri posset.

Illud autem novi, quod meorum Literis ex urbe significatur, ad Guronum perscribi. Et D. Benettum ad Dominum Ducem Norfolkici scribere arbitror his Literis, quæ hic mihi redditæ sunt, et cum præsentibus mitto. Quod autem et Rege Christianissimo cognovi illud est. Constituisse Cæsarem, superioribus diebus, relinquere Ferdinando Fratri viginti millia Peditum, Equitum decem millia; ita ut ipse solveret de suo Stipendia sex millibus Boemorum, et duobus millibus Militum navalium: Quatuor vero millibus Germanorum darentur Stipendia à iberis Germaniæ Civitatibus. At reliquis qui Italarum erant octo millia, nihil certi Stipendij decerneret; credens illos, quemadmodum in Italia plerumque venire consuevit, aut exigua re, aut ad summum limidio Stipendio acquieturos. Ex decem Equitum millibus, duo millia ex Flammingis, Ordinibus relinquebant. In cæteros Stipendium à Pontifice, ut in illam diem factum fuerat, statuebat. Sed enim Itali Milites, male se tractari existimantes, tumultu factotaliam versus abierunt; quod quum reliqui cognovissent, alij alio domos suas omnes discesserunt. Hujus autem seditionis Crimen in Petrum Mariam Rubeum

Comitem Sancti Secundi collatum fuit: Idque quofiam discedentes milites ipsius comitis nomen clamantes ingeminabant: Illum igitur Cæsar comprehendijussit: Et Cardinalem Medices quoque legatum ut ejusdem affinem culpæ detineri, ac paulo post dimitti imperavit: qui primo quoque tempore per equos dispositos abiens Venetias se contulit: Atque hanc quidem rem Pontifex, ut debuit, iniquo animo tulisse dicitur; et de adeo insigni contumelia cum Cæsarianis omnibus est conquestus. Verum, illi quibus modis potuerunt, Cæsarem excusarunt, rogaruntque ut placato sit animo donec Cæsarem ipsum audiat, qui ostendit quicquid fecit in ipsius Pontificis, beneficium fecisse. De conventu Pontificis Cæsarisque pro certo ferre habetur Bononiæ futurum: Et ut ex litteris colligi potest, jam nunc Cæsar Italiam cum duodecim milibus peditum ingressus est: Et Pontifex ab urbe Bononiam versus discedet. Romani enim venerat Petrus Cona Cæsaris legatus ad Pontificem deducendum: Qua de re quum hic certior factus essem, ad Franciscum fratrem meum, qui Romæ est, scripsi, ut Cardinalem de Monte, et alterum amicum nostrum adiret, rogaretque velint cum Pontifice agere, ut quoniam ita festinanter Bononiam contendit, neque ipsos secum ducere potest, promittat se nihil antequam Romam perierit in causa Majestatis vestræ facturum, quum præsertim absque ipsis nihil recte in tanto negotio confici possit. Præterea fratri meo ut idem nonnullis aliis Cardinalibus diceret mandavi: quod si viderit non posse id a Pontifice impetrari, ab ipsis contendat ut Pontificem omnino sequantur, neque ætas decrepita illos moretur, sed quoquo modo sese deferri faciant: Neque velit Cardinalis de Monte, quemadmodum alias fecit, absente Pontifice legatus in urbe remanere, præsertim si, quod firme ab omnibus creditur, Pontifex Bononiæ usque in mensem Martium aut Aprilis est commoraturus. Sed nunc quod scribam omitendum non est. Quum Caletio discedens equum consedissem, Secretarius qui illic erat Nuntii Pontificii, se litteras habere à Nuntio mihi dixit, quibus respondebat ad quandam partem suarum litterarum, quæ illi meis verbis significarat, velle se omnino ad Pontificem scribere, ne quicquam in causa Majestatis vestræ ante reditum meum ageret, ea enim me allaturum, quæ sibi rationabiliter placere possent, dummodo nihil super causa factum fuisset. Responsum autem Nuntii illud erat, se in eam sententiam ad Pontificem scripsisse, et de ea ita scripsisse, ut mihi polliceretur, nihil ante quam ego redierim in Majestatis vestræ causa innovatum fore: enimvero me rogavit ut aliquid boni, et quod nostris placere posset afferrem, ne ipse mentitus esse videretur.

Sed de pensione in Cardinalem de Monte conferenda, quoniam postmodo Rex Christianissimus quemadmodum mihi promiserat scribere recusavit, et me rogavit ut adventum magni magistri expectarem, quid sequutum sit Majestas vestra ex Domino Wintoniensi cognoscet, ad quem de hac re abunde scripsi. Felix sit et optime valeat Majestas vestra. Compendii Die xvj. Novemb. M.D. xxxij.

Regia Majestatis.

NUMBER XX.

A Representation made by the Convocation to the King before the Submission.

[Cotton Library, Cleop. F. I.]

FIRST, as concerning such constitutions and ordinances provincial as be to be made hereafter by us, your most humble subjects, we having our especial trust and confidence in your most excellent wisdom, and your princely goodness and fervent zeal to the promotion of Gods honour and Christen religion, and

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specially in your incomparable learning far exceeding in our judgments the learning of all other kings and princes that we have hadde of, and doubting nothing but that the same shall still continue and daily encrease in your majestie, do offer and promise hereunto the same that from henceforth during your highness natural life which we most hertly beseech Almighty God long to preserve, we shall forbear to enact, promulge, or put in execution, any such constitution or ordinance so by us to be made in time coming, unless your highness by your royal assent shall license us to make, promulge, and execute such constitutions, and the same so made shall approve by your highness autoritie.

Secounde, whereas your highness honorable commons do pretend that diverse of the constitutions provincial, which have ben heretofore enacted be not only much prejudicial to your highness prerogative royal, but also overmuch onerous to your said commons, we your most humble subjects for the considerations aforesaid, be contented to referr and commit all and singular the said constitutions to the examination and judgment of your grace only: and which soever of the same shall finally be found, thought, and judged by your graces most high wisdom prejudicial and overmuch onerous as is pretended, we offer and promise your highness to moderate or utterly to abrogate and annull the same, according to the judgment of your grace. Saving us to allwaie all such immunities and liberties of this church of England, as hath been granted unto the same by the goodness and benignite of your highness, and of others your most noble progenitors, with all such constitutions provincial as do stand with the laws of Almighty God and Holy Church, and of your realm heretofore made, which we most humbly beseech your grace to ratifie and approve by your royal assent, for the better execution of the same in times to come, amongst your graces people. Providing also that until your highness pleasure herein shall be further declared unto us, all manner of ordinaries may execute their jurisdictions in like manner and form as they have used the same in times past.

NUMBER XXI.

A Letter by Magnus to Cromwell, concerning the Convocation of York.—Taken from the Original.

[Cleop. E. 6. P. 252.]

AFTER full due recommendation unto your good mastership, like it the same to wete, that yesterdaie was here with me Mr. Doctor Lee, and shewed unto me the kings most gracious pleasure and your advertisements for my going northwards to the convocation at York. So it is, as I doubt not the said Mr. Doctor Lee knoweth and conceiveth, that I have not a little been sik and diseased, but greatly grieved with a rewme in myn hed, and a catarr fallen into my stomake, by reason whereof, I have had, and yet have a contynuall great cough, I am in truste that my diseas and sicknes is in declination, supposing thereby the sooner to have recovery, and this daye have sent for my horses into Nottingham shir, and truste with the helpe of God to be at York soone after the begynning of the said convocation. Many yerres afore-passed, I have ever been redy to go when I have ben commanded, and yet I have as good a will as ever I had, but myn olde body is nowesoe ofte clogged with infirmite and unweildenes, that it woll not aunswer to the effect of my desire and good mynde, yet nevertheles with the good helpe and counsell also of Mr. Bartlot, I shall doe asmuch as I may to make me soe strong as it woll be, and have had communycation at large with the said Mr. Doctor Lee, touching our intended business. I am very glad that

he shall be at York at this season, for at the laste convocation where as was graunted unto the kings highness the great some of mony to be payde in ~~the~~ ^{the} ~~yer~~ ^{yer}es, with the recognising his grace to be *supremum Caput*, &c. I had very litle helpe, but my self, albeit the kings highness said that he wolde have sent other bookes after me, which came not: soe that therefore the kinges causes were the longer in treating and reasonyng or they came to good effect and conclusion; the prelates and clergie there wold not in any wise give firme credence to reporte of any acts that be paste here, onles the same be shewed unto them authentically, either under seale, or otherwise, or the kings most honourable letters addressed accordingly, these two things in myn oppynnyon, must both be done, for without the same, the prelats and clergie of the north parties being farre from knowledge of the kings most high pleasure, wold not for any credence, be hastie to proceed to any strainge acts, but wold esteem their reasons and ~~argu~~ ^{argu}ing, to be as effectuell as others be. I write the ~~more~~ ^{more} at large unto you herryne, bycause, as it shall please you, and as ye shall seem good, the matters that now be intended, may be put in order. Glad I would have been to have comen nowe unto you my self, but I assure you, I dare not as yet come into the open ayre, soe soone as I may, it shall be my firste pilgrimage by the grace of God, who ever preserve you myn one good master. At Maribone this Monday the xxth daye of Aprill.

Your own preiste and bedeman
T. MAGNUS.

NUMBER XXII.

A Protestation made by Warham, Archbishop of Canterbury, against all the Acts pass'd in the Parliament to the prejudice of the Church.

[1531. P. 120.]

Protestatio Archiepiscopi Cantuar.

IN Dei Nomine. Amen. Per presens publicum instrumentum cunctis apparcat evidenter et sit notum, quod Anno Domini secundum Cursum et Computationem Ecclesie Anglicane Millesimo Quingentesimo xxxi°. Indictione Quinta, Pontificatus Reverendissimi in Christo Patris et Domini nostri, Domini Clementis Divina Providentia illius Nominis Papae Septimi, Anno Nono, Mensis vero Februarii die vigesimo quarto: In quodam superiori Cubiculo sive Camera infra Manerium Reverendissimi in Christo Patris et Domini, Domini Wilhelmi Permissione Divina Cant' Archiepiscopi, totius Anglie Primatis, et Apostolica Sedis legati, de Lambithe Winton' Dioc. situatum in nostrorum Notariorum Publicorum Subscriptorum, ac Testium inferiorum Nominatorum, presentia constitutus personaliter idem Reverendissimus in Christo Pater, quandam Protestationem, in scriptis redactam, fecit, et interposuit, ac palam et publice Protestatus est, cæterique fecit et exercuit prout, et quemadmodum quâdam Papiri Schedulâ, quam manibus suis tunc tenens publicè legebat, plenius continebatur; cujus quidem Schedulæ tenor sequitur, et est talis.

In Dei Nomine. Amen. Nos Wilhelmus permissione divina Cant. Arch. totius Anglie Primas, et Apostolicæ Sedis legatus, Protestamur publicè et expressè, pro nobis, et sanctæ Ecclesiæ nostræ Metropolitice Cantuariensi, quod nolumus, nec intendimus, sicuti neque sanâ Conscientiâ possumus, Alicui statuto in presenti Parlamento apud Fratres Prædicatores London tertio die mensis Novembris Anno Dom' 1529. et Anno Regni Regis Henrici Octavi xxi. inchoat', et abinde usq; ad Westm' prorogat', et ibidem huc usque continuat', edito, seu deinceps edendo, qua-

tenus statuta hujusmodi, seu eorum aliquod, in derogationem Romani Pontificis, aut Sedis Apostolicæ; vel damnum Præjudicium, sive Restrictionem Ecclesiasticæ Potestatis; aut in Subversionem, Enervationem, seu Derogationem, vel Diminutionem, Jurium, Consuetudinum, Privilegiorum, Prærogativarum, Præeminentiarum, seu Libertatis Ecclesiæ nostræ Metropolitice Christi Cant' prædict' tendere dignoscuntur, quomodolibet consentire; sed ad omnem Juris effectum qui exinde sequi poterit aut debebit, eisdem Dissentire, Reclamare, Contradicere; ac Dissentimus, Reclamamus, et Contradicimus in his scriptis. Super quibus omnibus, et singulis præmissis, idem Reverendissimus Pater nos Notarios publicos subscriptos sibi unum, vel plura, publicum seu publica, Instrumentum sive Instrumenta, exinde conficere debet et instanter requisivit et rogavit.

Acta sunt hæc omnia et singula prout supra scribuntur et recitantur sub anno Domini, Indictione, Pontificatu, Mense, Die, et loco prædictis; Presentibus tunc ibidem venerabilibus, et probis Viris, Magistris Johanne Cocks, legum Doctore: Rogero Harmam Theologie Baccalaureo: Ingelramno Bedill, Clerico: Et Wilhelmo Waren Literato, Testibus ad præmissa vocatis specialiter et rogatis.

Istud Instrumentum similiter erat subscriptum manibus prædictorum trium Notariorum, with the foregoing instrument; which was that of the subscription of the clergy. They were

William Potkyn, John Hering, and Thomas Argal.

This was copied out of a MS. in my Lord Longvill's Library.

NUMBER XXIII.

A Letter of Bonner's upon his reading the King's Appeal to the Pope.—An Original.

[Cotton Library, Vitellius B. 14. Fol. 75.]

To the king. From Edmund Bonner at Marseilles.

PLEASETH it your highnes to be advertised, that sythen my last letters sent unto the same of the ivth of this present by Thadens the Curror wherein I declared in what termes were the proceedings here, I was commaunded by my lord of Winchester, and other your highnes ambassadours here, to intimate unto the popes person, if the same were possible to do, all suche provocations and appelles which your highnes heretofore had made unto the generall councill, and sent hither to be intimated accordingle. Whereupon desiring Mr. Penyston to take the pains with me unto the popes palace for the expeditions of an acte concerning your highnes, and he right glad and very well content to do the same: I repayred with hym thither the viith of this present, in the mornyng, and albeit that at the begynnynge some resistance and contradiction was made that we shold not come unto the pope, which as then was in manner full readye to come unto the consistorie; and therefore not accustomed with other business to be interrupted, yet in conclusion we came to that chamber where the pope stode bytwene two cardinales, de Medices, and Lorayne, redie apparelled with his stole towards the consistorie. And incontinently upon my comyng thither, the pope, whos sight is incredulous quick, eyed me, and that divers tymes, making a good pawse in one place, in which tyme I desired the datary to advertise his holines that I desired to speke with him. And albeit the datarie made no litle difficultie therein thinking the tyme and place not most convenient, yet perceyvynge that upon refusal I wold have goon furthwith to the pope, he advertised

the pope of my said desire. And his holynes dismissing as then the said cardinals, and letting his vesture fall went to a wyndowe in the said chamber calling me unto him, at what tyme (doyng reverence accustomed) I shew'd unto his holynes how that your highness had given me expresse and straye commandment to intimate unto hym, how that your grace had first solomly provoked, and allso after that appealed unto the generall counsell, submitting your self to the tuition and defence thereof, which provocation and appelles I said I had under authenticke writings then with me to shewe for that purpose. Declaring that your highnes was moved thus to doo upon reasonable causes and grounds expressed in the said provocation and appelles, and yet nevertheless soo tempering your doynge that beyng a good and catholike prince, and proceeding thereafter, your grace mynded not any thing to say, doo, or goo about agaynst the Holie Catholique and Apostolique Church, or the authority of the see, otherwise then was the office of a good catholike prince, and chaunsing soo to doo indeed intended in tyme and place according, catholiquely to reforme and await the same. And herewithall I drew out the said writing shewing his said holynes that I brought the same for proof of the premisses and that his holynes might see and perceive all the same, adding hereunto that your highnes used these remedies not in any contempt either of the church, the see, or of his holynes, but only upon causes expressed in the said writings. Desiring also his holynes that although in tymes passed it liked hym to shewe unto me much benevolence and kyndnes, wherbie I must and did accompte my self greatly bounden unto the same, yet considering the obligations a subject must and doth of right beare chiefly unto his sovereyne lord, he woud take al my doynge in good parte, and not to ascribe any unkyndnes unto me in this behalfe, but only to consider that a subject and servant must do his masters commandment. The pope having this for a brekefast, only pulled downe his head to his shoulders after the Italian fashion, and said that because he was as then fully ready to goe to the consistorie he would not tarye to hear or see the said writings; but willed me to come at after noone, and he would gladly giff me audience to all the same, and other things that I would propose or do, whereupon his holynes departing streight to the consistorie, I returned to your said ambassadors, telling them what I had doon, and what answer I had. That after noone I and Mr. Penyston (whom I entended aswel in the popes answeres, as also in other my doinge, to use as a witnes if the cause should soe require,) repayed to the palace, and because that audience was assigned unto many, and among others unto the ambassador of Millan, I tarried there the space of an howre and halfe, and finally was called into the pope's secret chamber, where (taking with me Mr. Penyston) I founde his holines having only with hym Godsadyne of Bononie; the pope perceiving that I had brought one with me, looked much upon hym, and a great deale the more, in my opinion, bycause that in the morning I did speak with his holines alone, Mr. Penyston albeit beyng in the said chambre, and saying what I did, yet not resorting nye unto his said holines. And to put the pope out of this fantasie, and somewhat to colour my entent, I tolde his holynes that the said Mr. Penyston was the gentelman that had brought unto me commission and letters from your highnes, to intimate unto his holynes the provocation and appeal forsaid; the pope percase not fully herewith satisfied, and supposing that I would (as I indeede entended) have recorde upon my doynge, said, that it were good for him to have his datarie, and also other of his counsell, to hear and see what were

done in that behalfe, and thereupon called for his datarie, Symonetta, and Capisuchi. In the mean whyle, they beyng absent, and sent for, his holynes leaning in his wyndow towards the west syde, after a little pawse turned unto me, and asked me of my lord of Winchester how he did, and likewise afterward of Mr. Brian; but after that sort that we thought he would make me believe that he knew not of his being here, saying thos words; How doth Mr. Brian, is he here now: and after that I had answered hereunto, his holynes not a little seeming to lament the death of Mr. Doctor Bennet, whom he said was a faithfull and good true servant unto your highnes, enquired of me whether I was present at the time of his death, and falling out of that, and marvelling, as he said, that your highness would use his holynes after such sorte, as it appears ye did: I said that your highnes no less did marveyll that his holynes having found so much benevolence and kyndnes at your handes in all tymes passed, would for acquittall shewe such unkyndnes as of late he did, as well in not admitting your excusator with your lawfull defences, as alsoe pronouncing agaynst your highnes: and here we entered in communication upon two poyntes, oon was that his holynes having comitted in tymes passed, and in moost ample forme, the cause into the realm, promising not to revoke the said commission, and over that to confirm the processe and sentence of the commissaries, beyng two cardinales and legates of his see, should not especially at the poynt of sentence, have advoked the cause from their hands, reteyning it at Rome, but at the lest, he should have comitted the same to some other indifferent judges within your realme, making herein that it could not be retayned at Rome: this argument was either his holynes would have the matter examyned and ended, or he would not: if he would, then either he would have it examined and ended in a place whither your highness might personally come, and else bende to send your proctor, or else in that place whither your highnes nother could or ought personally to come unto; ne yet bounde to sende a proctor; if he intended in a place whither your highnes might personally come, and elles bound to send a proctor he intended well and ought to have provided accordingly. If he entended that the matter should be examyned and ended in that place wher your highnes neither could nor ought personally to come, nor yet bounde to send a proctor then his holynes did not well and justly. Saying that ether your highness should therbie be compelled to make a proctor in matter of such importance agaynst your will; or enforced to a thing unto you impossible, or elles to be left without defence, having just cause of absence. And for as much as Rome was a place whither your Highnes could not ne yet ought personally come unto, and alsoe was not bound to send thither your proctor: I said therefore that his holynes justly should not have retayned the matter at Rome. The second point was that your highnes cause beyng in the opinion of the best learned men in Christendome approved good and just, and so many wayes known unto his holynes; the same should not soe long have retayned it in his hands without judgment: his holynes answering to the same, as touching the first poynt, said that if the queene (meaning the late wife of prince Arthure, calling her alway in his conversation, the queene) had not given an oath "perhorescentie et quod non sperabat consequi Justitie complementum impartibus," refusing the judges as suspect, he would not have advoked the matter at all, but been content it shuld have been examyned and ended in your realm; but saying she gave that othe and refused the judges as suspect, appealing also to his courte, he said he might and ought

to hear her, his promise made to your highnes, which was qualified, notwithstanding. And as touching the seconde poynt, his holynes said that your highnes only was the default thereof, because ye woulde not send a proxie unto the cause, without which he said the same coude not be determyned, And albeit I replied aswell against his answer to the first poynt, saying that his holynes cou'd ne yet thereupon retaine the matter at Rome, and proceed against your highnes there, and likewise against the seconde poynt, saying that your highnes was not bounde to sende any proxie, yet his holynes seeing that the datarie was come in upon this last conclusion, said only that al these matters had been oft, and many tymes fully talked upon at Rome, and therefore willed me to omitte further communication thereupon, and to procede to the declaration, and doing of such things, that I was specially sent for: whereupon making protestation of your highnes mynde and intent towards the church, and see apostolique, not intending any thing to doe in contempt of the same, I exhibited unto his holynes the commission which your highnes had sent unto me under your private seale (the other sent by Frances the curror not beyng then come) desiring and asking according to the tenour thereof, and his holynes delivering it to the datarie commanded hym to rede it, and hereing in the same thes wordes, "*Gravaminibus et injuriis nobis ab eodem sanctissimo Patre illatis et comminatis,*" began to loke up after a new sorte and said, "*O questo et multo vero,*" this is much true, meanyng that it was not true indeede. And verily sure not only in this but also in many partes of the said commission as they were red he shewed hymself grevouslie offended: inso-much that when those wordes, "*Ad sacro-sanctum concilium generale proxime jam futurum legitimum et in loco congruenti celebrandum,*" were red, he fell in a marvelous great cholere and rage, not only declaring the same by his gesture and manner, but also by wordes: speaking with great vehemence, and saying, "Why did not the king" (meanyng your majestie) "when I wrote to my nuncio this you passed to speke, unto hym for this generall counsell, giff no answer unto my said nuncio, but referred hym for answer therein to the French king; at what tyme he might perceive by my doynge (he said) that I was very well disposed and much spake for it: the thing so standing, now to speke of a general counsell, O good lord. But well! his commission, and all other his writings cannot be but welcome unto me, he said, whiche last wordes we thought he spake willing to hide his choler, and make me belyve that he was nothing angrie with this doynge, where in very dede I perceived by many arguments that it was otherwise: and one among another was taken here for unfallible with them: that knoweth the popes conditions, that he was contynually folding up and unwynding of his handkercheffe, which he never doth but when he is tykled to the very hert with great choler. And albeit he was lothe to leave conversation of this generall counsell to ease his stomack, yet at the last he commanded the datarie to rede further: which he did. And by and by, upon the reding of thoos clauses, "*si oportat Rever. Patribus, &c. and post*" and his holynes eftsones chafed greatly: finally saying, "*Questo e boon fiatto,*" this is but well doon. And what tyme that clause "*Protestando,*" &c. and also that oother, "*Nos ad ea Juris et facti remedia,*" was red by the datarie, he caused hym to rede theym again: which doon, his holynes not a litle chafyng with hymself asked what I had moore. And then I repeting my protestation, did exhibit unto him your highnes provocation, which incontinently he delivered to the datarie to rede, and in this also he founde hym self much greived, notyng in the begyn-

nyng not onoly those wordes "*Archiepiscopo Eboracensi,*" but also thus, "*Citra tum revocat. quorum cumque procuratorum:*" at which he made good pawse, conjectering therebie as I toke it, that ther were proctors made which might exercise and appear in your name if your highnes had ther with be contented. The datarie reding fether and comyng to those wordes "*quod non est nostrae intentionis*" &c. his holynes with great vehemence says, that thoughle your highnes in your protestation had respect to the church and authorite of the see apostolique, yet you had noon to hym at al; whereunto I answered and said it was not soe, as his holynes should perceyve in the other writings. But of truth say what I say woold ther was in manor never a clause in the said provocation that soe pleased him, but he woold wrynge and whrist it to the worst sense; as in annotations upon the margynes aswell of provocation as alsoe appellations, I shall fully declare unto your highness; which yet nevertheles at this time because it cannot be perfect at the departure of this byrer I doo not send it to your highnes. As the datarie was reding this provocation, came in Symoneta, and even at those wordes, "*Sed deinde publico eantur judicio.*" Wherin the pope snarling and sayeing that *publicum*, Symoneta said no such was never had. Symoneta said, now sync they spake of that archbishop, I suppose, that made that good process the cause depending afore your holynes in the consistorie. A said the pope a worshipful processe and judgment. And as he was chafyng hereupon, ther came oon of his chamber to tell hym that the French king did comme to speke with his holynes: and incontinently hercapon the pope made great hast to mete hym; and even at the very door they mette together, the French king makyng very lowe curtisie, putting of his bonet, and keeping it of, till he came to a table in the popes chamber. And albeit I much dout not that the French king knew right well what doynge was in hand, advertised thereof by oon Nicolas his secretarie and also of the popes pryvey chamber, yet his grace asked of the pope what his holynes did. And the same gave answer and said, "*Questi signori Inglesi sono stati qua per intimare certi provocationi et appellationi e di fare altre cose.*" These gentlemen of England be here to intimate certeyn provocations and appelles and to do other things. Whereupon they two secretly did fall in conversation; but what it was I cannot tell: the French kinge his back was against me, and I understood not what he said. Trough it is, when the French king had spoke a longe tyme and made ende of his tale, the pope said those wordes, "*Questa e per la bonta vostra,*" this is of your goodnes. Proceeding fether in conversation and laughing meryly together they so talked the space of three quarters of an hower, it beyng then after six of the clock in the nyght, and in conclusion the French kinge making great reverence toke his leave, but the pope went with him to the chamber dorre, and albeit the French king woold not have suffered hym further to have goon, yet his holynes following hym out of the doore toke hym by the hande and brought him to the doore of the seconde chamber, where making great ceremonies the oon to the other, they departed, the pope returnyng to his chamber, and seyng me stande at doore, willed me to enter with hym. And so I did havynge with me Mr. Penyston. And then and ther the datarie red the rest of the provocation: interrupted yet many tymes by the pope, which ofte for the easement of his mynde made his interpretations and notes, especially if it touched the mariage which of late your highnes made with the quene that now is, or the processe made by the archbishoppe of Canturburie.

The provocations red, with muche a doo, I under

protestations forsaide did intimate unto him the two apelles, made also by your highnes to the generall counsell afor my lord of Winchester, which his holynes delyvered to his datarie commanding hym to rede theym, notyng and marking well all manner and contentes thereof: and noo lesse offended therbie then he was with the oother. In the redyng whereof came in the cardinal de Medices, which stode bare headed contynually during the redyng thereof, casting down his hede to the grounde, and not a litle marvelling, as it appered unto me, that the pope was so troubled and mourned. When this was doon, his holynes said that forasmuch as this was a matter of great weyght, and importance, towelching alsoe the cardinals, he woold consulte and deliberate with them hereupon in the consistorie, and afterwarde gif me answer therein. I contented therewith, desired farther his holynes that forasmuch as he had hard all the provocacions and apelles, seying also the original writtings thereupon, that I might have thym again; bycause I said I must aswell to the cardinales as alsoe to other judges and persons havyn interest, make intimation accordingly. His holynes in the begynnyn was precise that I should in noe wise have thym; but they to remain with hym. Nevertheles afterward perceyvyng that I much stode upon it, he answered and said that like wise as concernyng the provocacions and apelles with my petition concernyng the same, he entended to gif me answer after that he had consulted with the cardinales in the consistorie, so alsoe he entended to doo accordyng redelyvering of the said writtings. And hereupon departed from him about eight of the clocke in the nyght, havyn remayned afar mor then three howers, I repayed to my lord of Winchester and other your highnes ambassadors here, telling them what I had doon, and what answer alsoe was giffen unto me.

On the morowe following which was Saatterday, albeit ther was consistorie yet the same was extraordinarie, chiefly for the declaration of the newe cardinales, the bishop of Beziers, the bishop of Langres, the great maysters Newew, and the duke of Albanie his brother. And in the said consistorie as far as I could learn ther was nothing specially spoken or determyned concernyng the said provocacions and apelles, or answer to be given unto the same. Upon Sonday the ixth of this present at after noone havyn the said Mr. Penyston with me I repayed to the palace, and spake ther with the datarie to knowe when I should have answer of the pope, and he told me that the day following shuld be the consistorie, and that the pope after the same woold gif me answer, and albeit that the said datarie thus said unto me, yet willing to be sure, I induced on Carol de Blanchis my great acquaintance and one of the chieff cameraries with the pope, to enquire of his holynes when I should receive and have answer to the provocacions and apelles, with other things purposed afor by me unto his holynes. And his holynes gave unto hym to be declared unto me the self same answer that the datarie afor had gyven unto me, whereupon I departed for that day.

Apon Monday the xth of this was ordinary consistorie, and thider I, having with me the said Mr. Penyston, repayed. Tarieng ther alsoo unto the tyme that all were commaunded furth, sayng the cardinals: and understanding then eftsones by the datarie that I must come agayne at afternoone for answer, I did for that tyme departe, resorting at afternoon unto the palace, and after that I had taried ther ij howers, in the chamber next unto the pope, which all that tyme continually was occupied in blessing of bedes, giving his blessing, and suffering the ladies and nobles of the court to kiss his foot: I was called in unto hym, ther beyng ther only in the chamber cardinal Salviati and

the datarie. At my comyng he said unto me, "Domine doctor quid vulis?" and I told his holynes that I looked for answer accordyng as his holynes had promised me afor. And then he said that his mynde towards your highnes alwayes hath been to mynister justice, and do pleasure unto you, albeit it hath not been so taken. And he never injustely grieved your grace that he knoweth, nor entendeth hereafter to doo. And as concernyng the appellacions made by your highnes unto the general counsel, he said that forasmuche as ther was a constitution of pope Pius his predecessor, that did condemne and reprove all such apelles, he therfor did reject your grace appeales as frivolous, forbidden, and unlawful. And as touchyng the generall counsel, he woold doo his best diligence therein that it should take effect; repetyng agayn how in tymes passed he had used alwayes diligence for that purpose, writing therein to all Christen princes, your highnes yet not answering thereunto, but remitting his nuncio to the French king. Which notwithstanding he saith he woold yet do his dnty, and procure the best he cau that it shall succede, nevertheles adding that he thought when it were well considered, that the king of England ought not, nor had autorite to call any general counsel, but that the convoking thereof apperteyned unto his holynes. Finally concluding, that for his part he woold alwayes do his dutie as apperteyned. And as concernyng the restitution of the publike writtings made upon the provocation and apelles forsaide, he said he woold not restore theym, but woold kepe theym, and that safely. Saying therewithal, that I might have when I woold, "ab Episcopo Vintoniensi," and other afor whom they were made, as many as I woold. And albeit that I shewed hym his own lawe to be, that he coued not detayne them, yet he saying that it was but "de lana caprina," and refusing to make redeliverie therof, commanded the datarie only to gif me the answer in writinge, and soo bade me fare well.

Goyng with the datarie to his chamber for that purpose, I perceyved ther that the answer was alrede writ, howbeit that it was not touchyng so many thinges as the pope had by mouth afor declared unto me, ne yet subscribed with the dataries hande, accordyng to the accustomed maner. And requyryng the datarie to make it perfect, and delyver it unto me subscribed with his hande; he willed me to come the day folowyng early in the mornynge, and I shuld have it. Whereupon I departed, and came in the mornynge to the dataries chamber in the palace, but he was goon afor to the pope. Wherefor repaying to the popes chamber and fynding him ther, I requyred the said answer in writing. And he goyng with me to his chamber, delyvered me for answer the self-same that was written the day before, adding only in the ende these words, "Et hæc ad præsens, salvo Jure, latius et particularius si videbimus respondendi;" subscribing the same with his own hande, keepyng one other copie with hymself. Which had, without hope of any other as then, I repaired to my lord of Winchester, and other your highne ambassadors, to shew theym al the same.

And by this your highnes may now perceyve, whether that the pope will staye process upon any your provocacions or apelles, howsoever they be made, or after what sorte they be intymated unto hym, and also whether that unto such tyme he receive inhibition from the general counsel, his process shall be taken in lawe as nought. I feare that at his returne to Rome, he will doo much displeasure, if by some good policy he be not stay'd. The original answer delivered unto me by the datary, forsaide I doe at this tyme send unto your highnes, only retaynyng with me the copie thereof.

And syne albeit your graces commandement, declared by your letters dated at Chatham the xth of August last passed, sent unto me seemed to be, that devisyng some busyness of my own, I shuld folowe alwayes and be present where the pope resorteth, still residing and demouring, noting, marking, and enscherching what is doon, and gyving your highnes diligent advertisement thereof, as the case and importance of the mater shuld require; yet for as much as in this late congress, ther was nothing in maner doon by the pope at the contemplation of any in your highnes favour, and that the appellations and provocations of your highnes being intimated, it is not like any thing of great moment to be looked for, especially all things standing as they do; I not knowing your highnes fether determinat pleasure, and thinking that by reason of the premisses, your highnes would not that I shuld fether interprise in that behalfe, have therfor (the pope beyng goon towards Rome from hence the twelfth of this present) taken my journey towards Lyons the thirteenth of the same, your highnes ambassadors by reason of the departure of the French kinges soc alsoe doying: and from thence I intend towards your graces realme, unless I receive your commands to the contrarie.

To declare unto your highnes, in what perplexitie and anxietie of mynde I was in until that this intimation was made, what zeale and affection I have borne therein, how glad I wold have been such things might have comen to pass, which your highnes so much hath desired, and generally of all my doyns here, without fear or displeasure of any man, it shall not be needful. Partely bycause I trust your highnes dowlth not thereof, and partely bycause the bearer hereof, untill Mr. Brian, to whom I moost accompte my self much bounden unto, will I suppose at large declare all the same, with other things here doing; of whom your highnes I doute not shall perceyve that although the Frenchmen were made pryvee of our doyns concerning the intimation, and in maner willing the same, two or three dayes afor the popes departure, yet now for excuse they saye that all their matters and yours also be destroyed therby. And thus most humble I recommend me unto your highnes, beseeching Almighty God to conserve the same in felicity many yeares. From Marseilles, the xiiith of Novembre, 1533.

Your highnes moost bounde subject and poore servant,

EDMOND BONNER.

NUMBER XXIV.

Cranmer's Letter, for an Appeal to be made in his name.—An Original.

[Cotton Library, Cleop. E. 6. P. 234.]

IN my right hartly maner I commend me to you. So it is (as ye know right well) I stande in drede, lest our holy father the pope, do entende to make some maner of prejudiciall processe against me and my church, and therefore having probable conjectures therof, I have provoked from his holyness to the general counsell, accordingly as the king's highness and his counsell have advised me to do; which my provocation and a procuracie under my seale, I do send unto you herewith, desiering you right hartely to have me commended to my lord of Winchester, and with his advise and counsell to intimate the said provocation, after the best maner that his lordship and you shall think most expedient for me. I am the bolder thus to write unto you, because the king's highnes commanded me thus to do, as ye shall (I trust) further perceive by his graces letters, nothing doubting in your goodness, but

at this myne owne desier ye wold be contented to take this paynes, tho' his highness shall percase forget to write unto you therin: which your paynes and kindness (if it shall lye in me in tyme to come to recompense) I wold not forget it with God's grace, who presearve you as my self. From Lambeth, the xxijd day of November.

THOMAS CANTUAR.

NUMBER XXV.

A Minute of a Letter sent by the King to his Ambassador at Rome.

[Ex MS. Rymeri.]

TRUSTY and right-welbeloved, we grete youe wel. And for asmuch as not only by the relation and reaporte of our trusty chaplain maister doctor Boner, but also by certayne letters writtyn by Sir Gregory, afore the dispeche of doctor Boner, upon the lyvely communications had by the pope to the emperor, in justification and favour of our cause; by which it appeareth unto us, that his holyness favouring the justice of our great cause, maketh countenance and demonstracion now to shew himself more propense and redy to the administration of justice to our contentation therin, thenne he hath been accustomed in tymes past: descending for demonstracion herof as you take it to those particularities folowynge, whyche sir Gregory hath also sent by way of instructions to Bonner; that is to say, that in case we wold be content to sende a mandate requiring the remission of our cause into an indifferent place, he wold be content to appoint *locum indifferenter*, and a legate and two auditors from thence, *ad formand' processum*, reserving always the judgement therof to himself; or else if we wold consent and be agreeable, inducing also our good brother and perpetual allye the French king to be also content to conclude and establish for iij or iiij yeres, a general trux; that then the popes holyness is pleased, if we and our said good brother wol agree therunto, to indiete with al celeritie a general counsaill, wherunto his holynes would remyt our cause to be finished and determyned. Which overtures being also proponed and declared unto us by the popes nuncio here, be set forth by him, and also in a letter to hym, as thoughte they had been by the said sir Gregory in our name desired of the popes holyness, and by him assented to, for our contentacion and satisfaction, in that behalfe: wherof we doo not a litle mervayl, considering that we of late never gave unto the said sir Gregory or any other, any suche commission or instructions for that purpose, but fully to the contrary. Nevertheless forasmuch as bothe by the relation of our said chaplain and by the purporte and effecte of the fore said letters, instructions, and also by the behaviour of the popes ambassadour here, and by such overtures as he on the popes behalfe hath made unto us, we nowe considering the benevolent and towarde mynde of his said holines expressed and declared in the same, have moche cause to conceive in our mynd, as we doo indeede, good hope, that he depely pondering the justnes of our said cause, wil now take more respecte to put us in more quietnes therein, thenne we had any expectation heretofore: and therfor our pleasure is that you discretly relating to his holynes in what good parte we doo accepte and take his overtures and persuasions, doo gyve unto him our right hartly thanks for the same, adding therunto that we veraylie trust and be now of that opinion that his holynes calling to his remembrance the manifold commodities, profitts, and gratuities heretofor shewed by us, to him, and the

see apostolique, demanding nothing for reciprocation of friendship and mutual amitie to be shewed at his hand, but only justice in our great matior, according to the lawes of God, and the ordenances of the holy counsailes, for the encrease of vertue, extirpation of vice, and quiet of al Christendom, established by our forfathers, wil now in discharge of his duetie towards God, shewing unto us correspondence of friendship according to our deserts, putting aparte all shadowes of delayes, more benivolently extende his good wil and gratutie towards us in the acceleration and speedye finishing of our said cause, thenne those overtures doo purporte, whyche if it come so to pass, hys holines may be wel assured to have us and our realme as benevolent and loving towards him and the see apostolique as hath at any tyme hertofore been accustomed. And as concerning the general trux for three or four yeres, albeit we do inwardly conside the greate good therof, and be of our oune nature asmoche inclyned therunto as any prince christened, and on thother side asmoche desirous to avoyde contencion, wherupon manytymes ensueth extremityte, to the hurte of many; yet nevertheless two things at this tyme enforceth us to absteyne and forbere sodenly to consent to the same: one is, that we being afflicted, troubeled, and encombered in our oune conscience, and our realme therby greatly perplexed, cannot sodenly resolve our self to innovate or renewe any perfite establishment of peax with other, tyl we may be satisfied and have pure and syncre peax in our owne harte: and cause saying that it is wonly wyll and unkynd stubbernes with oblivion of former kyndnes, whyche occasions the lette of the spede finishing of our cause, whyche ye may say that hys holynes yf it please hym may soon redres, havynge so good gronds for our part as he haveth, yf he wyl hartely therto applye hym, and then summe good effecte myght happen to come therof. An other cause there is also that we being moost perfetly by an indissoluble amyte and league unite and knynt unto our good brother and perpetual allye the French king, maye not in any wise, nor wil put our consent to any such request without the knowledge and assent of our said good brother, and other our and hys confederates; and notwithstanding yf hys holynes thynketh that myne endeavour and labour herin may do hym any gratute and pleasure, or confer to hys purpose in any thyng, he advertesyng us therof, shall well persayve that there shall lack no goode diligens in us, to set forth the suche thyngs as may stonde with our honour, and be also pleasant to hym, he shewing to us sume corespondnes of kyndnes in thys our just and wayghte cause. And as touching our consent to the indiction of a general counsaill, though sundry respects and considerations at the tyme nowe present, move us to thinke it not necessary, and that we nothing doubt but our cause being remytted to the same, we shuld withal convenient celeritie, that begonne have our desired end therin; yet we being nowe in veray good hope that the popes holynes at the last digesting thoroughly the justness of our cause, wil so use us in the same, that according to trouth and equitie good and speedye successe therof shall folowe in other admytting the excusatory, or else in remyting bothe the knowledge of the fact and finall disicion of the cause unto thys realme where it was begon, accordyng to the olde sanctions of generall conciles and divers of his predecessours assent, and as he hymself confesseth in hys commyssion giffyn unto the cardinall for thys pourpose; we have now also suspended therfor our assent and consent therunto uppon two respects, wherof the first requireth a necessary suspension of our said consent, forasmoch as the same dependeth

uppon the assent of our said good brother and other our confederates, and that the oon of us without the other canne ne will in any wise consent to any acte of such highe importance as this is, which toucheth the hole bodye of Christendome. The seconde is, that in our opinion which our pleasure is ye with good dexteritie declare unto hys holynes the good respecte had of the state of the worlde, and of the time present; it were not expedient for the pope himself to consent therunto, considering that themperour is in maner compelled by the importunyte of the Germaines and the Lutheran secte to cause the pope to indite the said council. And howe the said Germaines be mynded towards him and the see apostolique, we doubt not but his holynes dothe depely pondre and conside. But ye shal saye unto the popes holynes on our behaulf, that finding him towards us good and kinde, brefely expedyteyng our cause as affore is rehersy'd, wherof we now perceyve some lightlywood, and perceyving him to contynue and persevere earnestly mynding the spedy ende and determynation therof, for our satisfaction, we canne do no lesse for reacquital therof, thenne to procure and practise byal wayes and meanes, aswell with our said good brother as with al other our allies, confederates and friends, to do all things that maye be moost for the surety of his holynes and the commodities of the see apostolique, whyche we shall not faylle to do, yf he wyl dysclose to us the menys how far. As touching the sending of a mandate to require that the cause might be harde in an indifferent place, with reservation of the sentence to himself, ye shall signifie unto hys holynes that albeit we well considering hys towarde mynde for the spedy finishing of our said cause, if we were a private person wold nothing mistrust to consent to his said overtures, ne the good effects that might ensue of the same; yet nevertheless this persuasion soo toucheth contrarye to generall conciles, to the libertie, regalitie, and jurisdiction of all prynces, and most especially to our prerogatyffe royall, privileges of our realme, wherof we be hed and sovereign; within the whiche, by the ancient lawes of the same, al causes of matrimonye ther bygon and solemnized, cummyng after in question, ought to have their original commencement, and synall discusse and disicion by the English churche. Whyche thyngs well consideryd, he havynge also regarde to hys othe, in the resayte of hys dygnitie, which he ther actually gyffeth for observance both of the generall conselles, and the antique lausys of the faders of the chyrch; considering also with himself, how we at the tyme of our coronation, be likewise obligyd by othe to support and maintayne the immunities and pryncely liberties of our realme and croone, whych to contrary, I make my self sure hys holynes well informyd, will never requyre, syns it is prohibyte bothe by Gods precept, and lawe of nature, by these words *Quod tibi non vis fieri, alteri ne facias*. Wherefore we firmly trust, that hys holynes, ponderyng and wayng in the balance of hys just hart and equal judgement, these most urgent both resons and causes, with the respect of hys duty to God, in minys-tryng justice and equitie; and considering also the obligation, which we as king thought not wordy, but by his election, be bonde to our realme, *scilicet defendere Privilegiis Coronæ et Regni*, wyll not at thys tyme thynk any unkindnes in us, thought that thys hys request, *scilicet*, to send a mandate, or to have it in any other place than in thys realme determynyd by us, at thys tyme be not acceptyd. For surly it so byghtly toucht the prerogatiffe riall of thys realme, that thought I wer myndyd to do it, yett must abstayne without the assent of our court of parliament, whyche I thynke verely wyll never cou-

descent to it. Nevertheless, ye may shew unto his holynes, that for thys offere we ascribe non unkyndnes to hym, but rather take it in good part; considering that by his ambassadour wee doo persayve, that his mynde was to gratify and do pleasure herin to us, thys overture procedyng oppon Gregory's motion, werin to speke of that sort, I ensure you of us he had non commission, but rather to the contrary. And so we wyll ye shew the pope; assuryng forther his holynes, that we be ryght sory that thys overture was no more resonable, or consonant to our honour. For surly in all resonable thyngs we wold gladly shew our selfe benivolent to hym, as long as we persayve any maner of gratuite in hym. More ye may say, that we thynke that we nor our realme have hytherto gyven any occasion to his holynes, wherby he shuld be moved at the contemplacion of any privie person, to attempte the violation of the immunities and liberties of thys our realme, or to bring the same in any publique contention, wherby he may compell us in the mayntenance of them, to shew and declare meny thyngs peraventure it unknowne prejudiciall and hurtfull to the papall dyngnitie, as it is now usyd, which not compellyd we intende not to do. Yet an other gret reson as we thynk you may shew his holynes, gederyd owght of his own law, which is thys: I beyng a commune parson, am not boundyn *in re ardua*, as thys is to appere in his court, and I beyng not bounden to appere, am not bonde to sende a proxtour. Wherfore his owne lawe shewyth evydently, that this mater owght not to be determyned by his court, but *per Anglicanam Ecclesiam*; for yf his court were juge, I shuld be obligyd to appere there. And ye shal further understand, that we have conceived by certain lettres lately sent unto us by the said sir Gregory de Cassalis, that the popes holynes, amongs other persuasions, in the furtheraunce of our cause shewed unto hym, that the laweis being of the contrary parte of our cause, doo agree, that the pope in our cause may not dispenche, without an urgent cause. Which opinion his holynes thinketh moche more dothe avaunce the goodnes of our matier, thenne the general opinion of the devynes and lawyers on our parte, which doo affirme that the pope in noo wise maye dispenche. Whiche matier being also persuaded by his holynes to themperour, who declared, that at the tyme of the dispensation there was extreme warres betwene our derest father of noble memory, whose soule God pardon, and king Ferdinando, father to the quene. And for paciencyng therof, the said dispensation was obtayned; wherupon the mariage ensued: which bereth a visage of an urgent cause, if it were true, as it is not. And therefore, as wel for the satisfaction of the pope's holynes in that behaulf, as for a clere resolution of the doubte by his holynes proponed, whether the quene were *cognita* by our brother prince Arthure, or noo; our pleasure is, that ye shal signifie to his holynes, that in the league betwene our said derest father, and the said Ferdinando, renoveled and concluded, sealed and signed with the said king Ferdinando, and the quene his wief hands, wherupon the dispensation for the mariage betwene us and the quene was obtayned, appereth no maner of cause. But playnly declaring the said two princes to be thenne and afor more perfetly established, unytred, and confederate in frendship and amytie, thenne eny other prince of Christendom, setteth forthe the cause of the dispensation and agrement for the said mariage, to be only for contynuaunce and augmentation of their said amytie, and for the vertuose modestie and other qualities of the quene. In which league is also playnly mencioned and expressed in two places therof, that the mariage betwene our said brother and her was

solemnized and perfetly consummate; wherby, and by the depositions of a great number of noble and honorable personages, which hertofo by their othes have been examyned upon the same, manifestly and playnly appereth to al indifferent herers, without doubt therof, that the quene was carnally known by our said brother prince Arthure; and the same dispensation soo proceeding, without urgent cause to be reputed *invalida*. The transumpt of which league autentiquely transumed, we sende unto youe herewith, to thintent ye may the better perceyve theeffecte of the same. And finally, ye shall further signifie to his holynes, that of the good successe of this our cause dependeth the suretie of our succession, and therupon ensueth the rest, peax, and tranquillite of al our realme, and by the protracting thereof many perilous daungers maye and is like to ensue to the same, which above all things we and our realme ought to have respect unto. Wherfor it is more convenient and consonant to reason and equite that this our said cause shuld be determyned by them, to whose damage or commoditie the successe of the cause may ensue, and not by his holynes, which canne have no certain knowledge of the state of the same. And yet nevertheless, if his holynes remytting the final discusse of the principal cause to our English church, as apperteineth, will after that, of his gratuite ratifie and confirme suche sentence as they shal determyn in the same, shal therby not only adquire Christen obedience of us and our people, moche to his commoditie and contentacion, and also profitable to the see apostolique, but also pacifie the contradiction, to the rest and quietnes of al Christendom. Willing you by thise and other discrete persuasions, as ye can with al diligence and dexterite to allure his holynes, being now somewhat attempted and disposed to do us good, to condiscend to more benivolent gratuities, than as yet is set forth by the said overtures; and to ascertain us with all diligence and celeritie, what towardnes ye shal perceyve in him in this behaulf, not mynding that ye shall declare this as our resolute answer. But upon other and further overtures, and after more deliberation and consultation upon these weighty causes, we wil study and enserche, by al honourable wayes and meanes that we canne, to concurre with the towardly minde of his holynes, if he earnestly wil applie himself, and persever in suche opiou as may be for the acceleration of thende of our said cause: willing you, with all diligence and dexterite, to put your good endeavour to the same; and likewise to procure the said sir Gregory, according to our expectation in that behaulfe.

NUMBER XXVI.

The Judgment of the Convocation of the Province of York, rejecting the Pope's Authority.

ILLUSTRISSIMO et Excellentissimo Principi et Domino Henrico VIII. Dei Gratia, Angliæ et Franciæ Regi, Fidei Defensori, et Domino Hiberniæ. Edwardus, Permissione Divinâ, Eboracensis Archiepiscopus, Angliæ Primas et Metropolitanus, Salutem in eo, per quem Reges regnant, et Principes dominantur. Vestræ Regiæ Celsitudini, Tenore Præsentium, innotesumus et significamus, Quod, cum juxta vestræ Regiæ Majestatis Mandatum, coram Prælati et Clero Eboracensi, Provinciæ in Sacra Synodo Provinciali, sive Convocatione Prælatorum et Cleri ejusdem Provinciæ Eboracensis, in Domo Capitulari Ecclesiæ Metropolitanicæ Eborum, quinto Die Mensis Maij, Anno Domini M.D.XXXIV. jam instanti, celebrata, et de

Diebus indies continuata congregatis proposita fuit sequens Conclusio, Quod Episcopus Romanus, in Sacris Scripturis, non habet aliquam majorem jurisdictionem in Regno Angliæ, quam quivis alius extraneus Episcopus. Ac insuper, ex Parte Presidentium in eadem Synodo, per Nos deputatorum memorati Prælati et Clerus, rogati et requisiti ut illam Conclusionem suo Consensu confirmarent et corroborarent, si illam Veritati consonam, et Sacris Scripturis non repugnantem, existimarent aut judicarent. Tandem dicti Prælati, et Clerus Eboracensis Provinciæ antedictæ, post diligentem Tractatum in ea Parte habitum, ac maturam Deliberationem, unanimiter et concorditer, nemine eorum discrepante, prædictam Conclusionem fuisse et esse veram affirmarunt, et eidem concorditer consenserunt.

Quæ omnia et singula vestræ Regiæ Celsitudini, Tenore Præsentium, intimamus et significamus.

In quorum omnium et singulorum Fidem et Testimonium, Sigillum nostrum apponi fecimus. Dat. in Manerio nostro de Cawodd, Primo Die Mensis Junij, Anno Domini, M.D.XXXIV. et nostræ Consecrationis Anno Tertio.

NUMBER XXVII.

The Judgment of the University of Oxford, rejecting the Pope's Authority.

In a book, stiled, Registrum, sive Epistolæ Regum et Magnatum ad Academiam Oxon. Unâ cum Reston-
sis. MS. Archiv. A. 117. ad An. 1534. P. 127.

Part of the King's Letter to the University.

OUR pleasure and commandement is, that ye, as shall beseeem men of vertue and profound literature, diligently intreating, examining, and discussing a certaine question sent from us to you, concerning the power and primacie of the bishop of Rome; send again to us in writing under your common seale, with convenient speed and celeritie, your mind, sentence, and assertion of the question, according to the meere and sincere truth of the same: willing you to give credence to our trusty and well-beloved, this bringer, your commissarie, as well touching our further pleasure in the premisses, as for other matters, &c. Even under our signett, at our mannor of Greenwich, the eighteenth day of May.

The University's Answer to the King.

Universis Sanctæ Matris Ecclesiæ Filiis, ad quos præsentés Literæ pervenerint, Johannes, Permissione Divina, Lincolnienſis Episcopus, Almæ Universitatis Oxon. Cancellarius: Nec non universos Doctores ac Magistrorum, Regentium et non Regentium in eadem Cœtus, Salutem in Auctore Salutis. Quum Illustrissimus simul ac Potentissimus Princeps et Dominus noster Henricus Octavus, Dei Gratia, Angliæ et Franciæ Rex, Fidei Defensor, et Dominus Hiberniæ, assiduis Petitionibus et Querelis Subditorum suorum in summo suo Parlamento, super intolerabilibus Exterarum Potestatum, Exactionibus nuper Propositis, Contrariis quibusdam habitis, super Potestate ac Jurisdictione Romani Episcopi, variisque et urgentibus Causis, contra eundem Episcopum tunc ibidem expositis et declaratis, aditus atque rogatus fuerit, ut commodis suorum Subditorum in hac parte consulere, et Querelis satisfaceret: Ipse tanquam prudentissimus Solomon, sollicitè curans quæ suorum sunt Subditorum, quibus in hoc Regno, divina disponente Clementia, præest, altiusque secum considerans, quo Pacto commodissimas Regno suo sanciret Leges; denique ante omnia præcavens, ne contra Sacram Scripturam aliquid statuatur, (quam vel ad Sanguinem usque defendere semper fuit, eritque paratissimus) solerti suo Ingenio, sagaci;

Industria, quandam Questionem ad hanc ejus Academiam Oxon. publicè et solenniter, per Doctores et Magistros ejusdem disputandam transmissit: viz. "An Romanus Episcopus habeat majorem aliquam Jurisdictionem, sibi à Deo collatam in Sacra Scriptura, in hoc Regno Angliæ, quàm alius quivis externus Episcopus?" Mandavitque, ut habita super hac Questionem matura Deliberatione, et Examinatione diligenti, quid Sacræ Literæ in hac Parte nostro Judicio statuunt, eundem certiore facere suo Instrumento, Sigillo communi Universitatis, communito et firmato curaremus. Nos igitur Cancellarius, Doctores ac Magistri prædicti, sæpe reminiscentes, ac penitus apud nos pensitantes, quanta sit Virtus, Sanctitas, ac nostræ Professioni quam consona res, et debita Submissioni, Obedientiæ, Reverentiæ, ac Charitati congrua, præmonstrare viam Justitiæ ac Veritatis cupientibus, Sacrarum Literarum Vestigiis inserrere*, securiorique et tranquilliori Conscientia, in Lege Dei sacram, ut aiunt, suam Anchoram reponere; non potuimus non invigilare, sedulo quin in Petitione tam justa ac honesta, tanto Principi (cui velut auspaticissimo nostro Supremo Moderatori obtemperare tenemur) modis omnibus satisfaceremus. Post susceptam itaque per nos Questionem antedictam, cum omni Humilitate, Devotione, ac debita Reverentia, convocatis undique dictæ nostre Academiæ Theologis, habitoque complurium dierum spatio, ac deliberandi tempore satis amplo, quo interim cum omni qua potuimus Diligentia, Justitiæ Zelo, Religione et Conscientia incorrupta, perscrutaremur tam Sacræ Scripturæ Libros, quam super eisdem approbatissimos Interpretes, et eos quidem sæpe ac sæpius à nobis evolutos, et exactissimè collatos, repetitos et examinatos; deinde et disputationibus solennibus, palam et publicè habitis et celebratis, tandem in hanc Sententiam unanimiter omnes convenimus, ac concordés fuimus; viz. Romanum Episcopum majorem aliquam Jurisdictionem non habere, sibi à Deo collatam in Sacra Scriptura, in hoc Regno Angliæ, quàm alium quemvis externum Episcopum. Quam nostram Assertionem, Sententiam, sive Determinationem, sic ex Deliberatione discussam, ac juxta Exigentiam Statutorum et Ordinationum, hujus nostre Universitatis per nos conclusam, publicè totius Academiæ Nomine, tanquam veram, certam, Sacræque Scripturæ consonam, affirmamus (et) testificamur per Præsentes. In quorum omnium et† Fidem et Testimonium has Literas fieri, et Sigillo nostræ Universitatis communi, roborari fecimus. Dat. in Domo Congregationis nostræ, 27. Die Mensis Junij, Anno à Christo nato M.D.XXXIV.

NUMBER XXVIII.

The Judgment of the Prior and Chapter of Worcester, concerning the Pope's Authority.

[Copied out of the Register of Worcester.]

Ordo quidam observandus erga Dominum Regem Henricum Octavum, etc. et in quali æstimatione habebimus Episcopum Romanum.

QUUM ea sit non solum Christianæ Religionis et Pietatis Ratio, sed nostræ etiam Obedientiæ Regula, Domino Regi nostro Henrico Octavo, (cui uni et soli, post Christum Jesum Servatorem nostrum, debemus Universam,) non modo omnimodam in Christo, et eandem sinceram, integram, perpetuamque Animi Devotionem, Fidem et Observantiam, Honorem, Cultum, Reverentiam, præstemus; sed etiam de eadem Fide et Observantia nostra Rationem quotiescunque postulabitur, reddamus, et palam omnibus, si res pos-

* Leg. insistere.

† Not very legible, but it seems it was "singulorum."

cat libentissimè testemur. Noverint universi ad quos Scriptum præsens pervenerit, Quod nos Willielmus, Prior Ecclesiæ Cathedralis, sive Monasterii Beatæ Mariæ Wigorn' Ordinis Sancti Benedicti et ejusdem Loci Conventus sive Capitulum Wigorn' Dioc' uno Ore et Voce, atque unanimi Consensu et Assensu, hoc Scripto nostro sub Sigillo nostro communi, in Domo nostra Capitulari dato, pro Nobis et successoribus nostris, omnibus et singulis in perpetuum profitemur, testamur, ac fideliter promittimus et spondemus, nos dictos Priorem et Conventum, sive Capitulum, et Successores nostros omnes et singulos, integram, inviolatam, sinceram, perpetuamque Fidem, Observantiam et Obedientiam, semper præstatuuros, erga Dominum Regem nostrum Henricum Octavum, et erga Annam Reginam, Uxorem ejusdem, et erga Sobolem ejus ex eadem Anna legitimè tam progenitam, quam progeneram. Et quod hæc eadem Populo notificabimus, prædicabimus, et suadebimus, ubicunque dabitur Locus et Occasio. Item, quod confirmatum ratumque habemus, semperque et perpetuo habituri sumus, quod prædictus Rex noster Henricus, est Caput Ecclesiæ Anglicanæ. Item, quod Episcopus Romanus, qui in suis Bullis Papæ nomen, usurpat, et summi Pontificis Principatum sibi arrogat, non habet Majorem aliquam Jurisdictionem à Deo sibi collatam, in hoc Regno Angliæ, quam quisvis alius externus Episcopus. Item, quod nullus nostrum, in ulla Sacra Concione, privatim vel publicè habenda, eundem Episcopum Romanum appellabit Nomine Papæ, aut summi Pontificis, sed Nomine Episcopi Romani, vel Ecclesiæ Romanæ: Et quod nullus nostrum orabit pro eo tanquam Papa, sed tanquam Episcopo Romano. Item, quod soli dicto Domino Regi et Successoribus suis adhibebimus et ejus Leges ac Decreta manentebimus. Episcopi Romani Legibus, Decretis et Canonibus, qui contra Legem Divinam, et Sacram Scripturam, aut contra Jura hujus Regni esse inveniuntur, in perpetuum renunciantes. Item, quod nullus nostrum omnium, in ulla, vel privata vel publica Concione, quicquam ex Sacris Scripturis desumptum ad alienum Sensum detorque præsumat: Sed quisque Christum, ejusque Verba et Facta, simpliciter, apertè, sincerè, et ad Normam seu Regulam Sacrarum Scripturarum, et verè Catholicorum et Orthodoxorum Doctorum, prædicabit catholicè et orthodoxè. Item, quod unusquisque nostrum, in suis Orationibus et Comprecationibus, de more faciendis, primum omnium Regem, tanquam Supremum Caput Ecclesiæ Anglicanæ, Deo et Populi Precibus commendabit; deinde Reginam Annam, cum sua Sobole; tum demum Archiepiscopos Cantuariensem et Eboracensem, cum cæteris Cleri Ordinibus pro ut videbitur. Item, quod omnes et singuli prædicti Prior et Conventus, sive Capitulum, et Successores nostri, Conscientia et Jurisjurandi Sacramento, nosmet firmiter obligamus, quod omnia et singula Prædicta, fideliter, in perpetuum observabimus. In cuius Rei Testimonium, huic Scripto nostro, commune Sigillum nostrum appendimus, et nostra Nomina Propria quisque Manu Scripsimus. Dat. in Domo nostra Capitulari, xvii Die Mensis Augusti, Anno Regni Regis nostri Henrici Octavi, Vicessimo Sexto.

Then follows an Oath made to King Henry the VIIIth, agreeing exactly with that pag. 146. of the First Vol. of the "The History of the Reformation;" except, that the Words alone in the First Line, and damage in the last line but Two of that Oath, are wanting.

ILLUSTRISSIMO et Potentissimo in Christo Principi et Domino nostro, Henrico Octavo, Dei Gratia Anglicæ et Franciæ Regi, Defensori Fidei, Domino Hiberniæ, in Terris Supremo Ecclesiæ Anglicanæ, sub Christo,

Capiti; Vestri humiles Subditi, et devotissimi Oratores, Henricus Holbecke, Prior Ecclesiæ Cathedralis Wigorn' et ejusdem Loci Conventus, Ordinis Sancti Benedicti Wigorniensis Dioceseos, Reverentiam et Obedientiam, tam Excellentem et Præpotentem Principi debitas et condignas, cum omni Subjectionis Honore. Noverit Majestas Vestra Regia, Quod nos Prior et Conventus memorati, non Vi aut Metu coacti, Dolore, aut aliqua alia sinistra Machinatione ad hoc inducti, sive seducti, sed ex nostris certis Scientiis, Animis deliberatis, merisque et spontaneis Voluntatibus, purè, spontè et absolute, profitemur, spondemus, ac ad Sancta Dei Evangelia, per nos corporaliter tacta, juramus, illustrissimæ verè Regiæ Majestati, Singularem et Summo Domino nostro et Patrono, Henrico Octavo, Dei Gratia, Angliæ Franciæ Regi, Fidei Defensori, Domino Hiberniæ, ac in Terris Ecclesiæ Anglicanæ Supremo immediate sub Christo Capiti; quod posthac nullo externo Imperatori Regi Principi aut Prælato nec Romano Pontifici (quem Papam vocant) Fidelitatem aut Obedientiam, Verbo vel Scripto simpliciter, vel sub juramento, promittimus aut dabimus, vel dari curabimus, sed omni tempore Casu et Conditione partes vestre regis Majestatis ac Successorum vestrorum sequemur et observabimus, et pro viribus Defendemus, contra omnem Hominem quem vestre Majestati aut Successoribus vestris adversarium cognoscemus vel suspicabimur. Solique vestre Regiæ Majestati velut Supremo nostro Principi quem etiam Supremum in Terris Ecclesiæ Anglicanæ sub Christo Caput agnoscimus et acceptamus, et successoribus vestris Fidelitatem et Obedientiam sincere et ex animo præstabimus. Papatum Romanum non esse a Deo in Sacris Literis Ordinatam profitemur. Sed Humanitus traditum constanter affirmamus, et palam declaramus et declaramus, et ut alii sic publicè diligentur curabimus. Nec tractatum cum quocunque mortalium privatim aut publicè inibimus, quod Episcopus Romanus aliquam Auctoritatem vel Jurisdictionem amplius hic habeat aut exerceat, vel ad ullam posthac restitatur, ipsamque Romanum Episcopum modernum aut ejus in illo Episcopatu Successorum quemcunque non Papam, non summum Pontificem, non Universalem Episcopum, nec Sanctissimum Dominum, sed solum Romanum Episcopum vel Pontificem (ut priscis mos erat) scienter publicè asseremus. Juraque et Statuta hujus Regni pro extirpatione et sublatione Papatus ac Auctoritatis et Jurisdictionis ejusdem Romani Episcopi quondocunque edita sive sancita pro viribus scientia et ingeniolis nostris ipsi firmiter Observabimus ac pro ab aliis quantum in nobis fuerit sic observari curabimus atque efficiemus: nec posthac ad dictum Romanum Episcopum appellabimus aut appellari consentiemus: nec in ejus curia pro Jure aut Justitia agemus aut agenti Respondēbimus, nec ibidem Accusatoris aut Rei Personam Sustinebimus. Et si quid dictus Episcopus per Nuncium vel per Literas significaverit, qualecunque id fuerit, illud quam citissime commodè poterimus, aut vestre Regiæ Majestati et vestris à Secreti Consiliariis. vestriste Successoribus aut eorum à Secretis Consiliariis significabimus aut significari faciemus. Nosque Literas aut Nuncium ad eundem Romanum Episcopum, vel ejus curiam nec mittemus, nec mitti faciemus, nisi vestra Majestate conscia et consentiente aut vestro Successore quod dictæ Literæ vel Nuncius ad illum deferentur; Bullas, Brevia, aut rescripta quæcunque pro nobis vel aliis, ab Episcopo Romano vel ejus curia non impetramus, vel ut talia à quovis impetrentur non consulemus. Et si talia pro nobis inscisi aut Ignorantibus generaliter, vel specialiter impetrabuntur vel alio quomodolibet concedentur, eis Renunciabimus et non Consentiemus: nec utemur iisdem ullo pacto seu modo. At cas vestre Majestati et Successoribus

vestris tradi curabimus, omnibusque dicti Romani Episcopi Concessionibus, Privilegiis, largitionibus et indultis ejuscunque Naturæ seu qualitatibus existant, ac sub quocunque Verborum tenore concessæ fuerint, à dicta sede Romana directe vel indirecte, mediate vel immediate aut alias qualitercunque dicti Romani Episcopi Auctoritate largitis sive consensu quibuscunque publicè et expresse in his Scriptis renunciavimus, easque irritas et inanes esse Volumus. Et soli vestræ Regiæ Majestati velut Supremo nostro Principi et Ecclesiæ Anglicanæ Capiti et Successoribus vestris nos subditos et subjectos fore profitemur et nos ac Successores nostros subijcimus: Et solummodo subditos fore spondemus. Nos eidem Romano Episcopo vel ejus Nunciis Oratoribus, Collectoribus aut Legatis ulla procuracionem, pensionem, portionem censum aut quæcunque aliam Pecuniarum Summam quocunque nomine appelletur, per nos aut interpositam Personam vel Personas solvemus nec solvi faciemus. Statutumque de Successione vestra Regia in Parlamento vestro tento apud Westmon' Anno Regni vestri 28 ac omnia et singula in eodem contenta juxta vim formam et effectum ejusdem fideliter Observabimus. Præterea in Vim Pacti profitemur et spondemus ac sub Fidelitate vestræ Majestati debita, et nostra coram Deo Conscientia, promittimus quod contra hanc nostram professionem et sponsonem, nulla dispensacione, nulla exceptione, nulla appellacione, aut provocacione; nulloque juris aut facti remedio, nos tuebimur: et si quam protestacionem in prejudicium hujus nostræ Professionis faciemus, eam in præsens et in omne tempus futurum revocamus et eidem renunciamus per præscutes Literas; quibus propriis manibus nomina nostra subscripsimus, ac eas sigilli nostri communis appensione et Notarii Publici Subscripti signo et Subscriptione communiri fecimus et curavimus. Dat. et act. in Domo nostra Capitalari xxvi Die Mensis Augusti, Anno Domini Millessimo Quingentissimo Tricesimo Sexto, Anno Regni vestræ Regiæ Majestatis Vicesimo Octavo. Præsentibus tunc ibidem discretis Viris Johanne Tyson, Olivero Lloyd, et Rogero Hughes, in legibus et decretis respectivè Baccalaureis, et Ricardo Bedle Notario Publico testibus ad præmissa specialiter vocatis et requisitis.

NUMBER XXIX.

An Order for Preaching, and bidding of the Beades in all Sermons to be made within this Realm. 1535.

[Cotton Library, Cleop. E. 5. P. 286.]

FIRST, whosoever shall preach in the presence of the king's highnes, and the queen's grace, shall in the bidding of the beades, pray for the hole Catholike church of Crist, aswell quick as ded, and speyciallie for the catholique church of this realme; and first as we be most bounden for our soveraigne lord king Henry the VIIIth, being ymedyately next unto God, the onelie and supreme hed of this catholike church of England, and for the most gracious lady queen Anne his wife; and for the lady Elizabeth, daughter and heire to them both, our pryncesse, and no farther.

Item. The preacher in all other places of this realme then in the presence of the king's saide highnes, and the queen's grace, shall in the bidding of the beads, pray first in manner and form, and worde for worde as is above ordeyned and lymyted; adding thereunto in the seconde parte, for all archebishops and bishops, and for all the hole clergie of this realme; and specciallie for suche as shall please the preacher to name of his devotion; and thirdly, for all dukes, earls, marques, and for all the hole temporaltee of this realme; and specciallie for suche as the preacher shall name of

devocyon: and fygnallie for the soules of all them that be ded, and specciallie of such as it shall please the preacher to name.

Item. It is ordeyned that every preacher shall preach ones in the presence of the greatest audience against the usurped power of the bishop of Rome, and so after at his lybertee: and that no man shal be suffered to defend, or mayntene the foresaid usurped power: Ferthermore, to keep unyte and quyetnes in this realme, it is ordeyned that no preachers shall contende openly in pulpet one against another, nor uncharytable de-prave one another in open audience; but if any of them be greved one with another, let them complayne to the king's highnes; or to the archbishops, or bishops of the dioces where such chaunce shall happen, and there to be remedied if there be cause why; and if the complaynt be not trew, the complayner to be punished.

Item. Also to forfende that no preachers for a year, shall preach neyther with, nor against purgatory, honouring of saynts, that priests may have wives; that faith onelie justifieth; to go on pilgrimages; to forge miracles; considering these things have caused discension amongst the subjects of this realme alrede, which thanked be God is now well pacified.

Item. That from hensfourth all preachers shall purelie, syncerelie, and justlie preach the Scripture, and worde of Christe, and not myxe them with man's institutions, nor make men believe that the force of Goddes law, and man's law is like; nor that any man is able, or hath power to dispenche with God's law.

Item. It is also ordered that the declaration of the sentence which hath ben used in the church four tymes in the year, shall not from henceforth, neyther be published, nor esteemed in any point contrary to the præmynce and jurisdiction royall of our king and his realme, or laws and liberties of the same; and any so doing to be competently punyshed by the bishop of that dioces where it shall fortune him to be, or inhabit: and this thoroughout the realme and domynyons of our soveraigne, shortlie the bishops to sett order in.

Item. It is also ordered that the colects for the preservation of the king and queen by name, be from henceforth comunely and usuallie used and sayed in every cathedrall church, religious house, and peroche church, in all their high masses thorough out all the realme and domynyons of our king and soveraigne.

Item. It is farther ordeyned that wheresoever the king's just cause of matrimony hath eyther ben detracted, and the incestious and injuste set fourth, or in places where as it hath not ben dilated, that in all those places till the people be fully satisfied and justlie instructe, all manner of preachers whatsoever they be, happening to come into any such parte of the realme, shall from henceforth open and declare the mere veryte and justnes of this later matrymony, as nigh as their learning can serve them, and according to the trew determynacions of a greute number of the most famous and esteemed universities of Christendom; according also to the just resolution and diffiniency of both the convocaciones of this realme, concouring also in the same opynyon, by the hole assent of parliament, our pryncce, the lords spiritual and temporal, and commones of this realme; wherefore now they must declare this matier, neyther doubtful nor disputable, but to be a thing of mere veryte, and so to be allowed in all men's opynyons.

Item. It is farther ordeyned that the foresaid preachers shall also declare the false and injuste handlinge of the bishop of Rome, pretending to have jurisdiction to judge this cause at Rome; which in the first hering thereof did both declare and confesse in word and writing the justnes thereof to be uppon our

soveraignes side, insomuch as by a decretall delyvered to the legate here then sitting for the same cause, he did clearly determyne that if prince Arthur was our princes brother, and then of competent age allowed in the law when he married the lady Katharine, she being so likewise, and that as far as presumptions can prove carnall-copulation ensued between them; that these proved, before the said cardinales and legates (which in dede were accordingly to the lawes justlie proved) that then the unjust copulacion between our soveraigne and the said lady Katheryn, was neyther lawfull, nor ought to be suffered, and so, *eo facto*, pronounced in the foresaide decretall, the nullite, invaldite, and unlawfulness of their pretensed matrimony, which was by his law sufficient judgement of the cause; which decretall by his commandment, after and because he would not have the effect thereof to ensue, was, after the sight thereof, imbesided by the foresaid cardinals: and one which then was here his cubicular, contrary to all justnes and equitye, wherein he hath done our soveraigne most extreme wrong.

Secondly, contrary to all equite and determination of generall counsailes, he hath called the cause (which ought to be determynd here) to Rome, where our soveraigne is neyther bounde to appere, nor send proctor: and yet hath he deteynd wrongfully the cause there these three or four years at the instance of the other partie, which sued to have it there, because they knowe he durst not displease the emperor, who maketh himself a partie in it, as by the sequele it doth evydentlie appere, and so could our prince gett no justice at his hande, but was wrongfully delayed to no small hinderance, both to his succession, and this his realme, emynente daunger.

Thirdlie, Where it is a naturall defence that the subject ought, and may defende his naturall soveraigne, or master, both in word and deed, and ought thereto to be admytted, this foresaid bishop of Rome, contrary to this equite in nature, hath rejected our soveraigns excusator, contrary both to his own lawes (which he most setteth by) and also Gods law, which he ought to prefer. Upon which cause, and other great injuries, our soveraigne did appeale to the generall counsaile; notwithstanding the which, he hath contrary to all justice proceded, *ad ulterius*, wherein by a generall counsaile he is dampned as an heretick; yet thus injuriouslie from the begynnynge hitherto, he hath handled our princes cause and matier there.

Fourthly, the said bishope of Rome syns our princes appeal, hering of the laws and acts of parliament which we then went about, and that our king having just ground (the premisses considered) would provide according to his bounden duetie, both for the suretie of his succession and realme, gave out a sentence in manner of excommunication and interdiction of him and his realme, in which when he was spoken to for the iniquitie and unjustnes thereof by our princes agents, he and his counsaile could nor did otherwise excuse them (the facts being so contrary to all lawes and right) but that the faulte was in a new officer late come to the court, which for his lewd doing should grevously be punyshed, and the processe to cesse. This they promised our princes agents, which notwithstanding, was set up in Flanders to the great injurie of our prynce, and for parcalite to the other parte, as it may well appear by the forsaid sentence.

Fyvethtlie, the said bishope of Rome sought all the ways possible with fair words and promises both by his ambassadors and our soveraigns owne, which by any meanes could be invented, to have abused our prynce and soveraigne; which when he saw that by none of his crafts our prince would be no longer abused with them, then sewed he to the French king,

to be a mediator between our soveraigne and him: declaring to him and his counsaile that he would gladly do for our soveraigne, allowing the justnes of his cause; so that they would fynd the means that our soveraigne would not proceed in his acts and lawes till that were proved. And that he would meet with him at Merceles for the fynishing thereof, for at Rome he durst not do it for fear of the emperor. The good French king admonyshed our prince hereof, offering to him to do all pleasure and kyndnes that lay in him in this cause, trusting that if the bishop of Rome came ones to Marcelles, he should give sentence for our soveraigne in his just cause, and therefore prayed our prince to be content with that meting, in which he would labor for it effectuously, and so he did: to the which our prince answered, that touching the meting he was content, but touching the forbering of making lawes, he prayed his good brother to hold him excused, for he knew well ynough both the crafts and delays of the bishop of Rome; by which from thenceforth he would never be abused: and that likewise he fered that he would abuse his good brother, which so indeede after followed; for after he had gotten the maryage of the duke of Orleans, he then promised the French king to give judgment for our maister, so he would send a proxie, which the said bishop of Rome knew well before, that he neyther would, nor was bound to do; yet notwithstanding his subtil ymagnacions, his promise was to the French king, that our prynce sending a proctor, should there before his departure have judgment for him in the principall cause; for he openly confessed farther, that our maister had the right: but because our prince and maister would not prejudicate for his jurisdictione, and uphold his usurped power by sending a proctor, ye may evydentlie here see that this was onelie the cause why the judgment of the bishop of Rome was not given in his favour; whereby it may appere that there lacked not any justnes in our princes cause, but that ambition, vaine-glory, and to much mundanytee, weare the letts thereof: wherefore, good people, I exhorte you to sticke to the trueth, and our prince according to our bounden dueties, and dispise thes noughtie doings of this bishop of Rome; and charytably pray that he and all others, abusers of Christs worde and workes, may have grace to amend.

NUMBER XXX.

Instructions given by the Kinges Highnes, to his Trusty and Well-beloved Servant William Pagett, one of the Clerkes of his Signet, whom his Highnes sendeth at this Tyme unto the Kinge of Pole, the Dukes of Pomeray and of Pruce; and to the Cities of Dantiske, Stetin, and Conynburgh, for the Purposes ensueinge.—An Original.

[Cotton Libr. Vitell. B. 14. Fol. 66.]

HENRY R.—First the said Pagett takeinge with him the kinges highnes letters of credence to the princes aforesaid, with the copies of certeine other bookes and writings prepared for his dispatch, shall with all diligence, taking his journey from hence, repaire unto the said princes, as to his wisdom shall be thought best for the expedicion of his journey most convenient. After his arrival there, taking the best opportunity he can for his audience, and deliverie of the kinges highnes said letters, with his highnes most hartly recommendations: the said Pagett shall say that the kinges highnes consideringe not only the olde love, and perfect friendship, which hath now of long tyme been contracted, and by mutual offices of amity, established between his highnes and the said princes;

but also the singular affection, and entire zeal, which his highnes by sondry and manifold arguments, hath and doth daily perceiue to be in them, to the searchinge, furtheringe, defence, and mainteininge of the sincere truth, and right understanding of God's word, and the justice of his lawes, and the extirpacion of such inuerterate, old, and corrupt errors, customes, and abusiones, whereby Christes people have bene nowe of longe tyme seduced, and kept more bound, thrall'd, and captive under the yoke of the bishops of Rome, then ever the Jewish people were under the ceremonies of Moyses lawe; his highnes hath sent nowe presently the said Pagett unto the said princes, and to every one of them severally, as aforesaid, to open and declare on his highnes behalfe the great desire which his highnes hath, to do all things for his part; whereby not only the friendship may be nourished and encreased, but alsoe the common cause of all christend men may be reduced to such ende as shall be agreeable to the due order of Christs faith, and his precepts, and lawes given unto us by his worde and spirit, and expressed in his gospell. And for as much as the chiefe pointe, and the greatest demonstration of true friendship, is freindes to communicate and breake friendly each to other, "*et deponere in sinum amici*," the whoall estate of their causes, and what things be pleasaunt and acceptable unto them, or contrary, wherein they find themselves grieved, wronged, or injured; the said Pagett shall further say that the kings highnes hath given him in commaundment to open and declare unto the same severally the whoall progresse of his great and weighty cause of matrimony, with the intolerable wronges and injuries donn unto his highnes in the same by the bishop of Rome, called the pope: and in what termes the same nowe consisteth. And finally by what waies and means his highnes purposeth and intendeth nowe to defende his said most just and right wise cause and to resist the malicious attemptats of the said bishop of Rome.

And for his entry into the matter, the said Pagett shall note and regarde two principall and speciall pointes; that is to say, the justice of the king's cause, and the order and processe which hath bin used therein. And as concerninge the first pointe, the said Pagett shall shewe howe the king's highnes hath so used himself, as no man may lawfully complaine of the same. For as touchinge the justice of his highnes cause, that is to say, the declaration of his marriage with the princesse dowager to be nought, of noe moment nor effecte; but against the lawe of God's nature and man, and therefore indispensable by the pope, and in no wise available; the said Paget shall shewe, howe the king's highnes hath don therein as much as becommeth a Cristian prince to doe for discharge of his conscience: and hath founde soe certaine, soe evident, soe manifest, soe open and soe approved truth therein, as whereunto he ought of necessity to give place, and to allowe and receive the same; not as a matter doubtfull and disputable, but as a plaine and discussed verity, of the true understanding of God's worde and lawe, which all Cristian men must follow and obey, and to all worldly respectes preferre and execute. In attaininge the knowledge whereof, if his highnes had used his owne particular judgment and sentence, or the mind only and opinion of his own naturall subjecte, altho' the same might in his owne conscience have sufficed; yet his highnes would not have much repugned, if some other had made difficulty to assent in the same, untill further discussion had bin made thereupon. But now, for as much as beside the king's owne certaine understandinge, and the agreement of the whoall clergie of both provinces of his realme, unto the same; his

highnes hath alsoe for him the determinations of the most famous universities of Christendom, which be indifferent to pronounce and give sentence in this his cause, and therewith alsoe the evident wordes of God's lawe; his highnes hath thought himself, in honour and duty to the obligation of God's commandements, obliged necessarily to imbrace and receive the same; and there, by the consent of his nobles spirituall and temporall, and with the singular contentation, rejoyce and comforte, of all his commons and subjecte. And finally, by the judgement and decree of the archbishops of Canterbury, most solemnly and autentiquely passed in that behalf, hath now, for the discharge of his owne conscience, which was before merveilously grieved and offended with the opinion of incest matrimony, and for the avoidinge of extreame dangers of his succession, and the ruine of his realms, which was by reason thereof iminent and manifestly apparent to insue, divorced and seperated himself from the yoake and bande of that unlawfull marriage, which was of longe time usurped and continued betwene his highnes and the said princesse dowager, and hath espoused and married to his lawfull wife, the noble lady, dame Ann marques of Pembroke, whose approved and excellent vertues, that is to say, the purity of her life, her constant virginity, her maidenly and womanly pudicity, her sobernes, her chastenes, her meekenes, her wisdom, her descent of ancient right noble and highe parentage, her education in all good and lawfull shewes and manners, her aptnes to procreation of children, with her other infinite good qualities, more to be regarded and esteemed then the only progeny, be of such approved excellency, as cannot be but most acceptable unto Almighty God, and deserve his highe grace and favour to the singular weale and benefitte of the king's realme and subjects. Albeit in case any objection shal be made hereunto by the said princes, or any of their concill, "*de Ratione Scandali*," by reason that the king's highnes hath not observ'd in all pointes the common order and manner of the pope's lawes, the said Paget shall, thereunto replying and answering, founde themselves first upon the most stedfast grounds of Scripture, viz. "*Quia iusto Lex non est posita; sed ubi Spiritus Dei, ibi Libertas est: Et si Spiritus Dei ducimini, non estis sub Lege. Hoc est, Spiritus Sancti et Conscientie in motum sequentes, sub Lege primaque privata: cedere debet, nequaquam sumus constituti. In prohibitis autem Lege Divina, parendum est Conscientie, in aliis vero Ecclesie: Et qui Lege privata ducitur, nulla ratio exigit ut Lege publica constringatur.*" And thereupon the said Paget shall inferre, that althoughe in the lawe, every man's private conscience be but a private court, yet it is the highest and supreme court for judgement or justice, condemninge or approvinge of mens actes and deedes in the sight of God; accordinge to the saying of St. Paule to the Romanes, "*Gentes que Legem non habent, sibi ipsis sunt Lex; qui ostendant Opus Legis scriptum in Cordibus suis; simul attestante ipsorum Conscientia, ex Cogitationibus eorum, inter se aut accusantibus aut excusantibus, in eo die quo iudicabit Deus occulta hominum.*" And therefore the said Paget shall say, that beinge the king's highnes said cause fully examined, discussed, and resolved in his owne conscience; and being also the same court of his conscience enlightened and instructed, first by the spirit of God, who possesseth and directeth the hartes of princes, and afterward established and confirmed by such wayes as is before expressed; pronounced and declared, to be discharged before God from the contracte of his said first matrimony, and be at liberty to exercise and enjoy the benefitte of God, for procreation of children,

and the lawfull use of matrimony, necessary for the reliefe of man's infirmity. No man ought to inveigh at this his doinge, but rather to interpretate the same into the best parte, in that that the king's highnes had more regarde unto the weale of his soul, than to any ceremonies of mens laws, which themselves decree and ordeine: that noe man is bounde to obey them, or any other man's precept, of what dignity or preheinnence soever he be, if the same do "militare, contra Deum et Conscientiam offendat: Primum etenim querendum est regnum Dei, &c. Et quid prodest hujusmodi, si universum mundum lucratur, animæ vero suæ detrimentum patiat, &c.?" He may also further say, that the king's highnes knoweth well, that respect is to be had unto the world, and doubteth not but that it is alsoe sufficiently declared and showed by his actes and proceedings, howe much he hath laboured and travailed therein; but sithence that these thinges, although in their outward visage be worldly, yet inwardly they touch and concerne the perill of soule, noe man being "sinceri et candidi pectoris," can arreste any blame unto the king's highnes, in that he hath after soe long travaile, labour, and studie, with intollerable coste and charges, without any fruite sustained in that behalf, be enforced and constreyned rather to followe and accomplishe the determination of his own conscience, and the law of the same, consonant and agreeable in this case to the law of God, and therefore superior and excellenge all lawes of man, then to indure in perpetuall sute, and continuall trouble of body and mynde, doinge injurie to nature, and incomparable damage to his realme; not doinge soe much as in him is, to provide for the same. And to the intente the said Paget may with the more efficacy declare unto the said princes, the ungodly and unlawful demeanours of the pope, in the whoall progresse of the king's highnes said cause, handling his highnes by the space of vij years, and more, in delays and dalliance; and how for friendship and justice, he hath alwayes ministred unto him unkindness and notable injurie: by reason whereof, the king's highnes hath bin thus constreined to doe as he hath don: the said Paget shall understande, how that first in the beginninge of his highnes greate cause, his grace beinge daily iniquited and molested with the scruple of incest and unlawfull matrimony, did send unto the said bishop, as unto him which presumed upon him the title and name of Christ's vicar in Earth; and which had the keyes of knowledge and power, to discerne the very wordes of God from the wordes of man; to the intent that he, according to his office and duty, should have ymediatly dissolved that doubt and scruple, which his highnes in conscience had before conceived, and should have restored him incontinently to the quietnes and rest of the same. Upon which insynuation, the saide bishop of Rome refusing to take any knowledge of the king's said cause of matrimony, but would the king should take a commission, and commissioners to be sent into this his grace realme, to whom the said bishop would give sufficient authority, to decerne, knowe, judge and determyne the said cause; then pretending, that it might in noe wise be by the order of the lawes be intreated at Rome, but only within the king's owne realme. And so he delegated his wholl power to the cardinal Campegius, and the cardinal of York. Giveinge alsoe unto them, one other speciall commission, in forme of a decretall: wherein the said bishop of Rome pronounced and gave sentence, that the king's highnes matrimony was utterly nought and unlawfull; and that therefore his highnes might "convolare ad secundas Nuptias;" and the children procreated in the seconde marriage were lawfull. And in this open

commission, he gave alsoe unto the said legate full authority to determyne this matter, and to give sentence for the king's highnes; and yet secretly he gave them instructions, to bring the said commission decretall, and not to procede by vertue thereof, or of any other commission, unto any finall end or sentence, but to suspend and put over the same. And at the time of sendinge of the said commission, he sent alsoe down unto the king's highnes, a briefe written with his owne bande; wherein he did alsoe approve the justice of the king's cause, in like maner as he did in his commission decretall; and promised unto the king's highnes, "quam sanctissimè sub verbo Pontificis," that he would never afterwarde advocate the said cause out of the realme of Englande, but would suffer it to have the due course and order of intrateinge of the same, within the king's highnes realme; which his sentence and promise notwithstanding, yet the said bishop of Rome, contrary to his own conscience and knowledge, what was the very truth and justice in the king's highnes cause; and to the intente he might molest and trouble the same, decreed out sundry citations, whereby he would needes enforce the king's highnes to appeare at Rome in his own person, to the subversion of him, his dignity, and the privileges of his realme; or else to constreine him in the exhibition of a proxie there: the iniquity of both which things, is so evident and notable, "ut nulla rerum facie defendi queat." For it is a common principle of the lawe, "Quoties autem citatus ex Privilegio, vel aliqua alia Materia, in voce expressa, venire non teneatur, in eo casu nec tenetur aliquam sui copiam facere, neque Se, neque Procuratorem sistere." It is also notorious, that the liberties and prerogatives of the king's realme, to the observation whereof he is bounde by his oath at his coronation; and that alsoe the privileges of princes, beinge publike persons, besides other great and urgent causes, doe necessarily let the king's person to appeare at Rome, and lawfully defendeth and excuseth his absence from thence. And besides all this, that his highnes ought not to be cited to Rome; it is enacted by the holy councilles of Nice, of Affrique, and of Meleвитan; and it is agreeable alsoe to all lawes, reason, and equity, that kings should not be compelled to repair to Rome at the pope's callinge, ne be bounden in a matter of so highe weight and consequence as this is, to send out of their realmes and dominions, their writings, instrumentes, and muniments, conteyninge the secretyes of their affaires, or to make and trust a proctor in soe farr distant parts, and in a matter of such gravity and importance, to abide and fulfill that which the said proctor shall agree unto there. And hereunto the said Paget may adde, howe this matter toucheth the dignity of all Christian princes very highly, to suffer themselves to be so yoked with the said bishop's authority. And that it is time for princes, now that the same bishop maketh this enterprise upon them, to inserche and knowe the grounde and bottome of his and their authorities, for what and the pope would cite and call all Christian princes to appere before him at Rome; that is to say, to cause them to abandon and forsake their owne realmes, and neglect the cure and office committed unto them by God, and to answere there upon such matters, as the pope should for his pleasure object against them? "Esset quidem illud durum; sed tamen si vellet Pontifex, hæc posset facere, qua etenim ratione unum constringere; omnes etiam Reges cogere posset;" and so it should be always in the pope's authority and libertie, to remove and depose what kings it pleased him from his crowne, and to rule and govern all kingdomes after his own arbitre

and pleasure : one other notable iniquity is also in that the pope, by his citation would needs enforce the kinges highnes to appear at Rome ; forasmuch as Rome is by all laws a place unlawful, yea, and thereto most suspect and unsure, not only for the kinges highnes owne person, being the principale parte, but alsoe for the person of his proctor, if he should send any such thither ; and especially for the self cause to be intreated there : now, it is a principle in the lawe, “ quod citando ad locum non tutum, et precedendo Index facit inique quia legibus id prohibentibus necnon antiquissimis consiliis et Pont’ Romanorum definitionibus repugnantibus id facit non solum inique sed etiam nulliter facit :” and yet further, the pope not satisfied with these injuries and wronges don unto his highnes, yea, and to justice itself, in manner as is above rehearsed ; but being then, and at such tyme as the said citations were published, resident at Rome, one doctor Kerne, the kinges subject, understandinge how his highnes was called there to appeare to one Cappisucchi deane of the Rota, to make answer unto the princes dowagers complainte, and exhibiting reasonable causes, and lawfull matters excusatory why his grace should not be bound either to appeare at Rome, or to sende a proctor thither ; which things he did as the kinges subject, and as one who by law of nature is bounden to defende his kinge and sovereigne lord ; and by all laws admitted to alledge that in defence of him that is absent, which in equity ought to preserve him from condemnation ; yet this notwithstandinge, the said Cappisucchi, “ idque approbante Pontifice,” not regarding nor considering the matters soe by the said doctor Kerne alleadged, but demanding whether he had any proxie from the kinges highnes for such purpose or noe ; the said Cappisucchi, for default of such proxie, (which was not necessary in this case) rejected the said doctor Kerne from the office of an excusator there, and proceeded in the principall cause, by reason whereof the said doctor Kerne appelled to the pope, alleadginge injurie to be don not only to the kinges highnes, but alsoe unto himselfe, for that such matter as he (havinge interesse in) did alleadged was not considered nor regarded, but processe made notwithstanding, to which appellation the said Cappisucchi gave an ambiguous and doubtful answer, promisinge afterward to open his said answer and sentence more plainly, and to give determinate resolutions therein, which nevertheless he would not doe, albeit he was diverse tymes required and pressed thereunto, but soe passed he the tyme and suddenly returned to processe ; whereupon the said doctor oftentimes appealed and put upp again a supplication to the pope for the admission of the said appeal, by reason whereof the said matter was reasoned in the signature, where although by noe lawe it would be shewed why the said doctor Kerne ought not to be admitted to alleage the said matters excusatory in the defence of the kinge’s highnes ; yet they gave their voices there as the pope saide, that doctor Kerne should not be heard without the kinges proxie ; wherunto when Dr. Kerne replied, sayinge that whatsoever they decreed or saide, yet there was no lawe to maintayne and bear it : it was answered again by the said bishope, called pope, that he might judge all things after his own conscience. And upon this resolution, without any other decree given, or at least notified and declared, they proceeded in the principal cause, intendinge by this injurie and wronge to enforce the kinges highnes to the exhibition of a proxie there, to his high prejudice, and the derogation of the libertyes and prerogatives of this realme, and to the pernicious example of the like to be done unto other princes in tyme cominge. And although at the same

time the kinges ambassadors there resident did shewe unto the pope the determinacion of the universities of Paris and Orleans, with the opinions and sentences of the best and most famous learned men of Italy and Fraunce, deternynying all with one consent, that these the popes doeinges were meere injuries and wronges, and contrary to his own lawes, wherein it is contained, “ Quod Pontifex Romanus non potest cogere aliquem Principem Christianum ut Romam veniat, ut in Causa Matrimonii ibidem respondeat. Aut in eorum gratiam procuratorem constituat et quod subditus cujuscunque Principis poterit sine mandato et satisfactione ejusdem absencie sine non comparentie allagere et quod debeat ad id admitti : quodque propositis per eundem justis Causis absencie non poterit contra absentem Principem ulterius procedi. Sed quod omnis talis processus si quis contra eundem factus fuerat sit jure ipso facto nullus.” Yet he continuynge still in the discussinge and disputacion of the same points : and perceyvinge well the kinges highnes adversaries to be in the wronge parte, did still nevertheless rejeete the said Mr. Kerne from the lawfull defence of the kinges highnes, and ceased not to make processe against his grace in the principall cause, to the expresse wronge and injurie of his highnes, and soe continuynge still in accumulateinge from tyme to tyme new griefes and injuries against the justice of the kinges cause ; and sending out very sclaundersous griefes against the kinges highnes, with diverse other unseeminge and ungodly demeanors used by him and his ministers in the discousse and doinge of the said injuries. Finally to accomplish his longe and indurate malice, he decreed and determined to publishe out against the kinges highnes, the sentence of excommunication, and soe the kinges highnes, being advertised of the said determinacion and purpose, and mynding to use his lawfull and naturall defence of provocation and appellation against the same. After that his highnes had soe made authentiquely his said provocation and appellation from the pope to the generall counsell, which shall be nowe next indicted, and lawfully congregated ; and alsoe caused the same to be intimated unto the pope by one of his subjects, the said pope would in no wise admitte the same, “ et deferre hujusmodi Appellationi,” but pretendinge for his defence a certeine bull made by pope Pius, and that he was superior to all generall counsailes, did most arrogantly and contemptuously rejeete the kinges highnes said appellacions, alleadginge the same to be nought ; and they were heretiques and traytors to his person, which would appeal from him to any generall counsell, or would attempt to doe any thinge whereby his authority should be seene to be inferior unto the authority of generall counsells.

The iniquity of all which thinges beinge thus opened unto the said princes, and sett forth by the said Pagett, with the best perswasions he can devise for that purpose, he shall further shewe unto the same, that thence it is now evidently seene that the said bishop of Rome for the defence of his own corrupt affections of glorie and ambition, regardeth not what injurie he doth to Christian princes, yea, and to abuse and subject so much as in him is, not only contrary to the trueth, but alsoe to the due order both of God and mans lawes, sheweinge himself therein rather to be the child of wrath and discorde, then the imitator and follower of Christ ; it shall nowe apperteyne unto the office of every good Christian prince on tother side, to have more spirituall regarde to the preservation of their one estate and dignity, and the maintenance of God’s lawes, then they have had in times past. And to study nowe by all means rather to confounde and destroy these presumptions of men, which forge themselves

such a throne and power as soundeth greatly to the blasphemy of Christ and his very spouse the church, then to suffer the same any further to encrease.

And forasmuch as the kinges highnes not only for want of justice in his said cause at the popes hande, but also for the defence of those extreme injuries, which the said pope hath enforced unto him and the justice of his cause, and for the maintenance of his estate royal, with the lawes and privileges of his realme, conforme and agreeable to the lawe of God, is nowe utterly determined, havinge God and his word upon his party, to resist and withstand the said bishops malicious attempts and reduce the said popes power, "Ad justos et legitimos mediocritatis sue modos," so as within this his highnes realme, he shall not be suffered to exercise any other power and jurisdiction, then is granted unto him by expresse Scripture. The said Paget shall shewe unto the said princes; that the kinges highnes trustinge not a little to their greate vertue, wisdom, and oulde amity, hath commaunded him not only to open and declare unto the said princes the wholl circumstances of all the premisses, and of what mynd and disposicion the kinges highnes is nowe towards the said pope, and the court of Rome: but alsoe to exhorte and instantly to require the same on the kinges highnes behalf, that it shall please them to adhere and sticke with the kinges highnes in his said righteous cause to the repaire of the said injuries at such tyme as the same shall be intricated in the general counsell. And in the mean season to give unto his highnes their assistance and best advice how he shall proceede to the accomplishment of his desired purposes, according to such articles, as be written in a certaine scedule and be delivered unto the said Paget, and signed with the kinges highnes hand, which he shall also exhibite and shewe unto the said princes; and to every of them, as by his wisdom he shall perceive may be most beneficiall unto the kinges highnes affaires: and to require also the said princes and potentates, that in case there be any articles, causes, or matters in those parties touchinge any abuses, evil customes, or opinions, which for the common-wealth of Christendom, and the maintenance of Gods worde the said prince and potentate, or any of them, shall thinke necessary and requisite to be reformed and redressed, the said Paget shall say that the kinges mynde and full determination is, his highnes beinge advertised of the specialities of the same, either by the letters of the said Paget, or otherwise by letters of the same princes, or by the messengers, servants, or orators of them, or any of them, will not faile, but like as the same his highnes at this time declareth his griefes, and desireth their assistance in this his suit and righteous causes and quarrels, even so likewise his highnes will not only right thankfully and kindly admitte the same causes, to his most favourable audience; but alsoe will with all effecte and sincerity to him possible, endeavour himself both to the extirpacion and puttinge away of the said abuses and evil customes soundinge against Gods worde and lawes, and also further doe that thing that may lye in him for reformation thereof, and establishinge the good intentes and purposes of the said princes, as most specially may be for the maintenance of Gods worde, the faith of Christ, and wealth of Christendome, like as unto the office of a very Christian prince, and the perfectnes of amity and friendship contracted betwene his highnes and the said princes shall apperteine. Finallie, for as much as it is doubtfull of what minde, intention, and purpose, the said princes be or at least some of them, that is to witte, whether they be soe dedicated to the popes devotion, that there is no likelihood of any good success touchinge the kinges

purposes to be don or gotten at their hande, the said Paget shall first and before the delivering of the kinges said letters to any of the said princes, and declaration of this his charge, by all dexterity, wayes and means to him possible insearch, inquire, and knowe the disposicion and inclination of the said prince, and of every of them severally, and soe thereafter accordinge to their wisdomes and discretions to deliver or retaine the kinges said letters, with declarations or without declarations of their said charge, as to their wisdomes shall be thought most necessary and requisite for atchievinge of the king's highnes purposes in this behalf.

HENRY R.

NUMBER XXXI.

Propositions to the King's Counsell: marked in some places on the margin in King Henry's own Hand. 1533.—An Original.

[Cotton Library, Cleop. E. 6, p. 319.]

FIRSTE, To sende for all the bishops of this realme, and speccyalle for such as be nerest unto the court, and to examyne them aparte, whether they, by the lawe of God, can prove and justefie that he that now is called the pope of Rome is above the general counsell, or the generall counsell above him? Or whether he hath gyven unto him by the law of God any more auctoryte within the realme, than any other foreign bishop?

2. *Item.* To desire, with all the bishops of this realm, to set forth, preach, and cause to be preached to the king's people, that the said bishop of Rome, called the pope, is not in auctoryte above the generall counselle, but the generall counsell is above him, and all bishops. And that he hath not, by God's lawe, any more jurisdiction within this realme, than any other foreign bishop (being of any other realme) hath. And that such auctoryte as he before this hath usurped within this realme, is both against Godes law and also against the generall counsells. Which usurpations of auctorite onlie hath grown to him, by the sufferance of princes of this realme, and by none auctoryte from God.

3. *Item.* Therefore that order be taken, for suche as shall preach at Paul's Cross from henceforthe, shall contynually, from Sunday to Sunday, preach there, and also teache and declare to the people that he that now calleth himself pope, nor any of his predeces-sours, is, and were but only the bishops of Rome; and hath no more auctorite and jurisdiction, by Godes lawe, within this realme, than any other foreign bishop hath—which is nothing at all. And that such auctoryte as he hath claymed heretofore, hath been onlie by usurpation and sufferance of prynces of this realme. And that the bishop of London may be bounde to suffer none other to preach at Paul's Cross, as he will answer, but such as will preach and set forth the same.

4. *Item.* That all the bishops within this realme be bound and ordered in the same wise, and to cause the same to be preached thorough out all their dioces.

5. *Item.* That a speccyall practise be made, and a streight commandment gyven to all provyncyalls, ministers, and rulers of all the foure orders of friers within this realme; commanding them to cause the same to be preched by all the preachers of their religions, in and thorough the hole realme.

6. *Item.* To practise with all the friers observants of this realme, and to commande them to preach in lyke wise; or elles that they may be stayed, and not suffered to preach in no place of the realme.

7. *Item.* That every abbot, prior, and other heades of religious houses within this realme, shall in like manner teche their convents and brethren to teach and declare the same.

8. *Item.* That every bishop shall make speciall commandments to every person, vicar and curate, within his dioceses, to preach and declare to their parochians in lyke wise.

9. *Item.* Proclamations to be made thorough out the realme, conteyning the hole acte of appeles: and that the same acte may be impressed, transumed, and set up on every church dore in England, to the intent that no parson, vicar, curate, nor any other of the king's subjects shall make themselves ignorant thereof.

10. *Item.* The king's provocation and appellations, made from the bishop of Rome unto the generall counsell, may also be transumed, impressed, published, and set up on every church dore in England, to the intent that if any censures should be fulmyne against the king or his realm, that then it may appear to all the world, that the censures be of none effecte; considering that the king hathe already, and also before any censures promulged, both provoked and appeled.

11. *Item.* Like transumps to be made, and sent into all other realmes and domynions, and specially into Flanders, concerning the king's saide provocations and appellations; to the intende the falshode, iniquite, malice, and injustice of the bishop of Rome may thereby appere to all the world: and also to the intent that all the world may know, that the king's highnes standing under those appeles, no censures can prevayle, nor take any effecte against him and his realme.

12. *Item.* A Letter to be conceived from all the nobles, as well spirituall as temporall, of this realme, unto the bishop of Rome, declaring the wrongs, injuries, and usurpations, used against the king's highnes and this realme.

13. *Item.* To sende exploratours to my lord Dacres, and espies into Scotland, and to see my lord of Northumberland, and what they intend there, and whether they will confeder themselves with any other outwarde prynce.

14. *Item.* Certen discrete and grave persons, to be appointed to repair into the partes of Germany, to practise and conclude some leage or anyte with the prince and potentats of Germany, that is to say, the king of Pole, king John of Hungary, the duke of Saxony, the duke of Bayere, duke Frederyke, the landgrave Van Hesse, the bishop of Magons, the bishop of Treuers, the bishop of Coleyn, and other the potentats of Germany; and also to enserech of what inclination the said prynces and potentats be of, towards the king and his realme.

15. *Item.* Like practise to be made and practised with the cyties of Lubeke, Danske, Hamburg, Brunswyke, and all other the steddes of the Hannse Tutonick; and to enserech of what inclination they be towards the king and this realme.

16. *Item.* Lyke practise to be made and practised with the cities of Norimbergh and Augsbrough.

17. *Item.* To remember the marchants adventurers haunting the domynions of Brabant, and to speke with them.

18. *Item.* To set order and establishment of the princes dowager's house with all celerity, and also of my lady Mary's house.

19. *Item.* A full conclusion and determination, to be taken for my lady princes' house.

BER XXXII.

A Letter against the Pope's Authority, and his Followers, setting forth their treasons. — An Original.

[Cott. Libr. Cleop. E. 6, p. 214.]

BY THE KING.

HENRY R.—Trusty and right welbeloved, we grete you well. And wheras heretofor, as ye know, both upon most just and vertuose fundacions, grownded upon the lawes of Almighty God and holly Scripture, and also by the deliberate advice, consultation, consent and agreement, as well of the bishops and clergie as by the nobles and comons temporall of this our realme, assembled in our high court of parliament, and by auctoritie of the same, the abuses of the bishop of Rome, his auctoritie and jurisdiction, of long time usurped against us, have been not only utterly extirped, abolished and secluded; but also the same our nobles and comons, both of the clergie and temporaltie, by another severall acte and upon like fundacion for the publique weale of this our realme, have united, knyt, and annexed to us and the corone imperiall of this our realme, the title, dignitie, and stile of Supreme Hed in earthe, immediatly under God, of the church of England, as undoubtedly evermore we have been. Which things also the said bishops and clergie, particularly in their convocations, have holly and entirely consented, recognised, ratified, conferred and approved autentiquely in writing, both by their speciall othes, profession and writing, under their signes and seales. So utterly renouncing all other othes, obedience, and jurisdiction, either of the said bishop of Rome, or of any other potentate, we late you witt, that perpendyng and considering the charge and commission in this behalf geven unto us by Almighty God, together with the great quietnes, rest and tranquillite, that hereby may ensue to our faithful subjects, both in their consciences and other wise to the pleasure of Almighty God, in case the said bishops and clergie of this our realme should sincerely, truly, and faithfully sett forth, declare and preach unto our said subjects, the very true word of God, and without all manner or color of dissimulation, hipocrisie, manifest, publishe, and declare the great and innumerable enormities and abuses which the said bishop of Rome, as well in title and stile as also in auctoritie and jurisdiction, of long tyme unlawfully and unjustly hath usurped upon us, our progenitors, and all other Christen princes, have not only addressed our letters general to all and every the same bishops, straitly charging and commanding them, not only in their proper persons, to declare, teach, and preach unto the people, the true, mere, and sincere word of God; and how the said title, stile, and jurisdiction of supreme hed, apperteyneth unto us, our corone and dignitie royall. And to gyve like varnyng, monition, and charge, to all abbots, priors, deanes, arche deacons, provosts, parsons, vicars, curats, scole masters, and all other ecclesiastical persons within their dioces, to do the semblable in their churches every Sunday and solemn feast, and also in their scoles; and to cause all maner of prayers, orisons, rubrics, and canons in masse books, and all other bookes used in churches, wherein the said bishop is named, utterly to be abolished, eradicated, and rased out in such wise, as the said bishop of Rome, his name and memorie for evermore (except to his contumely and reproche) may be extinct, suppressed,

and obscured ; but also to the justices of our peas, that they, in every place within the precinct of their commissions, do make and cause to be made diligent serche wayse and especially, whether the said bishops and clergie do truly and sincerely, without any maner cloke, or dissimulation, execute and accomplish their said charge to them comytted in this behalfe ; and to satisfie us and our counsell, of such of them that should omitt or leave undone any parte of the premisses, or elles in the execution therof, should coldely, fainedly use any maner of synister addition, interpretation or cloke, as more plainly is expressed in our said letters. We considering the great good and furderance that ye may do in these matters in the parts about you, and specially at your being at sises and sessions ; in the declaration of the premisses, have thought it good, necessary, and expedient to write these our letters unto you ; whom we esteeme to be of such singuler zeale and affection towards the glory of Almighty God, and of so faithfull and loving harte towards us, as ye wold not only, with all your wisdom, diligences, and labours, accomplish all such things as might be to the preferment and setting forward of Gode's worde, and the amplification, defence, and maintenance of our said interests, right, title, stile, jurisdiction, and auctoritie, apperteyning unto us, our dignitie, prerogative, and corone imperiall of this our realme, wold and desire you, and nevertheles straitely charge and command you, that laying aparte all vain affections, respects, and carnal considerations ; and setting before your eyes the mirror of truth, the glorie of God, the right and dignitie of your sovereigne lord ; thus tending to the inestimable unitie and commoditie both of yourself, and all other our loving and faithfull subjects, ye do not only make diligent search within the precinct of your commission and auctoritie, whether the said bishops and clergie doe truly, sincerely as before, preach and teach, and declare to the people the premisses, according to their duties, but also at your said setting in sises and sessions ye do persuade, shewe, and declare unto the same people the tenor, effect, and purpose of the premisses in such wise, as the said bishops and clergie may the better not only do thereby, and execute their said duties, but that also the parents and rulers of families may declare, teach, and informe their children and servants in the specialties of the same, to the utter extirpacion of the said bishop's usurped authority, name, and jurisdiction ; for ever shewing and declaring also to the people at your said sessions the treasons trayterously comytted against us and our lawes by the late bishop of Rochestre and sir Thomas Moore, knight, who thereby, and by diverse secrete practices of their malicious myndes against us, intended to semynate, engender, and brede amongs our people and subjects most mischievous and sediciouse opynyons, not only to their own confusion, but also of divers others who lately have condignely suffered execution according to their demerites, and in such wise dilating the same with persuacions to the same our people, as they may be the better fixed, established, and satisfied in the truth, and consequently, that all our faithfull and true subjects may therby detest and abhorre, in their harts and deede, the most recreant and traiterouse abuses and behaveours of the said malicious malefactors as they be most worthy, and fynding any defaulte, negligence, or dissimulation in any manner of person or persons, not doying his dutie in this partie, ye immediately doe advertise us and our counsel of the defaulte, manner, and facion of the same, lating you witt, that considering the greате moment, weight, and importance of this matter, as wherupon dependeth the unity, rest, and quietnes of this our realme, yf ye should, con-

trary to your duties and our expectations and trust, neglect, be slake, or omitt to doe diligently your duties in the true performance and execution of our mynde, pleasure, and commandment as before, or wold halte or stumble at any person, or specialtie of the same, be ye assured that we, like a prince of justice, well so punish and correct your defaulte and negligence thereyn, as it shall be an example to all others, how contrary to their allegiance, othes, and duties, they do frustrate and deceive, and disobey the just and lawfull commandment of their sovereigne lord, in such things, as by the true, hartie, and faithfull execution whereof, they shall not only prefer the honour and glory of God, and sett forth the majesty and imperial dignitie of their sovereigne lord, but also importe and bring an inestimable unitie, concorde, and tranquillite of the publike, and common state of this realme : whereunto both by the lawes of God, and nature, and man, they be utterly obliged and bounden, and therefore fail ye not most effectually, earnestly, and entirely to see the premisses done and executed upon paine of your allegiance ; and as ye wold advoide our high indignacion and displeasure at your uttermost perils. Given under our signet at our manor, besids Westminster, the xxvth day of June.

NUMBER XXXIII.

A Proclamation against Seditious Preachers.

[Cott. Libr. Cleop. E. 6.]

BY THE KING.

HENRY VIIIth.—Right trusty and well-beloved cousyn, we grete you well, and where it is comen to our knowledge that sundry persons aswel religious, as secular priests and curats in their parishes, and divers places within this our realme, do daily, asmuch as in them is, sett forth and extolle the jurisdiction and auctoritie of the bishop of Rome, otherwise called pope, sowyng their sediciouse, pestylent, and false doctryne, praying for him in the pulpyt, and making him a God, to the great deceyte, illuding and seducyng of our subjects, bryngyng them into errors, sedicion, and evil opynyons, more preferring the powers, lawes, and jurisdiction of the said bishop of Rome, then the most holly lawes and precepts of Almighty God. We therefore myndyng not only to provide for an unitie and quietnes, to be had and continued amongs our said subjects, but also covetyng and desyryng them to be brought to a profession and knowledge of the mere verity and truth, and no longer to be seduced, nor blynded with any such supersticiouse and false doctryne of any earthly usurper of God's lawes, wold therefore and command you, that wher and whensoevyr ye shall fynde, perceive, know, or here tell of any such sediciouse personnes, that in such wise do spreade, teach, or preach, or otherwise sett forth any such opynyons and perniciouse doctryne, to the exaltacion of the power of the bishop of Rome ; bryngyng therby our subjects into error, grudge, and murmuration, indelaydly do apprehend and take them, or cause them to be apprehended and taken, and so committed to warde, there to remayne without bayl or maynprize, untill upon your advisement thereof unto us, or our council, ye shall know our further pleasure in that behalfe. Given under our signet at our manor of Grenewich, the xii day of April.

NUMBER XXXIV.

A Letter of the Archbishop of York's, setting forth his Zeal in the King's Service, and against the Pope's Authority.

[Cott. Lib. Cleop. E. 6, p. 236.]

PLEASE it your highnes to understande, that the viiith daye of June, I received by the hands of sir Francis Bygott, your moste honorable letters; by tenor whereof I perceive, that your highnes is enformed, and so doth take it, that wher as the same your highnes, as well by convocations of your clergies of both provinces, as by your highe courte of parliament is declared the supreme hed in yerthe of the church of England, and also by the clergie of the said convocations, it is avowed, that the bishop of Rome by God's lawe hathe no more jurisdiction within this realme than any other foreign bishope; and therefore ordre taken by your highe courte of parliament, by the consent of the lords spiritual and temporal, and the commons in the same assembled, as well for the unitynge and knittenge of your sayde style and title of supreme hed to your imperiall crowne, as for the abolishment of the saide bishope of Rome's autoritie and jurisdiction, yet I nevertheless, nodre remembring my consent given to the same, by my subscription and profession, signed with my hande, and sealed with my seal, have not done my dewe endevorment to teache the same, nor cause to be taught within my diocese and province; so that the foresaid truths myght be imprinted and rooted in the harts of the ignorant people your highnes' subjects, wherefore your highnes commandeth me, not onlie to preache the forsaide things in my person, and also to commande others to preache the same, but also to give commandment in your highnes' name, to all maner of prelates and ecclesiastical persons within my diocese and province, to declare and cause to be declared everie Sunday; and therewith to open to the people your highnes' just and raysonable cause, movinge the same to refuse and to exclude out of your realm all the jurisdiction and autoritie of the said bishop of Rome; and fethermore your highnes commandeth me to cause all collectes and places of the masse-booke wher anie mention is made of the saide bishope of Rome to be rased out, and nodre the sayd collectes, nor any other thing, wherbie the said bishop's autoritie is magnified, to be had anie more in use, but to be utterlie suppressed with silence; and besides this, your highnes, in the same your most honorable letters, giveth order for scole-masters, how they shall instill and inculke the forsaide truths into the harts of theyre disciples, to the intent, that so beeing enplanted and rooted in tender aige, they may so alwaies continue. In moste humble maner prostrate, I beseech your highnes to take in good parte my answer. I trust your highnes is not unremembred, that about this tyme the last year, anon after my return from your highnes, my lord of Canterburie by your commandment sent to me a booke, wherein was an order for preacheinge, and in the same forme devised, as well for preachers as curats, for the beads; in which forme, your highnes' style of supreme hedde is mentioned, and fether in the same booke, your highnes hath given commandment, that every preacher sholde afore Easter last past ones in solempe audience declare the usurped jurisdiction within this realme of the bishope of Rome, and your highnes' just causes to decline from the same; and also to open and declare such things, as myght avowe and justifie your highnes' refusall of marriage with the princes doager, and lawfull contract of now with your most dear wife queen Ann, and in the same an order also given for the

suppression of the generall sentence; after the recepte of which booke, the Sunday next following, which was then the second Sunday after Trinitie Sunday, I went from Cawood to York, and ther in my own person declared as well your highnes' cause touchinge the matrimonie, as alsoe your refusall of the pope's jurisdiction, furnishinge both so at length, that I trust that nothing that needed to be opened and spoken was left unsoken: and to the intent, that I wolde have the thing the more spred abroad, I forthwith, upon the recepte of the forsaide booke, sent to York to publishe ther, that I wolde be ther Sundaye followinge, and cawsed the churches to make an order of theyre service, in suche tyme, as everie man myght have oportunities to be at the sermon, and speciallie required the mayer and his bretherne, and your faithfull chaplaine and servants Mr. Magnus and sir George Lawson to be ther, and ther and than afore a great multitude, and as it is to be supposed in that multitude werr a great number of sundry parts of the contree, which never lack in that citie, it may be thought ther was the greater number, because it was noysed that I sholde preache, takenge occasion of thees words in the gospel of that daye, "Uxorem duxi ideo non possum venire," so I uttered, explained, declared, and opened both the forsaide matters, and the injuries doon to your highnes by the bishope of Rome Clement, that your saide chapleyn and servants, Mr. Magnus and sir George Lawson, thought that the audience was satisfied. These ij bec my witsesse hearin, with a very great multitude besides them, that I nothinge fayne heerin. As for your highnes' title of supreme hed, I touched not than, for somutche, as no order was given than, but onlie to meke mention therof in the prayers; and it is well known to all that have herde me preache ever sins my first commynge into my diocese, that for more speed of tyme, and more utteraince of mater, I never have made prayours in any sermond, but proceeded forward without stoppe, nor have anie thinge, or not muche, rehersed in Latin, but English it in course, for the same purpose. Also upon the receipt of the same booke, forthwith I commanded my officers and others that coule write, to make out a great number of the snide books, and cause to be delivered to everie preacher within my dyocese a hole booke, chargeinge them, to doe according to the instruction therof, and generallie everie curate a booke comprisenge as muche as touched theyre charge, and if he were a preacher, he had the hole. And I assured your highnes, I have not yet herde, but that every one of the said curats foloweth theyre books in everie poynte; and speciallie praye for your highnes as chief hedde of the church, and all other things observe in the same; and yet I have done my diligence to herken and know if it were otherwise. And I doe not know but all the preachers have done theyre dutie; and to the great number of them I spake my selfe, and delivered them books, and charged them. And fether, I charged all curatts and others, that they sholde suffer no man to preache in theyr churches; to the intent, that all that would preache should be constrained to come to me, that I might deliver them the forsaide instructions. And never yet anie had licence of me to preache, but he had suche a book delivered hym. To every house of fryars, and other religiousse houses, wher anie preachers werr, I gave books; and likewise to all that I knewe, or coule learne to be within my dyocese, with charge that they sholde folow the booke. When anie religiousse men came to me for counsell, I told them what I had done, and gave them counsell to doe the same. Of divers sorts have come to me, both Observants and Cartusians, and others. Opon Good Frydaye last past, I charged the treasurer of Yorke,

that he sholde leave out the collect "pro Papa." Lykewies I charged the deacon that songe the hymne "Exultet Angelica," in the halowinge of the paschall, that he sholde leave out mention therein made "de Papa." The trueth of all these things may be examined and known, if it shall so please your highnes: by wiche it shall appear, I trust, that I am not in suche blame as your highnes imputethe to me; enforced by them, peradventure, that be not my friends. Your highnes somewhat knoweth me. I have been allwayes open and plain, and hidreto I dare avowe I never deceived you, nor hereafter shall in any thing that I take upon me, as my lernynge and conscience woll serve. And now, after the receipte of your most honorable letters by sir Francis Bygott, I forthwith caused letters to be made to my lord of Duresme and Carlisle, and to all archdeacons, gevinge to them (on your highnes' behalf) streight commandement, to follow truelie and syncerlie theffecte of suche commandements, as your highnes hath given me in your most honourable letters; and have charged all archdeacons to see, that all things, according to the tenor of your saide most honorable commandment, bee done without delaye; and have charged them to deliver books to all curats and others, of the olde instructions, putting to them all that is nowe increased in these your highnes' last most honorable letters: so that I trust, all things shall bee done according to your highnes' commandment, with all speed, efficacie, and diligence, whereunto I shall hearken. And for my parte, I have (on Sunday last past, which next followed the receipte of your highnes' most honourable letters) declared all things comprised in the same; so that, I trust, the audience was satisfied. I caused the cite to be warned afore, and diverse of the contree were present. And your faythfull chapleigne and servants, Magnus and sir George Lawson, I specially required to be ther; as in deed they werr, and can reoport what they think therof. Ther werr also present the abbot of Saincte Maries of Yorke, the treasurer of Yorke, sir Francis Bygott; these werr there, your servants and chapleignes, and many others. I trust your highnes shall never fynde in me, but that I promise I shall fulfill, and all things doe with good haste, that I may doe, at your highnes' commandment, God not offended. And most humble prostrate, I beseeche your highnes to be so graciouse, good Lord, not to beleive any complaints of me, afore you have herde my answer. The tyme is now suche, that some men think they doo highe sacrifice, whan they may bring into your highnes' displeasure such a poor priest as I am: but I trust in our Lorde, that your highnes dothe not soe take it, and that our Lorde woll continue your highnes' graciouse mynde towards your poore preests and chapleignes; and that he shall sende to them, that cawleslie provoke the grevouse displeasure of your highnes against our saide preests, better grace hereafter. For which, and for the continuall keeping of your highnes in his governance, I shall, as I am most bounde, continuallie praye. From Bishops-Thorp, the xivth of June, 1535.

Your highnes most humble preest and headman,
EDWARDE EBOR'.

NUMBER XXXV.

A Letter of Cromwell's to the King's Ambassador in France, full of Expostulations.

[Ex MS. Rymeri.]

August the 23d.

SIR,—After my most heartie recommendations, these shall be to advertise you, that the 17th day of

this moneth I receyved from you a packet of letters, which indelayedlie I delyvred unto the king's highnes, and conferred with his grace. Theffecte both of your letters, and all others within the saide packet, being directed aswell to his highnes as to me. And after his highnes had with me perused the hole contents thoroughlie of your saide letters, perceyving not onelie the lykelyhood of the not repairee into Fraunce of Philip Melanchthon, but also your communications had with the French king, upon your demaunde made of the king's highnes' pencions, with also your discrete answers and replications made in that behalf; for the which his majestee gyveth unto you his hertie and condigne thanks. Ye shall understande, that his highnes commanded me to make you answer in this wise folowing. First, as touching the king's money, his highnes doubtith not, but seeing both the French king, and also the grete mayster, have promised you it shall be depeched; ye will, as the case shall requyre, not cease to call upon them till it be depeched. And fether considering, that the said French king, upon youre saide demaunde of the saide pensions, so sodaynelye fell into communication with you, aswell of his frendeship and humanyte shewed to the king's highnes; alledging, that he at all tymes hath answered for the king's highnes, specially being last at Marcells with pope Clement, with other thyngs, as in your saide letters appereth. As also concernyng the executions lately done here within this realme, the king's highnes not a little mervailleth thereat, and thinketh it good, that as of your self ye take some occasion at convenient tyme and oportynyte to renovate the saide communication, both with the French king, or at the leest with the grete maister; saying unto them, that where the saide French king alledgeth, that he hath at all tymes answered for the kyng's highnes in his cause; and specially to the saide pope Clement at Marcells; affirmyng his procedyngs to be just and upright concernyng the matrimony, as ye do wryte in that. Albeit the king's highnes' proceedings, in all his affaires within this realme, being of such equyte and justnes of themself as they be, nedeth not any defence or assistance ayenst pope Clement, or any other foreyn power, having Godde's worde and lawes only sufficient to defende him; yet in that that the saide French kyng hath, as he sayeth, answered at all tymes on the king's parte, he hath don nothing but the parte of a brother, in justifying and vereyfing the trueth; and so continuing, shall do as appertenyth to a prynce of honour, which the king's highnes doubtith not he hath, and will doe only in respecte to the veryte and trewth, besid the amyte betwixt them both justlye requyryng the same. And concerning the executions don within this realme, ye shall sey to the saide French kyng, that the same were not so marvelous extreme as he alledgeth. For touching Mr. Moore and the bishop of Rochester, with suche others as were executed here, their treasons, conspiracies, and practises secretly practysyd, aswell within the realme as without, to move and styrrer discension, and to sowe sedycion within the realme, intending thereby not onely the destruction of the kyng, but also the whole subversion of his highnes' realme, being explained and declared, and so manifestly proved afore them, that they could not avoyde nor denye it: and they thereof openly detected, and lawfully convicted, adjudged, and condemned of high treason, by the due order of the lawes of this realme, it shall and may well appere to all the worlde, that they having such malice roted in their herts agenst their prynce and sovereigne, and the totall destruction of the comen weale of this realme, were well woerthie, if they had had a thousand lyves, to have suffered ten tymes a more

terrible deth and execution then any of them did suffer. And touching suche wordes as the saide French king spake unto you, concerning how Mr. More dyed, and what he saide to his daughter going to his judgement, and also what exhortations he should gyve unto the kyng's subjects, to be trewe and obedient to his grace, assuring you that there was no such thing, whereof the grete master promysed you a double at length : in that the king's pleasure is, that ye shall not onelie procure the saide double, and send it hither, but also sey unto the saide French king, that the king's highnes cannot otherwise take it but verie unkyndly, that the saide French king, or any of his counsaile, at whose hands he hathe so moche meryted, and to whom he hathe mynstered so many grete benefits, pleasures, and commodyties, shoulde so lightly gyve eare, faith, and credence, to any such vayne brutes and fleeing tales ; not havyng first knowlege or advertisement from the king's highnes here, and his counsaile, of the veryte and trewth ; affirming it to be the office of a freinde, hering any suche tales of so noble a prynce, rather to have com- pressed the bruters thereof to sylence, or at the leest not permitted to have dyvulged the same, untill such tyme as the king's majestee being so dere a frende had ben advertised thereof, and the trewth knownen, before he shoulde so lightly beleve or alledge any suche reporte. Which ingrate and unkynde demeanure of the saide French king, used in this behalf, argueth playnly not to remayn in his brest such integryte of herte and sincere amyte towards the king's highnes and his proceedings, as his highnes alwayes heretofore hathe expected and loked for : which thing ye may propone and alledge unto the saide French king, and the grete master, or to one of them, with suche modestie and sobrenes, as ye thinke they may perceyve that the king's highnes hathe good and just cause in this parte, somewhat to take their light credence unkyndly. And whereas the saide French king sayeth that touching such lawes as the king's holynes hathe made, he will not medle withall ; alledging it not to be mete, that one prynce should desire another to chaunge his lawes ; sayeing that his be too olde to be chaunged. To that ye shall say, that such lawes as the king's highnes hath made here be not made without substauncyall grounds, by grete and mature advise, counsaile, and deliberation of the hole polycie of this realme, and are in dede no new lawes, but of grete antiquyte, and many yeres passed, were made and executed within this realme, as now they be renovate and renewed onlie in respecte to the comen weale of the same. And it is not a little to his highnes' mervale, that the saide French king ever would counsaile or advise him, if in case hereafter any such like offenders should happen to be in this realme, that he should rather banysh them, than in such wise execute them. And specially considering, that the saide French king himself, in comynyng with you at the tyme, not only confessed the extreme execucyons and grete bruyllie of late dou in his realme, but also that he now intendeth to withdraw the same, and to revoke and call home agayn suche as be out of his realme: the king's highnes, therefore, the more straungely taketh his saide advise and counsaile, supposing it to be neither thoffice of a frend, nor of a brother, that he would determyn himself to call home into his realme agayn his subjects being out of the same, for speking agenst the bishop of Rome's usurped auctorite, and counsaile the king's highnes to banyshe his traytours into straunge parts, where they myght have good occasion, tyme, place, and opportynyte to wourke their feats of treason and conspiracie the better agaynst the king's highnes and this his

realme : in whiche parte ye shal somewhat engreve the matier after suche sorte as it may well appere to the saide French king, that not only the king's highnes might take those his counsailes and communications both straungely and unkyndely, thinking the same not to procede of mere amyte and friendship, but also using such polycie and austeryte in proponyng the same with the said French king, and the grete maister, taking such tyme and opportynyte as may best serve for the same, as they may well perceyve the king's highnes' proceedings here within the realme, both concerning the saide execucyons and all other things to be onely grounded uppon justice and the equyte of his lawes, which be no new lawes, but auneynt lawes made and established of many yeres, passed within this realme, and now renovate and renewed as it is aforsaide, for the better order, weale, and suretie of the same. And ye may further say, that if the French king and his counsaile well consyder, as they ought to do, that it were moch better to advance the punyshment of traytours and rebels, for their offences, then to ponysh such as do speke agenst the usurped auctoryte of the bishop of Rome, who daylie goeth about to suppress and subdue kyngs and prynces, and their auctoritee given to them by Godde's worde ; all which matiers the king's pleasure is, that ye shall take tyme and occasion, as ye talkyng agayn with the French king, or the grete maister may declare your mynd, as before is prescribed unto you : adding thereunto such matier with such reasons, after your accustomed dexteryte and discrecion, as ye shall thinke most expedient, and to serve best for the king's purpose, defence of his proceedings, and the profe of the French king's ingratitude, shewed in this behalf ; not doubting in your wisdom, good industrie, and discrete circumspection, for thordering and well-handelling of the same accordinglie.

And touching Melanchton, considering there is no likelehood of his repayree into Fraunce, as I have well perceived by your letters, the king's highnes therfore hathe appointed Cristofer Mount, indelaiedlie to take his journey where Melanchton is : and if he can, to prevente monsieur de Langie in suche wise, as the said Melanchton his repayree into Fraunce may be stayed and dyverted into England, not doubting but the same shall take effecte accordinglie.

And as to Mr. Heynes, the king's pleasure is that he shall go to Parys, there to lerne and dissiphe the oppynions of the lerned men, and their inclinations and affections aswell towards the kyng's highnes proceedings, as to the bishop of Rome his usurped power and auctoryte, after such sorte as the king's saide highnes hathe now wrytten to hym, by his gracious letters addressed both to him and the said Cristofer Mount, dyrecting them what they shall doe in all thyngs commytted to their charge at this tyme, as I doubt not they will put there unto their devoires for the accomplishment of the king's pleasure as apperteyneth. And thus makyng an ende, prayeng you to use your discrecion in the proponing of the premisses to the French king, and the grete master, or the one or both of them, using the same as a medecyn, and after such sorte, that as nere as ye can, it be not moch displeasantly taken, advertesing the king's highnes from tyme to tyme of the successes therof ; and of all other occurraunts as the case shall require. I shall for thys tyme bid you most hertelie farewell, &c.

Thornebery, the 23d day of August.

NUMBER XXXVI.

The Engagement sent over by the French King to King Henry, promising that he would adhere to him, in condemning his First, and in justifying his Second Marriage.

[Paper Office.]

FRANCISCUS DEI GRATIA Francorum Rex Christianissimus, omnibus et singulis presentes Lecturis et Audituris salutem. Non honoris solum nostri, verum etiam officii et pietatis ratio illud à nobis efflagitat, ut non modo fortunas, sed etiam fidem, auctoritatem, gratiam, et studium omne nostrum adhibeamus, ne cum amici longe charissimi, et de nobis optimè meriti, injuria, justitia etiam et veritas negligantur. Hinc est quod cum Serenissimus et Inuictissimus Princeps Henricus DEI GRATIA Angliæ Rex, Fidei Defensor, Dominus Hiberniæ, et Secundum Deum, Supremum in Terris Ecclesiæ Anglicanæ Caput, Charissimus Frater ac Consanguineus et perpetuus Confederatus noster, vigore ejusdem dispensacionis à bonæ memoriæ Julio papa, illius nominis secundo, cum nobili Muliere Catherina, preclaræ memoriæ Ferdinandi et Elisabeth Hispaniarum Regum, Filia, ac preclaræ memoriæ Illustris Principis Arthuri, dicti sereniss. Regis Henrici Fratris Naturalis et Legitimi, relicta, Matrimonium olim de facto contraxerit, et ex eadem in eodem pretensio Matrimonio, filiam adhuc superstitem Mariam nomine susceperit, cumque idem Serenissimus Rex dicti incesti Matrimonii conscientia motus, à prefata Domina Catherina diverterit, ac justissimus gravissimisque de Causis, nobis etiam satis cognitis et perspectis, ad id inductus, Matrimonium cum Clarissima et Nobilissima Domina Anna nunc Angliæ Regina, rite, legitime et realiter mierit, contraxerit, et in facie Ecclesiæ solemnizaverit, et Preclarissimam Domnam Elizabeth Angliæ Principem ex eadem et in eodem Matrimonio Procreaverit, et susceperit, cumque preterea super illius Dispensationis et Matrimonii viribus ac justitia, necnon super dictæ Domine Mariæ Legitimitate et natalium defectu, multæ gravesque questiones subortæ fuerint, in quibus tractandis ac in judicio et veritate discutiendis, nos bene multis Argumentis perspeximus, non eam (quam oportuit) equitatis rationem ab ipso Pontifice Romano habitam fuisse; et multa sive temporum iniquitate sive hominum vitio contra omne jus phasque in premissis et circa ea definita. Volumus in hac Causa tam gravi integerimos quosque Regni nostri viros, ac non modo in Sacra Theologia Peritissimos, verum etiam juris Ecclesiastici Callentissimos consulere: quibus etiam Mandavimus ut quid in tota hac Causa Secundum Deum et conscientiam sentirent, fideliter nobis referrent atque responderent. Quoniam his autem habitis prius inter dictos eruditissimos Viros matura Deliberatione, diligenti Examinatione, ac longo tractatu, nos ex eorum omnium et singulorum unanimi sententia et conformi relatione, liquido comperimus, invenimus, et plene intelleximus, non solum quod dicta dispensatio fuit et est omnino nulla, inefficax et invalida tam propter surreptionis et obreptionis vicia quam propter alias Causas, maxime vero propter Potestatis in dispensante defectum, ex eo viz. Quod Matrimonia cum relictis Fratrum decedentium sine liberis contracta, sint de jure Naturali et Divino prohibita, nec Romanus Pontifex nec ulla alia humana potestas possit dispensare, ut illa aliquo modo legitima fiant aut constant; verum etiam quod prefatum Matrimonium inter dictum Charissimum Fratrem nostrum ac prefatam nobilem mulierem dominam Catherinam de facto ut prefertur contractum, fuit et est Incestum, ac prorsus nullum, ac etiam contra

Sacrosancta DEI percepta, atque adeo contra omnia jura tam Divina quam humana usurpatum, quodque proinde dicta Domina Maria in eodem pretensio Matrimonio ut prefertur, suscepta et procreata, ad omnem juris effectum spuria et illegitima proles, ac ex illicito et incesto coitu genita fuit et est sicque ab omnibus reputari, censi, et haberi debuit, ac debeat omnino: ac etiam quod dictum Matrimonium quod idem charissimus Frater noster cum dicta clarissima Domina Anne Angliæ Regina contraxit, fuit et est modis omnibus Sacrosanctum, legitimum et validum: quodque dicta Illustris Domina Elisabeth Angliæ Princeps ex eodem Matrimonio suscepta necnon alia quæcumque proles ex eodem Matrimonio, Divina Bonitate in posterum suscipienda, Legitima fuit et est, eritque et esse debet. Ac denique cum non solum multi ex Reverendissimus Romanæ sedis Cardinalibus inter quos imprimis fuit Cardinales ille quondam Aucumtans, verum etiam nuper bonæ memoriæ Clemens Papa Septimus, ex certa et deliberata Animi sui Sententia, cum nobis ipsis Marsilie tunc existentibus, tum alias sæpe Oratoribus nostris tunc Romæ agentibus, palam ac vivæ vocis sue oraculo confessus sit, et expresse declaravit se sentire, dictam Dispensationem et Matrimonium cum dicta Domina Catherina contractum, fuisse et esse nulla prorsus, et de jure invalida, quodque eadem sic fuisse et esse per suam sententiam definitam seu finale decretum, declarasset, pronunciasset, et definisset si privati quidam affectus et respectus humani non obstitissent. Nos igitur Franciscus Francorum Rex antedictus, ut justum veritati suffragium serentes, simul et justissime charissimi Fratris nostri Causæ patrocinemur, notum facimus et in publicam testationem deduci volumus, per presentes, quod nos primam quidem dictam dispensationem quæ a dicto Julio Secundo ut predictur emanavit, nullam prorsus ac minus validam, et ex dictis causis inefficacem irritam et inanem fuisse semper, et esse, deinde ipsum Matrimonium quod ejusdem Dispensationis virtute cum dicta Domina Catherina olim de facto contractum fuit, incestuosum, nullum ac omnino illegitimum, ac naturali Juri et Divinæ contrarium fuisse et esse, ac pro incestuoso, nullo minusque legitimo haberi debere: denique dictam Dominam Mariam ex eo Matrimonio ut premititur susceptam, prorsus illegitimam et ad succedendum in Paterna Hereditate prorsus inhabilem fuisse et esse, et pro tali haberi censerique debere, reputamus, acceptamus, judicamus, asserimus, censemus et affirmamus. Similiter reputamus acceptamus, judicamus, asserimus, censemus et affirmamus quod Matrimonium illud quod idem Serenissimus Rex et Charissimus Frater noster, cum prefata Illustrissima Domina Anna Regina contraxit, fuit et est modis omnibus Sacrosanctum, legitimum et validum, et quod proles ex eodem Matrimonio suscepta seu suscipienda, maxime autem dicta clarissima Domina Elisabeth nunc Angliæ Princeps ex eisdem ut prefertur procreata, ad omnem juris effectum legitima fuit et est, eritque et esse debet. Quodque non solum omnia et singula quæ dictus Serenissimus Rex et Charissimus Frater noster, pro confirmando et stabilendo hujusmodi Matrimonio suo quod cum prefata Illustrissima Domina Anna Angliæ Regina contraxit, necnon predictæ Domine Elisabeth Filie suæ, ac aliorum liberorum qui ex hoc Matrimonio procreabuntur, Legitima et Hereditaria in Regnum suum Successione, statuit, ordinavit, aut promulgavit, justissimis fundamentis innitantur et subsistant, veram etiam quod omnia et singula sententiæ, censuræ, decreta, alii quicumque processus et judicia contra præmissa, ac eorum occasione per bonæ memoriæ Clementem nuper Pontificem Romanum, aut alium quemcumque Judicem, sive aliam Autoritatem quam-

cunque facta, edita, aut promulgata, aut imposterum edenda, ferenda, facienda sive promulganda, sint ipso jure nulla, irrita, injusta et iniqua, ac pro talibus haberi, reputari, adjudicari, et censeri debere certo credimus, constanter attestamus, censemus, asserimus, et affirmamus per presentes. Promittimus insuper in fide ac verbo Regio, ac sub Hypotheca omnium bonorum nostrorum patrimonialium et fiscalium, necnon bonorum subditorum nostrorum, etiam in forma contractus Garenticii Paratam Executionem habentis, obligamus nos, Heredes et Successores nostros, dicto Serenissimo Henrico Charissimo Fratri nostro, Heredibus et Successoribus suis, quod nos hanc Animi nostri Sententiam, et Judicium, quod super Præmissis nos habere vere et ex Animo Declaramus, semper et ubique locorum, maxime autem in omnibus et singulis futuris Synodis, aut Conciliis generalibus, et coram quibuscunque Judicibus, necnon apud et contra omnes Homines; quicumque eidem Sententiæ nostræ quacunque ratione adversabuntur, cujuscunque Autoritatis, pre-eminenciæ aut Dignitatis, etiam si Supremæ fuerint, per nos ac nostros subditos quoscunque, tam in Judicio quæ extra, manutenebimus propugnabimus, ac si opus fuerit, etiam manu forti defendemus, ac pro viribus justificabimus: nec ullo unquam modo aut tempore imposterum publice aut occulte, directe aut indirecte, eidem Sententiæ nostræ contraveniemus: nec quicquam unquam attemptabimus moliemur, aut faciemus, nec ab aliis imposterum cujuscunque Autoritatis fuerint, fieri aut attemptari quantum in nobis est, permittemus, quod in irritationem, enervationem, prejudicium, aut in contrarium huic nostræ Sententiæ cedat, aut cedere possit quovismodo. In ejus Rei Testimonium, &c.

Marked on the back thus:—

Instrument of Francis the First, king of France, whereby he justifieth the marriage of king Henry the VIIIth with queen Anne, and declareth the invalidity of the former with q. Catharin, notwithstanding the pope's dispensation.

In another place, on the back, and with another ancient hand (I believe, Cromwell's):—

An Instrument devised from the French king, for his justification and defence of the invalidity of the king's highness' fyrst marriage, and the validyte of the seconde.

BOOK III.

NUMBER XXXVII.

Cranmer's Letter to Cromwell; justifying himself, upon some Complaints made by Gardiner.—An Original.

RIGHT worshipful, in my moste hartie wise I commend me unto you, most hartely thankyng you, for that you have signified unto me by my chapleyn master Champion, the complaynte of the bishope of Wynchester unto the king's highnes, in two thyngs concernyng my visitation. The one is, that in my stile I am written, "Totius Angliæ Primas," to the derogation and prejudice of the king's highe power and authoritie, beyng supreme hedde of the church. The other is, that his dioces (not paste five yeres agon) was visited by my predecessor, and muste from hensfurthe paye the tenth parte of the spiritualties, accordyng to the acte granted in the last session of this parliament; wherfore he thinketh, that his dioces shuld not be charged with my visitation at this tyme. Fyrste, as concernyng my stile, wherein I am named Totius Angliæ Primas. I suppose, that to make his

cause good (which els in dede were nawghte), he doth myxe it with the kyng's cause (as ye knowe the man lacketh neither lernyng in the lawe, neither witty invention, ne crafte to sett furth his matiers to the best), that he myght appere not to maynteyne his own cause, but the kyng's; agaynst whose highnes, he knoweth right well, that I may maynteyne no cause; but gyve place, and lay both my cause and self at my prince's feet. But to be playne, what I think of the bishope of Winchester, I cannot perswade with my self, that he so much tendereth the king's cause, as he dothe his own, that I shuld not visite him: and that appereth by the very tyme. For if he cast no farther but the defence of the kyng's grace's authoritie, or if he entended that at all, why moved he not the matier, before he receyved my monytion for my visitation; whiche was within four myles of Winchester delyvered unto hym the 24th day of April last, as he came up to the court? Moreover, I do not a little marvaile why he shuld now fynde faute, rather than he did before, when he took the bishop of Rome as cheff hedde: for though the bishope of Rome was taken for supreme hedde, notwithstanding that, he had a great nombre of primates under hym; and by having his primates under hym, his supreme authoritie was not less esteemed, but much the more. Why then may not the kyng's highnes, beyng supreme hedde, have primates under hym, without any dymynyshyng, but with the augmentyng of his said supreme authoritie. And of this I doubt not at all, but that the bishope of Winchester knoweth as well as any man lyving, that in case this said stile, or tytyle, had byn in any poynt impediment or hinderance to the bishop of Rome's usurped authority, it would not have so long ben unreformed as it hath byn. For I doubt not, but all the bishopes of England would ever gladly have hadd the archbishop's both authoritie, and the title taken away, that they myght have byn equal together; which well appereth by the many contentions agaynst the archbishops, for jurisdiction, in the courte of Rome; which had ben easily brought to pass, if the bishops of Rome had thought the archbishops' titles and stiles to be any derogation to their supreme authority. All this notwithstanding, yf the bishops of this realme passe no more of their names, stiles and titles, than I do of myn, the kyng's highnes shall sone order the matter between us all. And if I saw that my stile were agaynst the kyng's authoritie (wherunto I am specially sworne) I would sew my self unto his grace, that I myghte leave it; and so wolde have don before this tyme. For, I pray God never be mercyfull unto me at the generall judgement, if I perceyve in my hert, that I sett more by any title, name, or stile that I write, than I do by the paryng of an apple, farther than it shall be to the setting furthe of God's worde and will. Yet I will not utterly excuse me herin, for God must be judge, who knoweth the botome of my harte, and so do not I my self: but I speake forso much as I do fele in my harte, for many evill affections lye lurkyng ther, and will not lightly be espied. But yet I would not gladly leave any juste thyng at the pleasure and sute of the bishop of Winchester, he beyng none otherwise affectionate unto me than he is. Even at the begynnyng furst of Christ's profession, Diotrephes desired "gerere Primatum in Ecclesia," as saith St. John in his last Epistell. And syns, he hath had more successours than all the apostles hadd, of whom have come all theis glorious titles, stiles, and pompes into the churche. But I would, that I, and all my brethren the bishopes, wold leave all our stiles, and write the stile of our offices, callyng our selves "Apostolos Jesu Christi": so that we toke not upon us the name vaynly, but were so even in dede; so

that we myghte ordre our dioces in suche sorte, that neither paper, parchemente, leade nor wexe, but the verie Christian conversation of the people, myght be the letters and seales of our offices, as the Corinthians were unto Paule, to whome he said, "Litteræ nostræ, et Signa Apostolatûs nostri vos estis."

Now for the seconde; where the bishope of Winchester allegeth the visitation of my predecessour, and the tenth parte now to be paid to the kyng. Truth it is, that my predecessour visited the dioces of Winchester, after the decesse of my lord cardynall, as he did all other dioces (Sede vacante); but els I thynke it was not visited by none of my predecessours this forty yeres. And notwithstanding that, he hymself not considering their charges, at that tyme charged them with an newe visitation, within lesse than half a yere after; and that agaynst all righte, as doctour Incent hath reported to my chancellour, the clergie at that tyme paying to the kyng half of their benefices in fyve yeres, whiche is the tenth parte every yere, as they paid before, and have paid syns, and shall pay still for ever by the laste acte. But I am verie gladd, that he hath now some compassion of his dioces, although at that tyme he had verie smale, when he did visite them the same yere that my predecessour did visite. And also other bishops, whos course is to visite this yere, kepe their visitation, (where I did visite the last yere) notwithstanding the tenth parte to be paid to the kyng's grace. Howbeit I do not so in Winchester dioces, for it is now the third yere syns that dioces was visited by any man, so that he hath the leste cause to complayne of any bishop, for it is longer syns his dioces was visited than the other. Therefore where he layeth to aggravate the matter, the charge of the late acte graunted, it is no more agaynste me, than agaynst all other bishops that do visit this yere, nor makyth no more agaynst me this yere, than it made agaynst me the laste yere, and shall do every yere hereafter. For if ther were true men, in accomptyng and paying the kyng's subsidie, they are no more charged by this newe acte, than they were for the space of ten yeres past, and shall be charged ever hereafter. And thus to conclude, yf my saide lorde of Winchester's objections should be allowed this yere, he myght (by such arguments) both disallowe al maner of visitations that hath be down thes ten yeres past, and that ever shall be don hereafter. Now I pray you, good maister Secretary, of your advice, whither I shall ned to writte unto the kyng's highnes herin. And thus our Lorde have you ever in his preservation. At Otteforde, the xiith daye of Maye. Your own ever assured

THOMAS CANTUAR'.

NUMBER XXXVIII.

A Letter of Barlow's to Cromwell, complaining of the Bishop and Clergy of St. David's.

[Cott. Lib. Cleop. E. 4, p. 107.]

PLEASETH your good mastership, with compassion to advertise the complaynt and unfayned peticions of your humble oratour, disquietly vexed without cause or any pretended occasion, motioned of your said oratour's parte: whereas the qucen, of her graciouse bounte, advouched me not unworthy the priorship of Haverford West, under her grace's foundation, syns the tyme of my ther continuall residence; considering the hungry famyne of heryng the word of God, and desolate scarcete of true preachers, I have endeveryd my self, with no small bodilly dainger against Antichrist, and all his confederat adherents, sincerely to preach the gospell of Christ; whose verite, as it is

invincible, so it is incessantly assailed of faithles false perversers; by reason wherof, they which of dutie ought to fortifie me in mayntenynge the truth, maliciously have conceived a malevolent mynde, causes to maligne against me in such wise, that I was forced (from their tyranny) to appele unto the kyng his honourable counccills; as plainly apperith by the untrue, surmised articles, falsely contrived by the black freer of Haverford West; which thoughte I presented to your mastership, as the acte of his onely doing, yet was it the mayntenans of the bishop, and his ungostly spirituall officers; which is evident by the reward of the bishop to the freer, at his departyng also by his letters directed to Mr. Dean of the Arches, and to doctor Hluy, diligently to sollicite that I myght be suppressed in my just matter: and where they sithe perceive that (praise be to God) under the favour of your righteouse equite, they cannot prevaile against me as they willfully would, yet cease they not wrongfully to vex such as pertayne to me, troblyng them with tyranny for my sake, no such tyranny deserving. As, where of late I sent a servant home about certain busines; immediately after his comyng, the bishop's officers ascited hym to apperance, ransacking his house, forced him to deliver such books as he had; that is to say, an Englishe Testament, the Exposition of the vth and vith chapters of Matthew, the Tenn Commandments, and the Epistle of Saynte John; violently with holding them with vehement reproches, and clamorouse exclamations against heretikes: as if to have the Testament in English were horrible heresie, to no litle dismayng and ferefull discomfort of the sincere favorers of God's word. Moreover, they charged in the kyng's name, the maire of Tynby, in payne of fyve hundredth markes, to put in warde the said poore man, his wiff, and a certain honest widdowe of inculpable fame, with whom they were at host, laying certain articles to their charge which they never thought nor spake, and after most shamefull rumors raysed upp to their dyffamation, with slanderouse wonderment of the towne, all crayfty means assayed to bryng in false witnes, when no accuser would appear openly; as a true certificant under the town's seal largely doth testify; the above-mencioned officers without any charitable satisfaction to the said parties wrongfully imprisoned, bad the maire do with them as he listed; and so thens departyng made their advaunt in places where they came of their valyant actes against hereticks, meaning thereby the favourers of Christ's gospell: in consideration whereof, it may please your singular goodnes to provide a redress, that from the terroure of such tyrannes, the king's faithfull subjects your porre oratoures maye peaceable live according to God's lawes, without any suche unchristen empeschment, and combrose vexations.

Furthermore unfayndly to ascertain your maistership in what perilous case greatly lamentable the king's faithfull subjects, the poore Resians in the dioces of Saynt David, your suppliant oratours are miserably ordered under the clergie, requirith a farre larger processe then here maye conveniently be comprised: for though we have semblably to other dioces, in outwarde auctorite and exterior ceremonies a bishope, a suffrigan, archdeacons, deanes, commissaries, and other bishoplike officers, intituled with spirituall names; also a multitude of mounks, canons, freers, and secular pristes; yet among them all, so many in number, and in so large a dioces, is there not one that sincerely preacheth God's word, nor scarce any that hartely favorith hit, but all utter enemies ther against, whose stubborne resistance cannot last without foward rebellion against the king's graciouse actes established upon the verite of God's word. And concerning the

enormous vices, the fraudulent exactions, the mysordered lying, and heathyn idolatry, shamefully supported under the clergies jurisdiction, which by sequels of their blynd willful ignorance, do consequently follow, no dioces, I suppose, more corrupted, nor so far out of frame, without hope of reformation, except your lordship shall see a redresse, in whom, under the kyng's grace, the trust of all those that meane well onely consistyth. Fynally they abused fashions at length to discover at your commandment; I shall be ready with such certente of truth, that no advirsary shall be able to make contrary denyall; which so performed, it may then please your good mastership to licence me to departe, under the lawfull favour of your protection; without the which, nether can I without perell repair home, nor there in safte contynue, among so odious adversaries of Christ's doctrine, by whose tyranny, that I may not be unjustly opprest, I most humbly beseeche your assistant aide, howbeit no farder then the write of Scripture will justifie my cause; nether for no carnall commodite of any worldly preferment, but all onely for the advancement of Christ's gospell, to the honour of God, who evermore graciously prescarve your mastership in honourable felicitye.

Your humble orateur,

WILLIAM BARLO,
Prior of Haverford-West.

NUMBER XXXIX.

A Letter of Dr. Legh's, concerning their Visitation at York.

[Cott. Lib. Cleop. E. 4, p. 104.]

To Mr. Cromwell, Chief Secretary.

RYGHT worshipful sir, my dewty pre-supposed, this is to advertise you, that master doctor Layton and I, the xith day of January, war with the archbishop of Yorke, whom we according to your pleasure and precepts have visyted: injoyning him to preach and teach the word of God (according to his bownd dewty) to his cure committed unto him, and also in the knowledge concerning the prerogative power the king's grace have, and to see others here in his jurisdiction being induyd with good qualities, having any respect either to God's goodnes, vertue, or godlines, to performe the same, injoyning moreover to him to bring up unto you his first, second, and thirde foundations, wheruppon he enjoyeth his office, and prerogative poore, with the graunts, privileges and concessions given to him, and to his see apperteyning; the which whan that you have red them, and knowe in all points the hole effect of them, I doe not doubt, but that ye shall see and rede many things worthy reformation. By the knowledge whereof, I suppose the king's highnes and you will be glad, and do think it mete that every bishope war in likewise orderyd: then shuld they, them under the governances edifye much in Christ in his doctrine and teachings: and then the poor ignorant persons now by blindnes and ignorance sedusid, might thereby be brought to light and knowledge, wherby they should profit much, the welthe of their own soules, and the commynaltye: and it should be greatly expedient to the conservation of their fidelite toward their prince, and to his grace's succession now begotten, or hereafter to be begotten. Now that I have enformed your mastership of our acts and deeds, done to a good ende, as our opinion serve us, that shall lie in your circumspecte prudencye and wisdom to order all things, as ye shall think to your approved discretion most mete, and to the farderans of the glory

of God, and preservation of the common wealthe, most expedient and necessary. For in the same jurisdictions given heretofore either augmented or diminished, to be ministered to their bishops as wall be thought to your wisdom most convenient; I do not dowght but it shall be much profitable, and commodious both to the king's highnes, and to your mastership, as knoweth God, who ever preserve your mastership. From Yorke the xiiith day of January.

Yours ever assured,

THOMAS LEGH.

NUMBER XL.

A Letter of Tonstall's upon the King's ordering the Bishops to send up their Bulls.—An Original.

[Cott. Lib. Cleop. E. 6, p. 246.]

RIGHT honorable, in my humble maner I recommend me unto your good mastership. Advertising the same, that I have of late receivd a letter from master doctor Layton, declaring unto me that ye willyd him to write unto highnes hath directed his letters missives to all and singular his bishops in this his realme, to appere before his grace immediately after the feast of the Purificacyon next cominge, to the intent that they shall deliver up unto his grace's handes all their bullis of confirmation, or such other like, as they have had from Rome at any time heretofore; yet his grace consideringe my late departure thens, for my more ease and quietnes, is well content that I make mine abode here, so that I write unto his grace a letter, therein declaringe that I will be content to doe as other bishops do in this behalf, and to gife up into his handes all suche bullis as his grace's pleasure is to have of me. Advertising me further, that your mastership, as my great frende hath promised to the king, that I will accomlishe the king's desire and pleasure herin: for whiche your most great kindnes not only shewed unto me many times heretofor, but also nowe renewid at this time, with making of such assurance for me to the king's highnes I most humbly thanke your mastership. Advertising the same, that forasmuch as I could not perceive by any part of master Layton's letters to what intent the king's highnes wold have the said bulles delivered into his handes; and if in my letter to be written unto his grace I shuld mistake his entent, I shuld not only thereby offende his grace, which I would be as lothe to doe as any subject within his realme, but also make him to be displeased with my kinsman, that so blindly had written unto me, and peradventure with your mastership for usinge him for your secretary in this behalf: considering with my self the hole effect of the same, better to be to have my bulles into his hands, thought that most best to send up the said bulles there to be ready to be delivered at his grace's will and pleasure: humbly beseechinge your mastership to move the king's highnes to be good and graciouse soveraigne lord unto me, and to consider if I shuld nowe in my age leif my bishoprich, which I trust his grace of his goodnes meanith not to make me to doe, by demandinge of my bulles to be delivered into his handes, that shuld not only disapoint me of my liffinge, but many other my servants his subjects, that have their liffinge only by me, who if I shuld leve my promotion shuld be thereby destitute of succour; which being my speciall trust that his grace of his inestimable goodnes will have respect unto, and that my mind herein, not to lefe my promotion, is neither ambiciouse nor unreasonable, nor contrary to his grace's entent, I have sent up the said bulles there to be redye, whiche

thinge^e sens that is more then I was willed to doe by master Layton's letter. I have forborne to wryte unto his grace that I wold do that, seinge I do indeed accomplishe his graco's pleasure. Praynge humbly your mastership upon advertisement geffen to the king's highnes, hereof to know his will and pleasure what he will have to be done, and the same so knowne to declare unto this bearer William Redmayn, who therupon shall deliver the said bullys into your hands, or to whom the king's grace will appoynt to receyve them, yf the king's will and pleasure be to have them. Which I doe undoubtedly trustinge that the king's highnes will be as good to me, as he is to other bishops of his realme beinge in like case, seinge I had them by him, and did renounce all things conteynd in them contrary to his prerogative royall, at suche time as I presented to his grace his bull unto him, as that will appere by the othe of my homage remayninge with the said bull in the king's records now beyng in your keeping, as all bishops ever have been accustomed to doe by the laws of this realme heretofore used. The bulles that I do send remayning in my handes concerning my bishopryche be v. in number, the other were delyvered to whom they were directed : one to the king's highnes, an other to my lord cardinal, then being my metropolitan, whose soul God pardone, an other to my late lord of Rochester to take my othe to the bishop of Rome, which I think was sent up to Rome with the othe as hath been accustomed to be done. And so those that I nowe send did remayne still in my handes. And other bulles then these have I noon, humbly beseeching your mastership in all mine affayrs to be good master unto me, and to be meane unto the king's highnes to be good and graciouse soveraigne lorde unto me, and I shall according to my most bounden dewty, daily pray for the preservation of his royall estate longe to endure ; and likewise I shall contynewe daily beedman to your mastership, whom Almighty Jhesu preserve in long life and good healtie to his pleasure and yours. From Aukelande the xxixth day of January.

Your mastershipes's humble beedman,
CUTHBERT DURESME.

NUMBER XLII.

A Letter of the Archbishop of Yorke's, concerning the Suppression of the Monasteries.

[Cott. Lib. Cleop. E. 4, p. 239.]

RIGHT honourable, after my hertiest commendation. According to your request made to me in your letters, I have furthwith upon the receipte of the same, sent commandment to certayne monasteries for beeing with me to Yorke, where I was than; and now I have given commandment to all archdeacons, to warne all monasteries, of less yearly value, than two hundred pound, being within their archdeaconries, that they shall nothing imbecille, ne alien : and if they have, that they shall agayne call such things aliened, or imbecilled, to their hands. Some that were noted to have received some goods of suche monasteries, I called and warned, that they shold in no wise meddle with any such goods ; and that if they had any such, that they shold restore them : and furthermore, if any such goods shall be offred to them, that they shold give me warning. And forbicause most resorte for such propose is to the citie of Yorke, I have warned the majour of Yorke, and other of his brodren thereof, and speciallie the maister of the Mynt, upon their peril and daunger, that they receive no goods of any such monastries. And fether herin I entend to do from time to time, as I shall see nede, and daily do

warn such as do resort to me, that they meddle not with any such goods, that by them this commandment may be the more published, as I trust it shall be now by the archdeacons officials, which be nowe all abroad, and have speciall commandment to sett furthe this propose.

Sir, I entierlie pray you to be good to me, for two places of the patronaige of the archbishops of Yorke, that if you shall thinke upon such considerations as I alledge, that I have reason to sue for them, as you woll help me with your good word, that they be not suppressed. The one of them named Sancte Oswalde's, is not of foundation a monasterie of religious men, but is " Libera Capella Archiepiscopi." No man hath the title in it but the archbishop : the prior therof is removable at my pleasure, and accomptable to me ; and the archbishops may put ther, if he woll, secular prestes, and so wold I have done at my entre, if I had not ther found one of myne acquayntance, whom I judged meete to be there under me. And moreover, the archbishops of Yorke had it given to them by William Rufus, in exchange for reconpense, as well of lands as jurisdiction, taken from them at the coming in of William Conqueror, as appereth in my registres, and other old books. And in the same it appereth, that the said chapell enjoyeth all privileges, like as all other the kinge's free chapells ; for it was some tyme " Libera Capella Regia : " and for the defence of the said privileiges, and jurisdiction ther, my predecessours have alwaies had writts from the king, agaynst all disturbers ; because it is no other but " Libera Capella," and some tyme was the kinge's.

The other is called Hexham, upon the borders of Scotland, and was some tyme " Sedes Episcopalis ; " and many holie men, some time bishops, ther be buried in that church, sainets of name. And wise men, that knowe the borders, think, that the lands therof, although they were ten tymes asmuch, cannot contravaile the damage, that is like to ensue, if it be suppressed. And some waye, there is never a house between Scotland and the lordshipp of Hexham ; and men feare, if the monasterie go down, that in processe all shall be waste muche within the land. And what comfort that monasterie is daylie to the contre ther, and speciallie in tyme of warre, not onlie the contre men do knowe, but also many of the noble men of this realme, that hath done the king's highnes service in Scotland. I dout not, but that the land of that monasterie is better than two hundred pound by year ; as likewise the archbishop's lands, war much better if they laye in a quiet place. Some of my prediceissours have had ther 1300 marcs by year, and now it is (*communibus annis*) undre 250. I entierlie pray you, if you think that I have reason, send for these two, that you woll help me to save them. And as for Hexham, I think it is necessarie to be considred, as (I think) they that knowe the borders woll saie.

Sir, according to the king's commandment, I have generally given commandment, that no prechers shall be suffred, that withoute discretion preche novelties, and (as you right wisely consider'd) do rather some seeds of dissention, than do any good : and some such as I have heard to use such preaching, I have discharged ; and yet they preach : but I make processe agaynst them ; and some of them say, they will get licence of the kyng to preach. If they obtaine any such licence, I then am discharged for them that have such licence. But I trust, that you woll suffer no such licence to pass, but that I shall knowe therof : and what your pleasure is than, if they preach such novelties, I pray you I may know by this bearer. Some say, they have licence of my lord of Canterbury ; but, I trust, they have no such, and if they have,

none shall be obeyde here, but onlie the kyng's and yours. And this in my hertiest maner. Fare you well. From Cawed, the xxiiid of April 1536.

Your own ever assured

EDWARD EBOR'.

NUMBER XLII.

Instructions for sending Barnes and others to Germany.—An Original.

[Cott. Lib. Cleop. E. 6, p. 330.]

MASTER SECRETARY,—After our most hartie commendations, ye shall understand, that having received the letters sent unto you from sir John Wallop, and shewed the same unto the king's majestie, his pleasure thereupon was, that we shuld dispatch these our letters incontinently unto you, concerning the accomplishment and doing of these things ensuing. First, his grace's pleasure, that you shall immediatly (upon the receipt herof) despatch Barnes in post, with Deryk in his company, into Germany, commanding him to use such diligence in his jorneye, that he may and it be possible, meet with Melancton before his aryvall in France: and in case he shall so meet with him, not only to dissuade his going thither; declaring how extremely the French king doth persecute those that will not grante unto the bishop of Rome's usurped power and jurisdiction; using in this parte all persuasions, reasons and means, that he can devise, to empech and let his said jorney thither; laying unto him how much it shold be to his shame and reproch to vary and go nowe from that true opinion wherin he hath so long continued; but also, on the other side, to persuade him all that he may, to convert his said jorney hither, shewing as well the conformitie of his opinion and doctrine here, as the nobilitie and vertues of the king's majestie, with the good ententment which undoubtedly he shall have here at his grace's hands. And if percase the said Barnes shall not meet with him before his aryvall in France, then the said Barnes proceeding himself forth in his jorney towards the princes of Germany, shall (with all diligence) returne in post to king's highnes the said Deryk, with advertisement of the certaintie of the said Melancton cummyng into France, and such other occurrants as he shall then know. And if the said Deryk be not now redy to go with him, the king's pleasure is, that ye shall, in his stede, appoint and sende such one other with the said Barnes as you shall think meet for that purpose.

And when the said Barnes shall arrive with the said princes of Germany, the king's pleasure is, he shall (on his grace's behalf) aswell perswade them to persist and continue in their former good opinion, concerning the deniall of the bishop of Rome's usurped auctoritie, declaring their own honour, reputation, and suretie, to depend therupon; and that they now may better mayntain their said just opinion therein then ever they might, having the king's majestie (one of the most noble and puissant princes of the world) of the like opinion and judgment with them; who having proceeded therein by great advise, deliberation, consultation, and judgments (of the most part) of the great and famous clerks in Christendome, will in no wise relent, vary, or alter in that behalf. Like as the said Barnes may declare and shew unto them, by a booke made by the dean of the chaple, and asmany of the bishop's sermons as you have. Whiche booke you shall receive herwith: the copie wherof, and of the said sermons, you must deliver unto the said Barnes, at his departure, for his better remembrance, and just occasion. To whom also his grace's pleasure is, you

shall shew as much of master Wallop's letter (which we send you also again) as you shall see drawn and market with a penne in the margent of the same. As also exhorte and move them, in any wise to beware how they commit any of their affaires to the order, direction, or determination of the French king, considering he and his counsell be altogether papist, and addict and bent to the maintenance and conservation of the bishop of Rome's pretended auctoritie. Furthermore, the king's pleasure is, ye shall, upon the receipt herof, immediatly cause Mr. Haynes, and Christopher Mount, in post to repair into France, to sir John Wallop, in as secrete maner as they canne; as commyng like his friend, to visit him, and not as sent by the king. And in case they shall (by him or otherwise) lerne and know that Melancton is there arryved; then his grace woll that the said Haynes and Mount shall (in such sort as they be not much noted) reasorte unto him: and for the desuading of the contynuance there, or the alteration of his opinion, and the alluring of him hither, to use suche reasons and persuasions as be before written, with suche other as they canne further devise for that purpose. To the which Haynes and Mount, the king's pleasure is, ye shall delvery like copies of the said dean's booke, and bishop's sermons, to be shewed unto the said Melancton, or otherwise used, as may be most expedient for the atchievment of the king's purpose in that behalfe.

Ye shall also understande that the king's pleasure is, ye shall write to sir John Wallop, and send unto him therwith like copies, willing him, in case he shall have certain knowledge that the articles be true (written in these his letters) concerning the French king's sending into Germany, for the contynuance of the bishop of Rome's pretended supremacy, to repair with the said copies to the French king; and not only to set the same forth, with such reasons as he canne devise in that parte, shewing how much it shall be against his honour, both to give himself subject to the said bishop, and to move other to do the semblable; but also to declare unto him that the king's highnes (remembering his old friendly promises, concerning the mayntenance of his cause, and of his proceedings touching the same) cannot but think it a little strange that the said French king (seeing his majestie hath, in his doings touching the said bishop of Rome, moved neither his nor any prince's subjects) will move and styr the Germaines to condescend upon a contrary opinion, both to themselves and to his grace in this behalfe: and that his majestie must nedes think his amytie much touched in that he shulde move any state or contrey, to do that thing which is so much against the king's highnes and his own promise, using all the wayes he canne to dissuade him from the dishonorable obedience of the said bishops, soe moving him to inclyne to the king's just opinion touching the same.

Finally, the king's pleasure is, ye shall write an other letter to the bishop of Aberden, signifieng that the king's majestie taketh it very unkindly that the king his nephew wold now embrace without his advice or counsaill, being his derest freinde and uncle, and now in leage and amytie with him, the marriage of M. de Vandom's daughter, wherunto he would give non care at his grace's overture hertofo made of the same; in your said letter, imputing a greate negligence therein to the said bishop, and other of his master's counsaill, seeing their master sheweth not, in the doing therof, suche amytie towards the king's highnes as the friendship between them doth require: and to make an ende, his grace woll in no wise that Barnes or Haynes shall tary for any further instructions of the

bishope of Cantorbury, or any other, having his grace determyned to sende the same after, by Mr. Almoner and Hethe; but that he, Mr. Haynes, and Mount, shall withall possible diligence departe immediately in post, without longer taryeng thence for this their dispatche shall be necessary, soe as their abode empeche not the king's purpose touching the said Melancton: and thus fare youe most hartly well, from Langley in much haste, this Monday at iij of the clock, at after noone.

Your lovyng friend, T. NORFOLK.
GEORGE ROCHEFORD.

NUMBER XLIII.

The Smalcaldick League.

[Cott. Lib. Cleop. E. 6, p. 303.]

By the grace of God, we John Frederich duke of Saxony, high marshall of the empire of Rome, and prince elector, lantgrave of Truringie, and marquis of Misne, aswell in our own name as in the name of the noble prince John Ernest, likewise duke of Saxonye, our most belovd brother, Philippe, Ernest, Francis, brethren dukes of Brunswick and Lunenburg; Ulrich duke of Wortenberg, and in Deck, erle in Montbel-yard; Philipp lantgrave of Hessen, erle of Catts in Dietz, Zigenham and Nyer; Berminus and Philip, dukes of Stetin, Pomern, Cassaburn, Wenden, princes of Rug, erles in Guskun; Wolfgang John, George, and Joachim, brethren princes in Anhalt, erles of Ascanion, and lords in Bernburg; Gebhard and Albert, brethren, erles and lords in Mansfeld; the consules, decurions, tribunes, senate, and people of the within-named cities of the High-Germany, Saxon, and Hanse, or on the see—that is to say, Argentina, Augusta, Frankford, Constantia, Ulme, Esling, Rentling, Memingia, Linde, Bibrac, Isua, Magdeburgh, Breme, Brunswick, Goslaria, Hamibria, Gottingia, Embeck, Hamburgha, Lubeck, and Myndia, do profess by these our letters, in the name of us, our heyres and successors, and do signifie to all men that seen the state of this season, is every where very perillouse, and appereth so, that many men are about and practisc to disturbe, such as do cause and suffer the syncere doctrine of the gospell to be preached and taught in their dukedoms, provinces, cities, and territories (by the grace of God), and which (abolishing all abuses) doe studie to bring in ceremonies consenting to the word of God: and efforce them selfs to divert them from Christ's doctrine; yea, by force and violence; and seen also that the office of every Christian magistrate is not only to suffer that the syncere worde of God be preached to his subjects; but also, with all his studye, care, and sollicitude to provide (to his power) that the wholesome doctrine of the gospell and the truth, onse known and professed, be not violently extorted, and they deprived of the same; for this cause we doe knowledg that it is our most dutie and necessitie, of the offices of our magistrate, in case nowe or hereafter it shuld happen, that any man wold attempt and assay to divert us, or our subjects, by force or dede, from the worde of God, and the truth known; and to bring in again and restore the ungodlie ceremonies and abuses already abolished (which God by his good clemence woll forbyd, as we trust that no man woll attempt such thing), for to represse such violence and perill from the bodys and souls of us and our subjects, by the grace of God, and for to excuse and avoid the same to the praise of God, to the augmentation of the syncere doctrine of the gospell, and to the conservation of the uniform estate, tranquillite, and honestie publick, in the empire, for

the love of the nation of Alemayne; and also for the commendation, honour, and good of our dukedoms, provinces, lordships, and cities, onely to provide for the cause of our defence and tuicion; the which is permitted to every man, not onely by the lawe of nature and of men, but also by the law written. Therefore we have assembled and concluded to give and be bound eche to other of a Christian, lawfull and friendly leage and confederation, and by the vertue, fource, and reason of this our letters, we agree, conclude, and bynde our selfs eche to other upon a confederation, with the conditions that followeth, that is to say, that all and every of us shall be bound to favour eche other hartely and truely, and to warne eche other of all imminent danger, and to avoid it; and that noon of us, openly or secretly, shall willingly give passage to the enemy, or adversaries of the other, nor to warn or support them.

And because this confederation is onely made for cause of our tuicion and defense, and not to the entent that any of us shall move warr, if ther shall happen any of us, whatsoever he be, to be violently assawted for the word of God, the doctrine of the gospell and our faith, or for such other causes as do depend of the word of God, the doctrine of the gospell, or our faith, or be annexed thereunto; or if under any other pretext or colour, there shuld be any violence attempted against any of us, and that we the rest, which shuld not then be invaded myght thinke and judge that such werr, or violence, shuld be moved for the cause of the word of God, or of the religion; and that he to whom the werr or violence is imminent, wold permitt it to our knowledge, arbitracion, and decisoon; that then we all the rest of this confederation, and every of us, that be comprehended in this Christen confederation shall be bound to take no lesse to herte, and take in hand as diligently to provide for the same, incontinently as such persons that be invaded, shall require our help, or that we shall knowe it (with all our power), as though we shuld be assawted our selfs, and for our own proper cause: and therefore without any delaye, and without any decepte or gyle, without taryeng for any other, with all our might and power, we shall be bound to succour, defend, and helpe him that shall be assawted, after such form and manner as for the qualitie and circumstances of the thing and the tyme it shall be adjudged most util and most commodiouse to the rest of us; and like as the fidelite and charite to be given and shewed to the neighbors upon his conscience and salut shall teach him, and that we shall truely administer and deale oon with another. And that in such case never oon of us shall agree, compound, or make any transaction or trewes without the assent and will of the rest.

Also that this our Christen confederation shall be taken and understanden to be in no wise prejudicial or hurtfull to the emperor's majestie, our clementissime lord; nor to any state of the empire, or any other: but onely for the conservation of the doctrine and truth of the gospell, and of the peace and tranquillite in the empyre and Alemayn's nation, and to withstand wrongfull violence from us and our subjects and allies; and onely in case of defence, and in such case as every of us may hear and suffer the just knowlege and decision of his own cause as is aforesaid, and none other wise; and if any man wol be joyned to this our confederation, which is not comprehended in it already, so that he be dedicate to the worde of God, and shall permitte the syncere doctrine of the gospell, conformable to our confession, exhibited to the emperor's majestie, and to all the orders of the empire in the assemble at Augsburg, freely to be preached, taught, and kept in his lands, province, and dominions, and

woll constantly styck to the same doctrine, he or they ought to be ascribed and receyved in this confederation, by the assent and will of us all.

And bycause that Christen confederation, which shall be finished the Sunday invocavit, the year of our Lord 1537, hath lasted the other six years last past, between us, excepted us Ulrich, duke of Wertemberg, &c. and us Bernim and Philipp, dukes of Pomeran; us John, George, and Joachim, princes of Anhalt; and the cities of Augsburgh, Frankford, Kempt, Hamibra, and Mynda; we, at their friendly and diligent petition, have receyved them into this our confederation, and we do bynde our selfs eche to other agyn, that this Christen leage shall be proroged and extended, begynning from the said Sunday invocavit 1537, by the space of ten yeres next ensuyng, as this Christen leage by the ten yeres next ensuyng ought to be kept and proroged constantly, syncerely, and bona fide, by us and every of us, without any frawde or malign.

And if it shall happen us to entre werre with any man for the doctrine of the religion, or any other cause depending of the same that shuld not be finished within the space of the said ten yeres, yet nevertheless, although the said time of ten yeres be utterly expired, yet the said expedition shall be continued and prosecuted, and the werre brought to an ende; and that then it shall not be lawfull for any of the confederates to exempte him of the same, nor hope upon exemption, and from that tyme it shall be lawfull for the confederats to protract and prolong this confederation, if they shall so think good.

We the foresaid electors and princes, erles and magistrats of cities by interposition of our feith instead of an other do promise and take upon us, for us, and for our heires constantly and perpetually to observe and performe all and singular the premisses truly and syncerely as it behoveth princes and good men. And that we shall nor doe, nor procure any thing in any wise to be done against this leage and confederation: but in all points shall deale and procede truly and syncerely without any frawde or malengin. And for more credence and confirmacion of all and every those things, every of us the said electors, princes, erles, and cities, in the name of us our highnes and successors, have caused our seales wittingly and willingly to be sett to these presents, which have been given the yere of the nativite of our Savyor Jesus Christ, 1536.

NUMBER XLIV.

Propositions made to the King, by the German Princes.

[Paper Office.]

The Petition and Request of the Right Noble Princes, Duke John Frederike, Elector of Saxe, and Philip the Lantgrave of Hesse, to the most Noble Kyng of England; exhibited at Smalcaldia, to the most Reverende Bishop of Hereford, and other the Ambassadors of the Kyng's most Royall Majestie, upon the present Day of the Natyvite of our Lord, Anno Dom. 1536.

1. *Item.* THAT the said most noble king wolde set fourth the Evangelie of Christe, and the syncere doctrine of the faith after such sort as the princes and states confederates have confessed in the dyet of Augusta, and the same defended, according to their appologie and purgation made: except parcase some things therein shall seme, by the common assent of the said most noble kyng, and the said princes, necessarie to be changed or reformed by the word of God.

2. *Item.* That the saide most noble king, joyning with the said princes and stats confederats, wold maynteyne and defende the saide doctrine of the Evangelie, and the ceremonys conforme to the same, at the future generall counsaill, if it shall be pious, catholique, free and mere Christien.

3. *Item.* That neither the saide most noble king, without the express consent of the said princes and stats confederats, nor the same princes and stats confederats, without the express consent of the saide most noble king, shall assent nor agree to any indiction or appoyntment of a generall counsell, which the bishop of Rome, that now is, or hereafter shall be, or any other, by whatsoever pretended autorite, doth, or shall make and appoynt: nor yet shall consent to any place, where the future generall counsaill shall be had, nor to the counsaill it self; but that all those thyngs may be ordered and done, by the mutuall assent and counsaill of the said most noble king and princes confederat. Provided nevertheless, that if it shall appere certeynly, by just arguments and reasons, such a Christien, free, generall counsaill, to be indicted and appoynted, as the confederats, in their answer to the bishop of Rome's ambassador, named Peter Paule Verger, do desire, that such a counsell be not to be refused.

4. *Item.* If it shall happen that (the saide most noble king, and princes, and stats confederats, not agreeing upon the place, nor the indiction of the counsaill) the bishop of Rome, and other princes conjoynd with hym in that cause, will nevertheless procede to the celebration of a counsaill, or rather of the appoyntment of the place wherunto the saide most noble king, and princes, and stats confederat shall not agree; that then, and in that case, aswell the saide king, as the said princes and stats confederat, shall chieflie (to their power) endeavor and compass, that the same indiction may be utterly avoyded, and take noon effecte.

5. *Item.* And furthermore, that they shall make, and semblably procure to be made, by their clargy, their publick and solempne protestacions, wherby they shall testefie and declare, both the synceryte of their faith, and also that they do utterly dissent from such manner of communication and indiction; and that they will not be bounde to the decrees or constitutions of the same counsaill (if any such counsaill do folowe in dede), nor in any manner of wise obey the same hereafter.

6. And also, that they shall not at any tyme obey, nor suffer to be obeyed by any of theirs, any decrees, mandats or sentences, bulles, letters, or briefs, which shall procede, or be fulmyne from such a counsaill, so indicted and celebrate cyther in the name of the bishop of Rome himself, or of any other potentate whatsoever; but shall have and repute all such maner of rescriptes, decrees, bulles and breves, as voyde, inane and frustrate; and shall declare, that so they ought to be reputed and taken. And also for the remotion of all slaunder, shall procure their bishopes and preachers, to declare the same to the people really, and with effect.

7. *Item.* That the said most noble king, like as by the grace of God he is associated to the said princes and stats confederat in the doctrine of Christ, and the defence of the same; so also he woll vouchesauf, upon honourable conditions, to be associate unto the leage of the same princes and stats, so as his most nobel majestie may obtaine the place and name of defensor and protector of the said leage.

8. *Item.* The neyther the said most noble king, nor the saide princes and stats confederat, shall knowledge, maintain nor defend, at any tyme hereafter, that

the primacie, or that the monarchie of the bishop of Rome, may at this day take place, or ever shall, by God's lawe; nor shall consent nor graunt, that it is either utile or expedient to the comen welth of Christendom, that the bishop of Rome shuld have preemynence afore all other bishops, or in any maner of wise have any jurisdiction at all, in the realmes, kyngdoms, or domynions of the saide king and princes.

9. *Item.* If it shall happen, that war, or any other contention, either for the cause of religion, or for any other cause besides this cause, shall be inferred or moved against the said most noble king, his realmes, domynions or subjects, by whatsoever prince, state or people, or also against the said right noble princes or stats confederat; that in that case, neither of the said parties shall give ayde, helpe, nor socours against the other partie, nor shall assist the prince, nor the people so invading or moving warre, neither with counsaill, helpe nor favour, dyrectly nor indirectly, prively nor apertely.

10. *Item.* That the said most noble king would vouchsaufe, for the defense of the said leage and most honest and holie cause, to conferre to and with the said princes, geiving suretie (as within is added) to lay fourth and contribute one hundreth thousande crownes. Which money, it shall be lawfull to the confederats to use and employ wher nede shall be, in cause of defense, for the moytee or halfe parte thereof. The other moytee they shall take of the same money, which they have leyed fourth, and contributed to the same sum.

11. And if need shall be of contynuall and dayly defence, for the contynuance of the warre, or invasion of adversaries; in that case, forasmuch as the princes and confederates be not only bound unto further collacion and contribucion of money, but also to the mutual defence with their bodies and goods; it may please the saide most noble king, not to be greved in so urgent a cause of necessity, also to contribute more, that is to say, two hundreth thousande crownes; which money, nevertheless, for the halfe parte, the confederates may employe together with their own money. And if it happen the warre to be soner ended, then that that shall remain, shall be justly reserved, and (the tyme of the confederation fynshed) shall be restored to the saide most noble kinge.

12. Which if the said most noble king will do, the princes do promise themselves, with their sufficient sureties, to assure not onlie that they shall not convert this money to any other use than to the defence of the leage and cause of religion, together with their owne money which they in such a confederation do contribute, but also that entirely and faithfully they shall paye and restore unto the said most noble king the same summ, which either when ther shall be no need of defence, or (after the defence) shall remain and be left, in case it shall not be employed to that use.

13. *Item.* That for as much as the ambassadors of the said most noble king shall now for a tyme remayne in Germany, and, with the lerned men in holy letters, dispute and commun of certeyn articles; the princes do desire, that they woll shortly inquire, and knowe their most noble king's mind and resolution, in the conditions of the said leage; and when they shall be certified, to signifie the same unto us the elector of Saxe, and lantsgrave of Hesse.

14. Which when they have done, the princes will send in their (and the stats confederats' names) ambassadors to the said most noble king, and amongst them one excellently lerned, not onely to conferre with his royall majestie upon the articles of Christ's doctrine, and to deliberate upon the cere-

monies, and other things in the church, to be changed, ordered and reformed, but also to comment and conclude upon all the articles, of the which we have spoken with the king's most royall majesty, in the name of the confederats.

NUMBER XLV.

The Answer of the King's most Noble Majestie of Englande, to the Petitions and Articles lately addressed to his Highnes, from the Noble Prynces, John Frederike Duke of Saxe, Elector, &c. and Philip Lantsgrave van Hesse, in the names of them, and all their Confederates.

[Paper Office.]

1. THE said most noble king answereth. That his majestie will, and bathe of long tyme mynded to set fourth the Evangelie of Christe, and the trew sincere doctrine of the same, out of which springeth and floweth our trew faith, whiche to defende he is most redy both with life and goods; but to say, that he being a king reckened somewhat lerned, (though unworthy,) having also so many excellent well lerned men within this realme, thinketh it mete to accept at any creature's hands the observing of his and his realme's faith, thonlye grounde wherof remayneth in Scripture, surely he doth not; and requiereth his entier frends herewith not to be greved: but his highnes is right well contented, and much desireth, that for unyte in faith and articles, to be made uppon the same, it wolde please his saide confederats and frends, to sende hither some of their best lerned men, to conferre and conclude, with him and his lerned men, to the intente to have a parfaiete concorde and unyon in faith amongst us. In which his highnes doubteth not, but at such tyme as when their deputs shall come, they shall fynde the most towardnes in the king, and in his realme.

To the seconde, his highnes answereth, that he is content to employ himself, joyntly with the said confederats, in all generall counsailes, they being "Catholici et Liberi, in loco etiam omni parte tuto," for the defence of their mere and trew doctryns of the gospell, according to their desires. But as touching the ceremonies, there may be different rites, and such dyversite used in dyvers domynyons, "fere per totum mundum," that it will be harde to conclude anye certentie in them. Wherfore his highnes thinketh it mete, that the order and limitacion of them shoulde be left to the arbitrees of the governours of everye domynyon, supposing that every of them can tell what is most comodious for his owne domynyons.

To the thirde, his majestie answereth, that he is contented, that neyther his highnes (without the express consent of the said princes and stats confederate), nor the same princes and stats confederate (without the express consent of his highnes) shall assent nor agree to any indiction of a generall counsaile, or to any generall counsaile, which the bishop of Rome that now is, or that hereafter shall be, or any other by whatsoever pretended auctorytee, doth, or shall make, enter, presume, or begynne, or cause to be made, entered, presumed, or begon, but that they neyther shall consent to any place of the future counsaile, nor to the counsaile selfe, except it be by their mutual consents assented and agreed unto; provided nevertheless, that if it shall appear certainly by just arguments and reasons both to his majestie and the said confederats, that a Chrestien free counsaile may be indicted, "in loco etiam omni parte tuto," that then that counsaile shall not be by him, or them, refused.

The 4th, 5th, and 6th articles his highnes is con-

tent to accept in every point, according to their own devises.

To the 7th his grace answereth, that he doth moste fully accepte their good overture therein, by the which they declare their good inclynacion and hertie good will towarde his highnes; nevertheless, his majestie desireth them to take in good parte, that he doth not accepte the saide name and place, till he be throughlie agreed with them upon the articles before rehearsed; which ones agreed on, his highnes entendeth most thankfully to accept the same.

The 8th article his majestie is content to accepte according to their own desire.

9th, Also his highnes agreeth, so that they wold adde therunto, that in that case of warre, neyther partie shall suffer or permytte any of their subjects or servants to serve them, that in such wise shall by any warre molest any of them.

To the 10th his majestie answereth, that for the warres already by past, he being in no confederacion with them, thinketh it very strange, and somewhat unreasonable, that they should of his highnes require any ayde or assistance; but in case that this confederacion now spoken of do take effecte, and that the contynuance of warres seme to be necessary, by their mutual consents, for the supporting of their faith against their adversaries, and therefore the confederats being also bound to contrIBUTE for their parts, every man for his porcion as shall be thought necessary amongst us; his highnes will be content for his parte, in declaracion of his loving harte to them, to contribute 100,000 crowns, the tyme, and place, and facion, for the employment of the same, ones bytween his grace and them agreed on; provided that in case that eyther there shall be no warre made to any of the parts for the same, or that it shall be sooner ended then shall be looked for, that then the hole, or that part left and remayning, shall be fully and trewly *bonâ fide* restored unto his highnes, whensoever he shall demande or require the same.

The 11th his majestie doth accepte, according to their owne offer.

The 12th his highnes also agreeth unto.

To the 13th (*two lines torn out*) agreed unto the most part of the articles, they will now according to their own offer, with all speed and diligence, send hither their ambassadors plenaryly instructed to comon, agree, and conclude with his majestie in all things that shall be comoned of, and treated betwixt his highnes and them.

NUMBER XLVI.

The Answer of the King's Ambassadors, made to the Duke Saxon, and the Landgrave of Hesse.

[Cott. Lib. Cleop. E. 4, p. 104.]

FIRST, that his highnes, aswell by his ambassadors as their letters from Smalkald, doth perceive two things; the one is their gratitude and benevolence towards his majestie, and that they desire the continuance between their progenitors inviolably observed to be increased; the other is not only their great constance in the setting forth of the trueth of the gospel that was darkened afore, but also that they exhorte his grace to the defence of the same, which be most acceptable to his highnes, and thanketh them aswell for his behalfe, as also for the behalfe of all Christendom, knowing the greates benefite of God in giving the sayd princes such stedfastness and strength; and that his majestie willed to be shewed unto them that their wondrous vertues have so ravished and drawn his mind to thair love, that his highnes feled a

greates encrease to thair unitie, in such wise, that he is determined fully never to passe the occasion, without correspondence of love, nor any occasion that he shall think may conduce in any wise to their good myndes and godly proceedings, and for to declare his minde to the articles of your petition.

The 3d, 4th, 5th, 6th, 8th, 9th, 11th, 12th, and 13th articles do please his majesty well ynough; and although there be some things in them that his grace would grante easely to no manner princes, were they never so greates; yet nevertheless his highnes, for his affection towards them, thinking that they meane nothing els but the reformation of the church, which his majestie for his parte desireth much, and desireth to joyne with them in the same; in these articles his majestie desireth that only the 3d and 4th article be more amply declared; that is to say,

The 3d article by these wordes: *Item*, That nether the king's highnes without the assent of the princes and stats confederate, nor they without his grace's assent, shall agree to the indiction of any counsaile, that the bishop of Rome, that now is, or any other whatsoever auctoryte, may pretende: and that also nether of the said parties shall agree upon the place of a councile to be had, without the agreement of the other expressly to be given, but that the same be done by the mutuall assent of his grace, the said princes and estats. Provided nevertheless, that if all they shall perceive a lawfull and Christien free concile to be indicted in some sure and indifferent place, that then nether of them both parties shall refuse the saide concile.

To the 9th article his highnes would have added, that nether of both parties shall permitt any of their servants or subjects to be in solde against the other part, nor to helpe directly, or indirectly, such as wolde invade or enterprise against them.

As to the 1st, 2d, 7th, and 10th articles, his grace answered, to the 10th his majesty sayeth, that he doubteth not but the said confederats do well think and know that his grace is moved in his mind by no more private necessitie, that he or his realm have, nor any private profite to joyne with the said confederats in leage and defense, for he and his realme is in good peace; and knoweth not that the bishop of Rome, the emperor, or any other prince pyketh any quarrel with him, and that much lesse warre; and although his grace feared some hostilitie of them, nevertheless by the death of a woman, all calumnies be extincted; and to the entent the confederats might know his grace's good affection towards them, and to the reformation of the church, and abolicion of abuses, his grace signifieth unto them, that he wold in no wise refuse thair petition, but willingly contribute for his parte 100,000 crownes for the defence of the leage, in case that the confederation between the said confederats and his grace to be made, shall be brought to any effect. And for other appendances of this article, as touche sufficient surtie, *Item*, that the half of the monaye by them contributed shuld be spent, or ever they touched his grace's monaye. *Item*, concerning the forme and maner to deposite and spend the same. *Item*, to make his highnes prevey of the same, that on thair behalfe shall be contributed, and of the necessitie where abouts it shold be spent; and that all things may be done by common advise and assent, because the same do require long treatie; therefore his grace referreth the same to his orators, and to such of thairs as by the 13th article they desire to send, his grace desireth the said princes to send them fully instructed, and with sufficient power and auctorite to treat with his highnes, not doubting but they shall have reasonable and friendly answer.

To the 1st, 2d, and 7th articles his majesty hath

veray acceptable and agreeable, the honour they have thought to deferre unto him, as above all princes, to call him to be protector and defender of their religion, which is a declaration of the certain benevolence and trust that they have in his majestie; and although his majestie knoweth what envy and danger foloweth such title, yet nevertheles his highnes is so desirous to do them pleasure, and to the glory of the gospell, his grace is content to accept the same honour, after that between his and their orators' agreement, shal be had upon the 1st and 2d articles, for it shuld not be sure nor honourable for his majestie, before they shall be with his grace agreed upon certain concorde of doctrines, to take such a province upon his highnes; and forasmuch as his majestie desireth much that his bishops and learned men might agree with theirs, but seen that it cannot be, ones certain thinges in their confession and apologie shuld by their familiar conferencies be mitigate, his grace therefore would the orators and some excellent learned men with them shuld be sent hither, to conferre, talke, treatate and comon upon the same, according to the 13th article.

Now that his highnes by the same answers sheweth unto them his good harte, trusting that they will be of correspondence, therunto his majestie desireth three thinges of them of no great coste nor difficultie.

First, that in case any king, prince, or other, would invade his majestie or dominions for the same, or for the cause of the religion, that then they woll furnishe him at their expences 500 horsemen armed of all peeces, or 10 ships well arrayed for the warre, to serve his majestie by the space of four hole monethes by land or by sea, and that it shall be at his grace's choyse to have horsemen or shippes, and that such as his grace shall chuse, shall be sent to him, within a month after the requisition thereof.

Second, That besides the same, that they shall retheyn at his majesties costs and chardges, such number of horsemen and footmen as his highnes shall require; so that the horsemen passe not the number of two thousand, and the footmen the number of five thousand, or for the said footmen, 12 ships in good order furnished with men, harneys, ordynances, victuells and other things necessarie; and that the king's majestie maye hyre them, retheyne at his wages as long as it shall please his grace; and it shall be as his majesties choyse to have the said 12 ships, or the said number of horsemen and footmen, and that such as his majestie shall choyse maye be redye within two moneths after his requisition.

Thirde, That the sayd confederats woll take upon them in all conciles hereafter, and every where ells, to promote and defend the opinion of the reverend fathers, Dr. Martin, Justus Jonas, Cruciger, Pomeran, and Melancthon, in the cause of his grace's marriage.

NUMBER XLVII.

A Letter writ to the King by the Princes of the Smalcaldick League.—An Original.

[Cott. Lib. Cleop. E. 6, p. 283.]

SERENISSIME REX, Postquam Romanus Pontifex, Paulus Tertius, Generalem Synodum Mantuæ celebrandam, et inchoandam die vicessimo tertio Maij, indixit, misit ad nos Invictissimus Imperator Carolus Quintus Clementissimus Dominus noster, Oratorem suum, ut ad Indictionem illam Concilij ipsi veniamus, vel Procuratores nostros mittamus.

Etsi autem nos ex animo semper optavimus, ut Synodus, rebus deliberatis, emendationem abusuum atque errorum, qui diu jam in Ecclesia hærent, insti-

tueret, etiam adversus illos ipsos pontifices et prælatos, quorum partim Negligentia, partim Cupiditatibus, vitia illa in Ecclesiam irrepserunt: Tamen Bulla, in qua Paulus Pontifex Concilium indicit, non obscure testatur, Pontificem (cum suis conjunctis) nequaquam passurum esse; ut in Synodo, de restituenda vera Doctrina, et corrigendis Abusibus atq; Erroribus, agatur. Sed quemadmodum ab ipso, et quibusdam suis Antecessoribus Doctrina, quam confessi sumus, sine ulla Cognitione, aut Examinatione Generalis, liberæ, et Christianæ Synodi, temerè, et cum Contumelia Evangelij, damnata est; Ita ostendit se Paulus Pontifex, hæc Præjudicia, Prætextu Synodi confirmaturum esse: Et conatur sibi ipsa receptione Bullæ, obligare omnes Reges et Potentatos, ut ipsi quoque assentiantur illis Prejudiciis, et omissa cognitione, se ad Piam et Catholicam Doctrinam, et in Evangelio clarè traditam, quam profitemur extirpandam, et armis delendam conjungant. In hanc Indictionem si consensissemus, visi essemus hæc Præjudicia confirmare et Doctrinam Ecclesiæ Romanæ et Doctrinam nostrorum Testimonio nostro condemnare. Itaque Oratori Cæsariæ Majestatis, verè, et bona fide commemoravimus, quare nobis illa Indictio Concilij, iniqua, et perniciosa Ecclesiæ videatur; ac petivimus, ut Cæsariæ Majestati, Excusationem nostram justam, et consentaneam, Juri scripto et naturali, quare in illam Indictionem non consenserimus, exponat.

Non dubitabamus, aut quin Romanus Pontifex, et hi quos habet conjunctos, se excusaturi essent apud Regiam Dign. V. tanquam Pontifex fecerit suum Officium, ac ostenderit se voluisse recte consulere Ecclesiæ; nos vero oneraturi Invidia, quasi communi Utilitati deesse velimus. Quare necessarium nobis visum est, Causas, propter quas Indictionem illam iniquissimam, et insidiarum ac periculi plenam recusavimus, Regiæ Dignitati vestræ, et cæteris Regibus et Principibus significare, ut adversariorum Calumniis, et aliorum Suspicionibus occurreremus.

Itaque, ut Regia Dignitas vestra Causas illas verè et integrè intelligere possit, rogamus, propter Gloriam Christi, ut Regia Dignitas V. nostram Excusationem, quam publicatam his Literis adjecimus, perlegat. qua in re non solum periculo moveatur multorum in Germania Populorum, quib. Regiam Dignitatem V. optimè velle speramus, sed etiam cogitet, hanc nostram Causam ad communem Salutem Ecclesiæ pertinere, in qua cum Disciplinam multis in rebus collapsam esse constet, et paulatim receptos esse abusos non dissimulandos, diu multi, magni, et præstantes Viri, Emendationem optaverunt et flagitarunt. Non dubitamus, aut quin Regia Dignitas V. etiam ex alio cupiat Ecclesiæ Christi quemadmodum Deus hoc Officium, præcipuè à summis Principibus requirit, omni Ope, et omnibus Viribus consulere. Proinde et communem Ecclesiæ Causam, et nos ipsos diligentur commendamus Regiæ Dignitati V. et nostra Officia, cum summa Observantia, Reg. Dignitati vestræ deferimus. Bene et feliciter valent Regia Dignitas Vestra. Datæ vij. Calend. April. Anno Domini M.D.XXXVII.

Dei Beneficio, Joannes Fredericus Dux Saxonie, Sacri Romani Imperij Archimareschallus ac Princeps Elector, Lantgravius Turingiæ, et Marchio Mysie.

Et Philippus Lantgravius Hassiæ, Comes Cat-torum Diek, Zygenhaim, et Nidde, suo et aliorum, Principum Statuum, et Civitatum Imperij Germanicæ Nationis, Nomine, puram Evangelij Doctrinam profitentium.

Serenissimo Principi, Domino Henrico ejus Nominis Octavo, Britannicæ et Franciæ Regi, Domino Hiberniæ, Domino Cognato, et Amico nostro Carissimo.

NUMBER XLVIII.

Crommer's Letter to Cromwell, complaining of the Ill-Treatment of the Ambassadors from Germany.

[Cott. Lib. Cleop. E. 5. p. 212.]

MY very singuler good lorde, in my most hertie wise I recommend me unto your lordship. And where that the oratours of Germany, when thei granted to tary one moneth, required that we should go furth in their booke, and entreate of the abuses, so that the same myght be set furth in wryting as the other articles arr: I have syns effectuously moved the bishops therto, but they have made me this answer; that thei knowe, that the king's grace hath taken upon hymself to answer the said oratours in that behalf, and therof a booke is alredie divised by the king's majestie; and therefore they will not meddell with the abuses, lest thei should write therein contrarye to that the king shall write. Wherefore thei have required me to entreate now of the sacraments of matrimony, orders, confirmation, and extreme unction; wherein thei knowe certeynly that the Germanes will not agree with us, excepte it be in matrymonee onely. So that I perceyve, that the bishops seek only an occasion to breke the concorde; assuring your lordship, that nothing shall be done, unles the king's grace speciall commandmente be unto us therein directed. For they manifestly see, that they cannot defend the abuses, and yet they wold in no wise grant unto them. Farther, as concernyng the oratours of Garmanye, I am advertised, that thei are very evill lodged where thei be: for besides the multitude of ratts, daily and nyghtly runnyng in thair chambers, which is no small disquietnes; the kechyn standeth directly against their parlar, where they daily dine and sup; and by reason therof, the house savereth so yll, that it offendeth all men that come into it. Therefore, if your lordship do but offer them a more commodious house to demore in, I doubt not, but that they accept that offer most thankfully, albeit I am suer that they will not remove for this tyme. And wheras of late I did put your lordship in remembrance, for the suppression of the abbey of Tudberye; now I beseech your lordship, not only that commissionours may be sent unto that house, but also in likewise unto the abbey of Rocester, or Crookedsom; beseeching your lordship to be good lorde unto this brer Frances Basset, my servant, for his preferment unto a leace of one of the said houses; not doubting but you shall prefer a right honest man, who at all tymes shall be able to do the king's grace right good service in those partes, and also be at your lordship's commandment during his life. Thus Almighty God have your good lordship in his blessed tuytion. At Lambeth, the xxiiij daye of Auguste.

Your own ever assured

T. CANTUARIEN'.

NUMBER XLIX.

The Earl of Northumberland's Letter to Cromwell, denying any contract, or Promise of Marriage, between Queen Anne and Himself.—An Original.

[Cott. Lib. Otho. C. 10.]

MR. Secretary, this shall be to signifie unto you, that I perceyve by sir Raynold Carnaby, that there is supposed a precontract between the queen and me; wherupon I was not only heretofore examined upon my oath before the archbishops of Canterbury and York, but also received the blessed sacrament upon the same before the duke of Norfolk, and other the

king's highnes' council learned in the spirituall law; assuring you, Mr. Secretary, by the said oath, and blessed body which afore I received, and hereafter intend to receive, that the same may be to my damnation, if ever there were any contract, or promise of marriage between her and me. At Newyngton-Green, the xiiijth daye of Maye, in the 28th year of the reigne of our soveraigne lord king Henry the VIIIth.

Your assured,

NORTHUMBERLAND.

NUMBER L.

A Letter, giving Pace an Account of Propositions made to King Henry by Charles the Vth.

[Paper Office.]

TRUSTY and right wel-beloved, we grete you well, lating you wit, that on Tuesday last passed, repaired to our maner of Greenwich unto us, the emperor's ambassador here resident, and on his master's behalf, pretending a desire to renew the old amytie that hath been between us, testified nevertheles by letters of credence sent from the said emperor to our trusty and right wel-beloved counsailler, Thomas Cromwell, our principal secretary, which of long season hath been interrupted, made unto us for the advancement of suche a renovation certain overtures: the first was, that he wold be a means to have a reconciliation between us and the bishop of Rome: an other, that we would ayd him with some contributions in his entended voyage against the Turk: the third, that forasmuch as by a certain leage passed between us, it is covenanted and agreed, that in case either of us shuld be invaded in any of our realmes, dominions, or seigniories, which we have in possession, the other shuld ayd in such form, as in the said leage is expressed, at the costs and expences of the prince requiring the same, and that there is a greate appearance that the French king wil now invade him in the duchie of Millain, we wold grant him such ayd for his defence against the said French king, as in the said leage is limited. To the said masse and substance of his credence, tending to a renovation of amytie, ye shall understande our answer was, that albeit the interruption and disturbance therof, hath proceeded holly on the emperor's behalf, who for our friendship in suche wise heretofore shewed unto him, in making him king of Spayn, in making him emperor, whenne the empire was at our dispoicion, in lending him our money, that he may only thank us for the honour he is now advanced unto, hath nevertheless for his reciproque shewed unto us, all the ingratitude he could devise, both in contempnyng, as it were, a friendship, when we have done more for his satisfaction in our proceedings then needed, and in procuring what displeasure and injury he could against us, at the bishop of Rome's hand, as by credible reports we have known and lerned; yet such is our zeal to unytie, concord, and quiet amongs Christian princes, and such is our princely nature, that as we canne continue our displeasure to no man, if he do ones remove the cause therof: so if he which is a prince of honor, and a personage whom we ones chose, and thought worthie for his vertue and qualites to be advanced, will by his express writing, eyther desire us to put his doings towards us in oblivion, or by the same purge himself, and declare that such things as we have noted unkindnes in at his hande, hath been unjustly, and without his desert, imputed unto him, we shall embrace his overture touching this renovation; but we plainly said and offered, that seing we had susteyned the injury, we could not be a suiter for the reconciliation, nor

treat with his master of such appendents for aydes, as be before expressed, or any such like, unless our amyties shuld be first symple, and without all manner of conditions renoveled; which parte, if he will first accomplish, he shuld not need to doubt, but to all his reasonable desires to be made after, he shall have as friendly and reasonable answer, as between friends in the highest degree of friendship can be required. Touching the bishope of Rome, we declare unto him, that as we have not proceeded upon so sleight and slender grounds, as we wold revoke, alter, or change any peece of our doings; having in all causes made our foundations upon the laws of God, nature, and honestie, and established all our works made upon the same, by the consent of all the states of our realme, in open and high court of parliament, so considering there hath been some means made unto us by the bishop himself for such a reconciliation, which we have not yet embraced, it shuld not be expedient to have it compassed by any other means; nor we could take as in good parte, or think that the emperor shuld earnestly mind a reconciliation, and a renovation of our amyties, if for the satisfaction of the bishop of Rome our enemye, he shuld move us to aliter any one thing that we have here determynd contrary to his purpose, and pretended autoritie. To his request for aid against the Turk, was answered, that we could give no certain resolution, because the affaires of Christendom be not quiet, but in case their may ensue between christen princes an universall reconciliation, concord, and agreement, we shall not fayle in that matter to doe for our parts, that to the office of a christien prince appertaineth: finally to his desire for ayd against the French king, we said it shuld be convenient that our amytie shuld be first renewed, and certainly established, before we shuld treat of any suche appendants; and theine being an indifferent friend to both, we might frankly travayl to conserve peas and unittie; or els friendly to staye him that wold do wrong; but tyl such time as that foundation were made, we could neither in this appendant, nor any suche like make any direct answer. And forasmuch as not only for your instruction, but also for that we be much desirous to know in what parte they take our answer there, we thought convenient to advertise you of the premysse, our pleasure is, that ye shall aswell in your conferences with the emperor, pretending only a generall knowledge of certain of the overtures made by his orators here, both maintain our answers to the same, with such reasons as ye canne devise for that purpose, and of your selfe exhort him not to pretermitt this goodly occasion, so graciously begonne, commenced, and entred, extolling our princely harte, nature, and courage, with our most gentle inclynation, to the satisfaction of our friends desires, in all reasonable things, wherunto they shall not press us; which kind of constraint doth for most parte more hurte in the stay of good purposes, then cane be, after with repentance when the tyme is past eftsoons redoubled. As in semblable maner move monsieur Grandevile of your self, as a personage whom ye repute, addicte to the advancement of our honor, to desire the emperor to consider what good may ensue to him, and to the hole state of Christendom, if we may joyne again in perfite amytie; and that it were great pitie, and purchase greater losse than might be after recovered, to suffer this goodly meane and entree to passe without certain fruit and effect, by the putting to it of such appendants and conditions, as ye knowe, what soever we will after do, at the contemplation of friendship, yet our nature and courage will not bear to be newe loden and charged withall; specially considering that we have suffered the injury; and with these and suche

like words, as we woll that ye shall endeavor your self of your self to pryke them forward to the renovation of our amytie, without adding therunto any conditions. Soe ye shall repay to the court and to Grandevile as ye may conveniently, to give them occasion by your being in their eyes, to enter communication with you of these matters; wherby you shall the better also perceyve wherunto they will bend, which our pleasure is, you shall from tyme to tyme signify unto us, as ye may have any certain matter worthe our knowlege.

NUMBER LI.

Instruction by Cardinal Pole to one he sent to King Henry.—An Original.

[Cott. Lib. Cleop. E. 6. p. 340.]

IMPRIMIS, to declare to his grace myn hole entent and purpose yn wrytyng the booke, wherein takyn my testimony off God, they only seyth the hart of man, was only the manifestation off the treuth in that mattier, that by master Secretaries letters I tooke as a commandment to shew my sentence herein, which wrote the same to me by his gracy's pleasure, that I shuld by writing declare myn opinion; and this is the very cause I dyd wryght; for otherwise. I thynk I had never sett penne to booke in so lyttyl hope of persuasion, and in such a matter as the tyme was so lykely nott to be all the best accepted.

Further to declare after I was onys entred into the mattier, haveng sent to me the books of them that have wrytten yn the contrary part, wherin I saw the trouth nervyolouslye suppressyd and clokod, with all colours that could be invented sett upon the untrew opinion, seying besyde what acts folowed of the same so sore and greivouse, both in the sight of God, and judgment of the rest of Christendom, out of that realme, that except those colours were takyn away, and treuth purely sett forth, wythe declaration of the inconvenient acts, yt might soon torne to the utter danger of his grace's bothe honour afore God and man, and utter destruction, as yet semyth, of the quyettnes of the realme; this made me wyth all both wytt and lernyng that God had given me, to endeavour to expresse so the trouthe, and declare the qualytes off those acts that folowed of the sinister opinion, that I doubt not whosoever reade the booke that wole knowe the trouthe, shuld never after need to fall into daungier, for ignorance of the true sentence.

And this I did with this hope, having this ever fixid in my harte, that howsoever hys grace was by perverse occasion brought from those opinions which was for his honore most to maynteyne, that he was brought thereto as God suffereth those that be in his favour, and whom he hath electe to eternal felicytie, notwithstanding to faull some tyme into offensys dampnable, to the entent they myght better know where they have their trew lyght and savegarde which comythe of God, and nothyng off them self: as ytt is not unknowne that scripture mentioneth the both of Davyd and Solomon's faulles, which bothe in conclusion were recoveryd by the mercye of God againe, and Solomon, notwithstanding the gyft of wysedome that God had given him, fell so sore that he was utterly tornyd from God, and given to idolatrye. This I consydreng in those elect personys off God, and judgeng verely though he his grace was by God permytted to faull from the trew doctrine of Christ, yett as God saved Davyd by those meanes, to send a prophete unto him to show hym the trewth, which as soone as he had hard told hym, forthwyth fell to repentance, and so was taken to the grace off God againe, and recoveryd to his greater honour, than he was yn afore his faul;

the same trust I had in his grace, whiche made me put my uttermost studye and labour, calling for help of God, to manyfest the trueth, where I doubt not but God hath hard my prayer, that for knowledge of the trewe sentence, there can be no doubt; and I cannot but greatly trust, that his grace hereynge and assenting, as king David did to the same after his errour, shall be recoveryd by God to higher honour and grace, then ever he was afore God suffered him to faull.

In this declaration of this treuth, because not only afore God were great peryll, but also in this world present afore man, many soore daungers myght happen, in case his grace did remayne and continew yn his sentence so dyvers from the rest of the Christen princes; this causyd me, calling to my mynd what daunger might follow bothe of his people at home, whose myndes experience shewethe cannot be quiettyd wythe this innovations touching opinions in religion; and also of outward power of those prynces to whose honour yt ys judged to apperteyne to defend the lawes of the church, against all other princes or nations that doyth impugne them, for these considerations to the entent the daunger hereoff now not unknown, I have in the same booke, sometye in my own person, brought all such reasons wherebye justly either the people, or oughtward prynces might be instigate against his grace, foloweng the dyvers trade from other Chrystian princes that he hath begone. Which reasons and discourses conteyned in the booke vehemently sett forth, yf they shuld be redd apart without consideracyon of my fynall purpose, which by all means entendency to sett afore hys graces yien, not only the treuthe off that was to be folowed, butt the daungers that were moste lykelye to ensue, both at home and abroad, yf they were not folowed, he shall think by what vehemencye and sore reprehension he seyth in the wrytyng, that I am the greatyst adversaraye of his grace's honour that ever any hitherto hath bene: but God knoweth my entent, and he that redyth the hool booke togyther shall knowe the same, how my very purpose and ende was to save him from great dyshonour and peryll, both in this world and that to come, which were nothing possyble to examine, not knoweng what they were, and what were lykely to happen to be sayd or done against his grace: which foloweng all probablytie the book doth expresse, and for the better understanding of both my opinion and sentence that I follow in the book, touching the declaration of the trueth, and of my utter fynall purpose in the hole matter, thys chidly I wole desyr his grace, because of the prolyxitie thereof, which shuld be to muche for his grace to rede hymselfe, that that wole please hym to apoynt some lernyd and sald man to rede over the book, and that done to declare his judgment, bound first wyth an othe off hys fydelytie, first to God, and afterwards to his grace to show hys judgment without affection of any part: and yf his grace wold gyve this charge to the bishop of Dyrrium, whome I judge to be the saldyst and most grounded in lernyng, with faithfull hart to his grace, above any other that I knowe, puttyng the same charge unto him by another; I think his grace shuld thereby best and most truly be enformed; and so when he hath made his relation, afterward his grace may prove other menes judgments as it shall please him.

Furthermore to declare unto his grace how my full purpose and mynd was, touching the hole booke that never no part thereof shuld a come abroad in any manes hands, afore his grace had seen ytt: and to folowe in this booke the same maner of secretnes that I did in the other which I deliverd to his grace concerning his matrymonye, but by what meanes in

one part of this book I have been frustrate of my entent; this you may declare by mouth, knowing the hole matter.

Fynally, with all humbylnes to desyre his grace, in the name of his most faythfull servant, and most tender of his honour and welthe, that where as by the judgement of all wise men, God of hys mercy and love toward his grace, and for a greate warnyng to retourne to hym, hath detectyd the iniquitie of her, which hath bene the oryginal cause and occasion of althys bothe errours and dangers his grace hath cost hymself in, that now his grace will correct himself to take the same, as yt ys a favourable admonition of God, and to follow their sentenyes and counsell, which (next unto theyr conseyence toward God) hath had none other cause, butt only pure love and fydelytie to his honour and welth: which causyd them, against their owne private welthe, wyth greate daunger besyde, ever to dyssemt from that matrymonye; judgeng ever as ytt was most lykely, both great dishonour, great daungiers and perylls, both spirituallly and outwardly, to followe thereof.

And now, yf God hath manifested the same to the recovery of hys grace welth, allways that his grace wyl accept thys warnyng to retourne to the unytie of his church, in that sentence and mynd that the rest of Christiane prynces do; wherein I dare be bolde to saye, yf God showe this great benignitie and mercy unto him, for to make him retourne; for surely God's hand that must be; and whensever that shall be herd, that shall be taken for one of the greatyst myracles that hath been showed this many agys, with the most certyn sygne of special favour that ever was showed from God to any prynces: then furst of all this shall follow, that when as now all Christendome calling for a generall counsell, yf that follow, ether his grace must wyth dyshonour and damage flee to obey thereunto, or with more daunger answer there to such causes as wold be layde unto him. Yf he do retourne, thys furst shall follow, by that meyns that shulde be founde, that no prince Chrysten, whosoever he were, shold appere there with more honour then shuld his grace. And wheras it was for the innovation that he hath made in the church, to be the occasyon of ruine of one of the feyrest membre of the church, if God make him torne; the conclusion wyl be brought to this, that hys faull shall be the happyest faull that was unto the church many yeres; which may be brought to be a redye and highe way to the reformation of the hole, to the more manifestation of the honour of God: so that fynally the ende shall be in every man's opinion that marketh the hole processe, that God suffred hys grace to faulle, to make hym ryse wyth more honour to the greater welth not only of his own realme, but of the hole church besyde.

Your faithfull servant,

R. POLE.

NUMBER LII.

A Letter to Pole from the Bishop of Durham, in his own hand.—An Original.

[Cott. Lib. Cleop. E. 6. p. 385.]

RIGHT HONORABLE,—In my humble maner I recommend me unto your mastership, advertising the same that I have received your letter, datyd at Venice on Corpus Christi evyn last; by which I do perceyve that where of late you sent a boke with a letter unto the kyng's highnes, concernyng your opinion of the king's title, and the power of the bishop of Rome; and your desire was in your letter, as you write, that I myght see the boke, to enforme his grace what I

thyneke, but that ye be unkynd, to be against him and hys realme, who hath been always for you and yours. What discomford shold it be to my lady your modyr, in hir age to see you swarve from your prince and contre in opinion. What discomford shold it be to my lord your brother, to see you off whom he shold have comfort, use your learning to his discomford! What discomford shold it be to all your other frendys to see you off obstinate opinion against all your cowntrey, you may by your wisdom consider. Whom all ye may comfort, and chiefly your self, in conformyng you to the truthe grounded upon the stablishment off the holly church of Christendome sens the begynnyng. And beyng the supporting of this monarchie inventyd off late days by ambition, wheroff the old fadyrs never hard tell. St. Gregorie wryteth sore against the bishop of Constantinople off his time who went about a lyke monarchie, affirmyng noone such to be in the church of Christ. Saint Cyprian wryteth, "quiomnes Apostoli erant pares honoris et potestatis." Consilium Ephesinum affirmyth the same, which cannot agree with thys late found monarchie. At the reverence of God truste not your self to much herein, but suffer your self to be perswaded to seke fordyr then ye yet have don. I dobt not but God willing ye shall fynd the truth in searchyng fordyr, yff ye perswade not your selfe that ye have found it already. I beseeche you have in your remembrance that I wrote before to burn the originally off your to sharp bokes, and I shall move the king's hyghness that your boke sent to hym may be kept secret. And in conformyng your self to the opinion off your contre and off the truth, I doubt not but ye shall be acceptyd of the king's hyghness as well, as ever ye wer, and mych bettyr because ye shew in your boke the intier hert that ye bere hym, as his grace by wisdom can, mych better consider than I can write unto you. And that ye may so do I pray the Holy Ghost to illuminat you. And if ther be pleasure that I may do for you or yours, ye shall be assured to fynd me redy evermore therunto: as knoweth Almighty God, who have you in his blessed tuition.

From London the xiiij day of July, 1536.

NUMBER LIII.

An Original Letter of Pole's to Cromwell, justifying himself.

[Cott. Lib. Cleop. E. 6. p. 355.]

May the 2d, 1537.

My lorde, yff afore tyme it could nott be suerlye and clerelye perceived what affectyon I have ever borne to the kyng's honour and wealthe, which in my hole lyfe never gave the least occasyon, whye any man shoulde think, but wyth them that tendery'd the same moste, I myght chieflye be nombery'd: yf my deeds were trulye and indyfferentlye examined: but howe soever ytt be, yff any dede afore perverslye interpretate myght ryse any scrupell to surmise the contrary, surelye these letters that I wryght now, as the time and case requirithe, bearyng that tenour as in readyng you shall knowe, be suffycent not onely to abolshe all former doubts, shewing those to be perversly surmysed, but to make clere, that a more constant and stable mynde in observance off a prince, hathe not bene founde nother yn subject nor other personnes besyde. And the cause hereoff ys, that there never happened lyke occasyon as thys ys, that causythe me now to wryght, wherebye my mynd myght be so well knownen, while occasyon ys gyven off the kyng's part under this maner, that he procureing against me, by such meanes to my

undoynge, as was never hard off the like in Chrysten-dome against anye, that bare that personne that I do att this tyme. Yff my minde, after all this remain stable, to procure all things that may be to his honour and wealthe, as ever I have professy'd afore-tyme, what can be more suer tokyn off a depe and a profound grounded love and affection: whither I do so I shall afterward shewe you. If I declare first to hym that knoweth it beste, the kyng's act ageynst me, to the entente you maye knowe, yff I after that remayne yn my old estate off observance, ytt is not for ignorance that I knowe not what is machinate ageinst me. And suerly, thoughte I knewe afore bothe by your letters and other in what displeasure the king had me, without the least cause shewed off my part; I take God and my conscience to judge, which thyng, if I had borne but a meane affectiyn myght a been suffycent to alienate also my mynde from thence, where I sawe what soever I dyd for the best, to be ever accepted in the worste parte. But this I wyll not have yowe take for my proffe off my mynde, but to procede off the kyng's displeasure toward me; the lesse I knowe the cause to be, the further I was from all imaginacyon to suspect that hys grace should be so incensy'd against my personne; that for to have me in his hands, he wold be content to breke and vyolate both Godd's law and mann's, to dystourbe all commercement betwene contrey and contrey, between man and man, and thys I would never a thought: but fyndyng the same to be so in dede, I could not but fynde wythall, howe hys grace was bent with all to my utter undoynge; agaynst the which yff I remayne in my old purpose to procure hys wealthe and honour, he that wyll seke other proffs after thys, or wyll not be content with thys declaracyon off a mann's mynde, he declareth with all that wythe no proffe he wyll be content, but wyll have him one off hys enemies whither he wyll or no. And off this mynde off the kyng toward me I had furst knowledge at myne arryvenge in France, off the whiche to shewe yowe the first motion of my mind herein, I was more ashamyd to hear for the compassion I had to the king's honour, then movyd by any indynacyon, that I comyng not only as imbassador, but as legate, yn the hyghest sort of embassage that ys used amongst the Chrysten princes, a prynce off honour shold desyer off another prince off like honour, betraye thynne ambassadour, betray the legate, and give him into my ambassadour's hands to be brought unto me. This was the dishonourable request, as I understand, of the king; which (as I said afore) to me suerly, regarding my own part, I promes'd you was no great displeasure, but rather (if I shall say truth) I toke pleasure herein; and said furthwith to my company, that I never felt my self in full possession to be a cardinal, as when I herd those tydings; wherby it pleased God to send lyke fortune to me, as it did to those hedds of the church, whose persones the cardynalls do represent, which was to be persecutyd moste of them, whose wealth they labouryd for most busyly. In this case lyved the apostells: and the same now beyng happenyd to me, afore God I promise I felt no displeasure, but rather was glad thereof, specially consedyryng herebye I hadd the better occasyon to declare and justyfie my minde more then ever I had afore, which was ever my minde: but touchyng the thyng, if we had no other religion, but lyved as paganes and infidells, yet jus gentium should ever teache us what demand this was, the lawe of nature alone myght declare how abhomyable ytt were to grante to such a request, and no less to desyer ytt. This I rehearse now to this intent, that you might the sooner perceive, that if there had been but one sparke of a mynde alienate from the kyng, thys were able

to set the same in such a fyer, that furst consideringe how all regarde off honour was sett aparte, and the law that maintaineth the commercement between man purposyd to be violate, so ytt myght torne to my undoing. Furst of all of my part, I shuld abstaine from all commercement with that part, other by word, writing, or dede; secondorylye, procure by all honest wayes, if I wolde not by dishonest, to repay this malignytie, to the uttermoste damage I could devise toward them, of whose inalygne minde towarde me I had so greate experience: and yet after all this, furst of all, youe may see forthwythe by wrytyng att this tyme, I doe nott abstayne from the furst acte to practyse and entreate, wyth them that hath bene authors hereof, and to practyse yett to hys honour and wealthe, whiche wold utterlie extinguysh both in me. And if I be herd herin, to put the same also in execution; which thing though I do suerlye of my owne purpose and mynd, yet some occasion hereof, howe it cometh otherwise I will not denye, nor kepe close, which is this; that whereas the bishope of Verona, that was sent of me to the Frenche court, to intimate those affaires, that for the wealthe of Christendome the pope had committed unto me, to entreate with his majestie, in his retourne passynge by Abbeville, where were lodged my lorde of Wynchester, and Mr. Bryan; whereas we could not but gretlye narvayle of this acte of the kyng toward me, my hole legation purposing no other but his honour and welthe: and desiereng therefore to conferre the same with the embassadours, for better declaracyon of the truthe of the matters, to be known as they were: my lord of Wynchester, and Mr. Bryan, both abstaynenge for respect from all communycation, yet sending unto him theyre secretarie, after the bishope had in parte declared the effect of my legacie, that touched then any part the kyng, yet semed to be open to bothe parties, that all the king had done agaynst me, was of the sinistre and false reports of other, that by false conjecture of things they knewe not, had ill enfourmed the king of my purpose in comyng into these partes, which the secretaries thought onys clered and declaryd, other by letters or messengers, the kyng wold turne his mynde, as his grace sawe the deds to justifie themselves. This the bishope of Verona (at his retourne) showed me; which I accepted in that parte to be trewe also, that all came of evill enformacion. And that his grace being assertyned of my mynd, as it is and ever hath bene, it were not unpossyble then some part to knowledge rather my gratitude, than to machynate anye thing contrary. And that it might be so known, for all parts yet cannot be but well; but as I shewed the bishope, by letters I had attempted often the same, but all could not prevail: my messengers I had sent often for that purpose, could never be admitted to have audience with the kyng. And without one of these wayes were founde, there could no conclusion be had in these mattyers, wherein reasonyng with him, I asked him, if for the love and service that ever he hath born to the kinge, and showed indede when he was in that place where his service might be in steade to the kyng, and love also he hath ever to me, having assured knowledge of all my affayres and purposes, not only these laste, but all synth my departing from the realme, whether he could be content (the king's pleasure first known) to acquiet the king's mynde in this behalfe, by going to his grace, and enforming him of the hole; wherein, afore God, he shuld do a dede moste charitable. Wherin also I did allege unto him, for to bind him withall; bycause after such demonstracyon of the kyng's mynde made unto me, few men wold be content to practyse wyth his grace, in any thing belonging unto me. For this

cause, I did rehearse the more thyngs to enduce him hereunto, and amongst other, this chieftlye, the purpose of his comyng with me, which (afore God) was this: that the pope, intending by all meanes of benignitie to practise with the king, haveng the Frenche kyng so joined in amytie with the kyng, and with his sanctitie also; devyseng for a mete instrument betwene bothe. Yf any personne, for this degree newlye taken, were not accepted, the bishop of Verona was thought moste meetest, being for his old deserts to both princes, as long as he was in that place where he might do them serviceable pleasure, as it was to be thought grateful to them both, and counted (for his goodness) the best bishop of Italye. So that all thynges considered, in matters of the church to entreate with these princes, none was thought like: wherupon the pope bounde him to take thys jorneye with me, for this purpose. And this bond, amongst other I rehearsed unto him, when I moved him to go unto the kinge. To the which, he made answer; yf there were none other bond nor respect in this matter but of God, knowing my matters as he doth, and seing what inconvenients might followe, if they were not at laste well accepted, besyde the servyce he hath ever owed to the kinge, and love toward me, knowing what comfort that might be to all parties, if my trewe and faythfull dealings were well intimate to the king, he wold be content at all tymes the waye onys founde afore, howe with commodytie he might come to the king's presence, to take this charge upon hym. Thys, my lorde, you may now perceive, that if I had any part that mynde, that the kyng's procurement against me doth shawe to be persuaded I have, yt could not be possible I could have any confidence to attempt any medlyng wythe his grace under suche maner: but because nor my confydence, nor affeyonate mynde, yt is not taken awaye, therefore this I do declare unto you by these letters, to the intent you maye intimate the same to hys grace. And now you see by a great proffie what my mynde is, you may also see how all suspytion may not alonely be clearyd, many things apeacyd that peradventure might torne to greater trouble, but also many things be brought to light, to the kyng's more assurdy honour and wealthe, than any thing is I thinke thought of hitherto make for the same. For all this I dare promisse to follow, if the bishop be herd with that mynde, as he is sent, and content for to go. Other declaration of my mynde by letters I entende not to make, than my letters agreyng with my acts sent afore do make testimonye; and that the bishope, which is preve to all, may better declare presentlye. But this I will saye, if I hare in any parte that mynde, the kyng's acte agaynst me doth show his grace is persuaded I shold have, suerlye I wold never adone as I have done, in all my acts and proecesses by letters, made the kyng and you preve unto them. Thys I dyd at my furst comyng to Rome, and the cause of my legacy nowe, and the cause of my comyng to these parts. Such advyses rebels be not wont to give unto those from whome they rebel, but specially at Rome, being there when the tyme was troublesome for the kyng in his realme; lettynge them the sending furthe of the censures, which myght a caused more trouble; and sending at that tyme my servant purposelye, to offer my service, to procure by all meanes his honour, welth, quietness; animating besyde, those that were cheffe of my nerest kynne, to be constant in his servyce. Thys rebels be not wont to do. And I know, at Rome, if any man had been premyate to do hym service, none could have done more; insomuch that men judged me half a rebell to God and my contrye, because I wold not assent to divers thyngs, that had made little

to the kyng's quietness : but specially, having in my hand those wrytings, that put forth the perddventure, might a caused most trouble of all. These instantly being desired of those, which had in a manner authority to commande, and yet ever finding meanes that they never came into their sight nor hands, and to this hower suppressing the same likewise. If one that had mynd of rebellion wold do the same, be thinke you well : but, as I say, my purpose is not to justifie my mynde, by these letters, at this time, in more acts than one, which is of this present time. Nor if it be not justified of such a one as the bishop's, that knoweth them assuredly, I do nother entend hereafter to labour any more herein : afore God, and all men, that will be indifferent judges of the truthe, I will not doubt, at all tines to justifie my self toward the king, I wold to God I could so well justifie my self afore God and the catholick church, for negligent service in this behalf, because I woulde not offend the kinge. Now I will say no more, but pray unto Almighty God, to put that in the kyng's mynde that may be most to his honour and wealthe, with grace to follow the same ; and to take from all other such occasyon, why they shuld thynk, if they serve the kyng according to their conscience, they shuld be constrained to offend the kyng, and so herebye to separate the one from the other ; which surlye to no man shuld be more greffe than to me. But Goddes pleasure be fulfilled above all, to whome nowe I commit you. Written at Cambray, the second day of Maye.

Your lovyng friend
R. CARD. LEGAT.

NUMBER LIV.

A Letter of the Abbess of Godstow, complaining of Dr. London.

[Cott. Lib. Cleop. E. 4. p. 228.]

PLEASITH hit your honor, with my moste humble dowtye, to be advertised, that where it hath pleasyd your lordship to be the verie meane to the king's majestie, for my preferment, most unworthie to be abbes of this the king's monasterie of Godystowe ; in the which office, I trust I have done the best in my power to the mayntenance of God's trewe honour, with all truth and obedience to the king's majestie ; and was never moved nor desired by any creature in the king's behalfe, or in your lordship's name, to surrender and give up the house ; nor was never mynded nor intended so to do, otherwise than at the king's gracious commandement, or yours. To the which I do, and have ever done, and will submit my self most humble and obedientlie. And I trust to God, that I have never offendyd God's laws, neither the king's, wherebie that this poore monastrie ought to be suppressed. And this notwithstanding, my good lorde, so it is, that doctor London, whiche (as your lordship doth well knowe) was agaynst my promotion, and hathe ever sence borne me great malys and grudge, like my mortall enemye, is sodenlie cummyd unto me, with a greate rowte with him ; and here dothe threaten me and my sisters, sayeng, that he hath the king's commission to suppress the house, spyte of my tethe. And when he saw that I was contente that he shulde do all things according to his commission ; and shewyd him playne, that I woulde never surrender to his hande, being my awncient enemye ; now he begins to intreat me, and to invegle my sisters, one by one, otherwise than ever I hardle tell that any of the kyng's subjects hathe been hardelyd : and here tarieth and contynueth, to my greate cost and charges ; and will not take my

answere, that I will not surrender, till I know the king's gracious commandement, or your good lordship's. Therefore I do moste humble beseche you, to contynewe my goode lorde, as you ever have bene ; and to directe your honorable letters to remove him hens. And whensoever the kyng's gracious commandement, or yours, shall come unto me, you shall find most reddie and obedyant to folloe the same. And notwithstanding that doctor London, like an untrew man, hath informed your lordship, that I am a spoiler and a waster, your good lordship shall knowe that the contrary is trewe. For I have not alienatyd one halporth of goods of this monasterie, movable, or unmovable, but have rather increasyd the same. Nor never made lease of any farme, or peece of grownde belongyng to this house ; or then hath bene in tymes paste allwaies set under convent seale for the wealthe of the house. And therefore my verie truste is, that I shall fynde the kynge as gracious lorde unto me, as he is to all other his subjects. Seyng I have not offendyd. And am and will be moste obedyent to his most gracious commandment at all tymes. With the grace of Allmighty Jesus, who ever preserve you in honour longe to indure to his pleasure. Amen. Godiston the vth daie of November.

Your moste bownden beds woman
KATHARINE BULKELEY, Abbes there.

NUMBER LV.

A Letter to Bullinger from one of Maidstone, giving an Account of an Image, which seems to be the Rod of Boxley in Kent.

[At Zurich.]

Johannes Hokerus Maydstanenses.

RUIT hic passim Azzotinus Dagon, Bel ille babilonicus jam dudum contractus est. Repertus est nuper Cantianorum deus ligneus, pensilis Christus, qui cum ipso Protheo concertare potuisset. Nam et capite nutare, innuere oculis, barbam convertere, in curvare corpus, adeuntium aversari et recipere preces scitissime noverat. Ille cum Monachi sua causa caderent, repertus est eorum Templo, plurimo cinctus anathemate, linteis, cereis agriciis . . . exterisque ditatus muneribus. Subodoratus est fucum cordatus Vir, Nicolai Patrigii nostri frater, affixum contra parietem è vestigio solvet, apparuit artes, apparent imposture, mirus ac Polypeus præstigiator deprehenditur. Erant foraminoso corpori occulte passim fistulae, in quibus ductile per rimulas, ferrum à mystagogo trahebatur, lamineis nihilominus artificiose celantibus. Hinc factum est ut populum Cantianum, imò Angliam totam jam seculis aliquot magno cum quaestu demeritarit. Patefactus Meydstanuensibus meis spectaculum primitus dedit, ex summo se culmine confertissimo se ostentans populo, aliis ex animo, aliis Ajacem risu simulantibus. Delatus hinc circulator Londinum est. Invisit Aulam Regis, Regem ipsum, novus hospes : nemo salutat verè. Conglomerant ipsum risu aulico, Barones, Duces, Marchiones, Comites. Adsunt è longinquo, circumstand', intueud' et vidend' penitus. Agit ille, minatur oculis, aversatur ore, distorquet nares, mittit deorsum caput, incurvat dorsum, annuit et renuit. Vident, rident, mirantur, strepit vocibus theatrum, volitat super aethera clamor. Rex ipse incertum gavisus ne magis sit ob patefactum imposturam, an magis doluerit ex animo tot seculis miseræ plebiuisse impositum. Quid multis opus ? Res delata est ad Conciliarios. Hinc post dies aliquot habita est Londini concio, prædicabat è sacra Cathedra Episcopus Roffensis, stat ex adverso Danieli Bel-Cantianus, summo erectus pulpito. Hic denuò sese aperit, hic

denuo coram fabulam scitè agit. Mirantur, indignantur, stupent. Pudet ab idolo tam turpiter suisse delusos. Cumque jam incalcesceret Concionator, et Verbum Dei occultè operatur in cordibus auditorum, præcipitio devolvunt istum lignum truncum in confertissimos auditores. Hic varius auditur diversorum clamor, rapitur, laceratur, frustillatim comminuitur, scinditurque in mille confractus partes, tandem in IGNEM mittitur. Et hic tulit exitum illum.

NUMBER LVI.

A Consolatory Letter to Henry VIIIth, from the Bishop of Durham, after the Death of Queen Jane.

[Cott. Lib. Titus B. 1. p. 121.]

PLEASE your highnes to understande that wher now of late it hath pleasyd Almighty God to take unto his mercy out off this present lyffe, the most blessed and vertuose lady, your grace's most dearest wyffe the queen's grace, whose soule God pardone, and newes thereof sorrowfull to all men, came into these partes, surely it cannot well be expressed, how all men of all degrees dyd greatly lament and mourne the death of that noble lady and princesse, taken out of this world by bringing forth of that noble fruit that is spronge of your majesty, and her, to the great joy and inestimable comforte of all your subjects, consideringe withall that this noble fruit, my lord prince, in his tender age interying into this world, is by her death left a dear orphan, commencing thereby thys miserable and mortall lyffe, not only by weeping and waylinge, as the mysery of menkynde requireth, but also refte in the begynnyng of his lyffe from the comforte of his most dear mother. And albeyt to hym by tenderness of his age, it is not known what he hath lost, yet we that do know and feel it, have much more cause to morne, seinge such a vertuose princesse who hath shewed so great hopes of much frute to come of her body, is so suddenly taken from us. But thys notwithstandinge your majesty whom thys chauncely most towche, must by your high wisdom consyder the misery of the mortal lyffe of mankynde, which no man born in this world, prince nor poore man, can exchue; seing it is the sentence of Almighty God, sayinge in the begynnyng aswelle to the woman, "in dolore paries filios tuos;" as to the man, and by him to all his posterite, "pulvis es et in pulverem reverteris." In which mortal lyffe who soever is most vexyd and troubled, yf he take it patiently ys more accepte to God, and called in the scripture therby blessed; as it is written in the Book of Job, "beatus homo qui corripitur à Deo; in crepationem ergo Domini ne reprobes, quia ipse vulnerat et medetur, percutit et manus ejus sanabit." And it is written in the epistle of James lykewise, "beatus vir qui suffert tentationem, quum autem ille probatus fuerit, accipiet coronam vite." And as Saint Paul saies to the Hebrews, it is a sure tokyn that God favoureth them as his children, to whom he sendeth adversite, sayinge, "quem enim diligit Dominus castigat; flagellat autem omnem filium quem recipit. In disciplina perseverate, tanquam filiis vobis se offert Deus: Quin enim filius quem non corrigit Pater; quod si extra disciplinam estis, cujus participes facti sunt omnes, ergo adulterini et non filii estis." And albeyt the disciplin of adversite be full of hevynesse for the tyme, yet it endeth alwayes in joy; as there folloeth, "omnis autem disciplina in presenti quidem non videtur esse gaudii sed mereris, postea autem fructum paratissimum exercitatis per eadem reddit

justitiæ." And like as al men more do favour those their servants, that in a longe voiage do sustein more adversite, so Almighty God in thys lyffe (which all is but a voiage, for as Saint Paule saith, "non habemus hic manentem civitatem sed futuram inquirimus,") most accepteth those his servants, that so sustein most adversite patiently. And Saint Paule, consyderinge the instabillite of this world, exhorteth all men to use al things therein as transitory, and not permanent both in prosperity and in adversite; for neither of both doth tary, but brively overpaseth; sainge, "tempus breve est; reliquum est, ut qui habent uxores tanquam non habentes sint, et qui flent tanquam non flentes, et qui gaudent tanquam non gaudentes, et qui emunt tanquam non possidentes, et qui utuntur hoc mundo tanquam non utatur, preterit enim figura mundi hujus." Then sence prosperite is fugitive and taryeth not, let us not trust to yt, and sence adversite soon overpasseth and abideth not, let us not esteem it for after it sustenyd patiently sure we be that joy shall succeed. Consyder yf it like your majestie how oft tymes sence your most noble regne began, God hath sent you diverse and many tymes great flowings of prosperite, and therfor yf God sum tymes do sende a droppe of adversite, sustein it by your high wisdom, with patient suffering, as I trust assuredly, and doubt not but your highnes wyl; assured you may be that God for your so doinge shal highly requite that far beyond your highnes' expectations. Grete cities, towns, and regions, al people in them, and princes of the same, oft do sustein adversite bycause the hole world is alway subject to mutabilite, and lyke as after lygth succeedeth darknes, and after somer cometh winter, so darknes taryeth not, but light doth folow, and winter gifeth place to the somer again; so that I doubt not but God willing this storme of sorowful season, shal by your majestie's wisdom after a tyme overpass, and the somer of joyful gladnes shal succeed, not only to your grace comforte, but to the comforte of all your subjects, much mornyng at this tyme in their harts with your highnes. And when Almighty God hath taken from your grace, to your greate discomforte a moste blessed and vertuose lady, consyder what he hath given your highnes again to your comforte, and to the rejoyce of all us your subjects, our most noble prince, to whom God hath ordeined your majestie not only to be father, but also as the tyme now requireth, to supply the roome of a mother also. So that therby he shal hereafter have double cause to honour your highnes. As it is not to be doubted, but God grantyng him lyfe hereafter he wyl do. In whom in the mean tyme, Almighty God of infinite mercy grant, that your grace putting away all sorrowful pensivenesse, may to the comfort of your noble harte, long rejoyce, which shal be also to the high comfort of al the subjects of your grace's realme. And sence mornyng can in no wise amend the matter, and thanks given to God may sooner over-blow this storm. Best shall be to conclude with Job, "Dominus dedit, dominus abstulit, sicut Domino placuit ita facitum est. Sit nomine Domini benedictum." God gave your grace that noble lady, and God hath takyn her away as it pleased hym. So it is done, laude by gyven to hym: and for to consyder also, how Job exhorteth by his example, al men being in like case, to patience, sainge, "Si bona suscepimus de manu Domini, mala autem quare non sustineamus?" which your highnes for your great wisdom and learninge can much better consider, then I can advertise the same, unlesse sorrowfulness for the tyme put it out of remembrance. Almighty God of his infinite mercy grant your grace spiritual comfort, and putting away al worldly hevynesse, ever to rejoyce in him, who

have your majestie alway in his blessed protection to your hart's desire, with encrease of much honore. From your citie of Yorke the xii day of November.

By your most humble subject, servant and chaplein,

CUTHBERT DURESME.

NUMBER LVII.

Injunctions given by Edw^rde Archbushope of Yorke, to be observed within the Dioces of Yorke, by all the Clergie of the same, and oder, whome the sayde Injunctions do concerne.

You shall fyrste diligentlie observe all maner of injunctions, given unto you by the king's hyghnes commaundment, and specially concerninge the abolition of the papacie, or of the pretendyd jurisdiction challenged by the byshope of Rome within this realme; and also concerning the confirmation and establishment of the kyng's highness' title of supprime heade over thole catholique church of Englande, aswel spirituall as temporall.

Item. Everie curate and preyste within this dioces, shall have an New Testament, in Englishe or Latten, within fourtie days nexte after the publication hereof; and shall daylie reade two chapitores of the same afore nowne, and two at afre nowne, and that treatable and distinctlie; and shall do his best indevoure to understande the same.

Item. Everie curate shall provyde to have the booke compyled by the king's highnes' commaundment, namyd thinstitution of Christen man, with all convenient speyde, as soon as the saide booke shall come forth by his commaundment: and in the same shall daylie read two chapitores, so that he may be able to declare the same to his parochians.

Item. All curates and heades of congregacions, religieuse and not religieuse, privileged and not privileged, shall, accordinge to the kyng's highnes' commaundment and injunctions, everie holie day, at mattens time, and betwene mattens and laudes, read the Pater Noster, and the Ave Maria in Englishe, treatabili and distinctlie, and cause all theire parochians, whiche cannot all redy say it in Englyshe, yonge and olde, to rehearse everie petition by it selfe, to thend therof, after them; and in lykwise everie holy day, at masse, and immediatlie after the crede, shall rehers everie article of the crede by it selfe, and so shall cause the parochians to rehers after them, everie one by it selfe, to thende; and likewise every holy day, at even-songe, betwene even-songe and completorie, shall rehers the Tenne Commaundments, every one by it selfe, and to cause his parochians to rehers after him, everie one by it selfe, to thende, to thentente that they may lerne perfectlie all three. And for this purpose, the saide curates, and oder heades of the congregacion, must give warninge to thaire parochians, that none of them be absent at such times as any of the said three shall be rehersed. And shall furthermore declare unto them, that they shall not be admytted to resave the blessed sacrament of the altar at Easter, tyll they can perfectlie rehearse them all three by rote: and therefore everie gostelie father, accordinge to the king's injunctions, muste everie lent examen ther parochians, in time of confession, to knowe wheder they have learned the premisses perfytly, or not.

Item. All curates muste continuallye call upon thaire parochians, to provide a booke of the hohle byble in Englyshe, of the largeste forme, within fourtie dayes next after the publication hereof, that may be chayned in some open place in the church, that all men may resorto to reade it for theare in-

struction, under the payne of suspencion of ther churches. And the same to be boughte at the charges of the vicare or parsonne, and parochians, accordinge to the king's injunctions.

Item. All curates muste cause one booke, comprisinge the Pater Noster and Ave Maria in Englishe, the Crede and the Tenn Commaundments in Englishe, to be set upon a table in the church openlie, that all men may reasoate to learne them, at all such tymes as they woll. And this to be done, within twentie days after the publication hereof.

Item. No curates, nor oder priestes of what sorte soever they be, shall haunte taverns or alehouses, or open hoistres, oder wayes than for necessarie meales and refections: if they canne have none in oder places, accordinge to the king's highnes' injunctions; but shall occupie themselves, ether in the church, or in thaire chambers, with reading of holy scripture, or teachinge of children.

Item. All curates and priestes, beinge in one church togeddre, shall (if they can so provide) live togeddre at one commons; and not one to be in one place, and ane oder in an oder place. And shall, in all theire behaviors, shew good example, in worde, dede, countenance and habyte, to the better edifieng of the laye-people.

Item. They shall not be common hunters ne hawkers, ne playe at gammes prohibyted, as dycese and cartes, and such oder.

Item. That they shall (accordinge to the king's highnes' injunctions) in no wise discourage any man to reade in the English byble, which is the booke of lyfe; but shall comfort them therein: never the lesse exhorting them to enter in to the readinge therof, with the sperite of mekenes, and purpose to be gostelie edified. And not to be brablers ne praters, arguers ne disputers therof, ne to presume that they knowe therein that they know not; but, for ther instruction, to resorto to such as be better lerned than they be, when they finde any difficultie therein.

Item. All curates and heades of congregacions, religieuse and oder, privileged and oder, shall everie holy day reade the gospell, and the epistle of that day out of the Inglish byble, planely and distinctlie: and they that have such grace, shall make some declaration odre, of the one, or of bothe, (if the time may serve,) every holy day.

Item. Every curate, resident and hable, shall make four solempane sermons in the yere, one everie quarter: not rescoent, havinge 5*l.* or 6*l.* 13*s.* 4*d.* de claro, shall finde one solempane sermon for the instruction of the people, in the begynninge of lent, havinge 10*l.* de claro, two solempane sermons; one in the begynning of lent, and othur at some othur time of the yere. Havinge 15*l.* three sermons; one in the begynninge of lent, thoder at two convenient tymes. Havinge 20*l.* four sermons; one at lent, thoder three, at three convenient times. Havinge 30*l.* de claro, five sermons; one at lent, and the oder four at convenient times. Havinge 40*l.* six sermons; one in the begynninge of lent, and the oder five at convenient times. And as the cleare valed doth encrease, so mo sermons.

And yet nevertheles we now monishe, under the payne of the lawe, all parsons and vicars to be resident upon theire curis, beinge within this dioces, afore the feaste of Christenmas next; onesles they can and do shew, afore that day, a lawfull cause, why they may not, or shoulde not do so.

Item. That none be admytted to kepe cure, ne to say masse in any church of this dioces; onesles he be admytted by me, or my officer, havinge commission fro me for the same; and also do shewe the lettes of his orders.

Item. That no man be admitted to preache within this dioces, onelesse he have auctorite under the king's seale, or myne, accordinge to the king's highnes' injunctions.

Item. All curates and oder, havinge charge of any congregacion, must diligentlie informe their flocke, accordinge to the king's highnes' injunctions, that they may in no wise yelde worshippe to any images, lowtinge or bowinge downe, or kuelinge to the saide images, ne offering to them any money, or wax lighte or unlighte, or any oder thing: for so muche, as offeringe is to made to God onlie, and to no creature under God. Neverthelesse they may still use lightes in the roode lofete, and afore the sacrament, and at the sepulture at Easter; accordinge to the king's injunctions: so that they none use to the honor or worshippe of any image, ne by the way of offeringe made, odre to any image, or to any sainte represented by the same.

Item. They must teache their flocke, that images be suffred onelie as bokes, by which our hertes may be kindeled to folow the holy steppes and examples of the saintes represented by the same; even as saintes lives be written, and muste be redde in written bookes, for the same purpose: and that, as we do not worshippe our booke when we have rede the saints's lifie; so likewise, we shall not worshippe the images, which is as the booke to them that cannot read in odre bokes.

Item. They must declare to thaire flocke, that although they see the image of the fadre represented as an olde man, yet they maye in no wise beleve, that the hevenlie fader is any man, or that he haith any bodie or age; but that he is a nature and substance, above all mesure passinge the capacite and understandinge, odre of mans witt or augelles.

Item. Alle suche ymagies, to whiche any maner of resorte is usede, by waye of peregrinage or offeringe, they must depose and sequestre frome all sighte of men, and suffre them no more to be sett up.

Item. They must charge all the faders and moders, and heades of howse-holdes, and gode-fatheres, and gode-motheres, and schoole-maysters, accordinge to the king's highnes' injunctions, to see their children, servants and scoleres, well instructe in the Pater-Noster, Ave Maria, Crede, and Tenne Commandments in Englishe, and all oder things comprised in their injunctions. And for that purpose, all curates and heades of congregacions, muste ons in a quarter rede their injunctions, in the church, in thaudience of all the people; aswell for the remembrance of their owne dewtie, as for ther citinge the people to knowe their dewtie. And we charge and commaunde all curates, and all oder of this dioces to whome it shall apperteigne, to have a copy of their injunctions, within fourtie dayes next followinge the puplicacion hereof. And when the same shal be imprinted, we charge them to have them so imprinted within sex days aftre the same shall come to thire knowledge, under payne of excommunication.

Item. They muste instructe their parochians, that they nothinge please God, but displease him; doeng workes onlie in thaire owne will and devotion, by man's tradicion, and leaving the workes by God commanded, undone.

Item. They muste instruct their flocke, that their confidence for thattheyng of everlasting lief, must be only in God, and in his grace and marcy, and in the merits and redemption of our Saviour Jesu Christe: and that none of our workes, as ours, have any efficacie or vertue to save us, but only have their vertue and efficacie by the grace of God, and merits of Christ's passion.

Item. All curates must openly, in the church, teach

and instruct the mydwiefes, of the very wordes and fourme of baptisme; to thentente that they may use them perfetly, and none oder: in time of nede, that is to say; that they, naming the child, must say these words, "John, or Thomas, or Agnes, I baptize thee in the name of the Fader, the Sonne, and the holie Gost:" and that saying thies wordes, they must cast water upon the child. For which purpose they must have ready at hand a vessel of cleane water.

Item. They must often upon the holidays, and specially at times of marriage, warn their parochians, that they in no wise make any privie contract of marriage, but afore two or three sufficient witnes required to be present for that purpose: and that afore they make any contract, they do their best endeavour to know wheder there be betwene them any lawfull impediment, odre by Godds lawe, or any oder ecclesiastical yet used, afore they enter to make any contract.

Item. That the fadres, and oder freyndes, constrayne not them that be under their correccion and governance, to marry agenst their willes, ne afore they have discretion to consider what the bounde of marriage meaneth.

Item. All curates and oder heddes of congregacions must never cease to imprinte in the hertes of their flocke the two commaundments which our Saviour calleth the fulnes of the lawe; that is, the love of God above all thing, and thei love of thye neighbore as thy self: and likewise the sayd curates must continually engrave in the hertes of their flocke the two preceptes of the lawe of nature; that is, do as thou wolde be done unto, and do not that thou woldest not to be done unto the.

Item. They muste alway emploie them self to mainteyn charitie and peace in our Lorde Jesu amongs their parochians, and to avoide all rancor and dissention amongs them.

Item. That they in no wise kepe thoes dayes for holy whiche by our sovereigne lord the kynge open juste consideration be abrogat: ne asmoche as in them is suffer of their parochians to kepe them as holie, but that they in theme be occupied everie man in his busines, as in oder days, according to the kinge's highnes' injunctions.

Item. They must instructe their flocke, that in those dayes which be observed and kept for holidayes, they must utterlie withdrawe themselves frome all worldlie and fleshlie busines and occupacions, and houses of gammes and playes; speciallie frome all synne; and entierlie and hollie employ themselves to goostelie works, behoveable for manis soule: and that therefore taverns, victailing-houses, may not thyes dayes be used and exercised, and speciallie in the tyme of divine servicie, onles necessitie oderwise require for them that travaile in journey.

Item. All houses of religion, colleges, hospitalls, and all oder havng any benefices appropriated unto theme, shall, according to the value of their benefices, have in their churches appropriated certain sermons every year; as in like ordinance for curates as afore is comprised.

Item. All curates and oder havng benefices appropriated by them self yf they can, or by oder preachers ons every quarter, must teache and instruct the people of their dewtie of fathefull and loyall obedience to our soverand lord the king, declaring that they be bounden to yield entier and perfect obedience to his highnes by Goddes lawe, expresse under the payn of dampnation everlasting: and that to make any styrring, gathering of people, or commocion, withoute his expresse commandment, is to breke, not only Goddes commandment and lawe, but also all natural and politike

order, in which the heed governethe the membres, and not the membres the heed, in which also all the members, aswell by nature as by good policie, employe them selfe and indaunger them self for the preservation and mayntenance of the heed.

All which injunctions by thauctorite which we have under God, and our soveraigne lord the kynge, we charge all to whom it appertenyth to observe and kepe under the paynes lymtyed in the same, and under the paynes of suspencion and sequestracyon of the frutes of theyre beneficies and promocyons ecclesiasticall, and oder paynes arbitrary, as we shall thynke convenient and reasonable.

NUMBER LVIII.

Injunctions given by the Bishoppe of Coventre and and Lychefelde throughc out his Diocese.

To all and singular of the clergie within the diocess of Coventree and Lichfelde, I, Rolande, by the grace of God byshop of the sayd diocesse, beyng commaunderd therunto by the kinge's majestie, gyve these injunctions following, for the honour of God, thencrease of vertue, and abolyshmente of ignorance, vice, and vicious lyvinge.

Fyrste, that ye and every one of you, shall with all your diligence and faythful obedience, observe and cause to be observed, all and syngular the contentes of the kynge's highnes' injunctions, by his graces commissarys gyven, in such places as they in tymes paste have vysyted, and also sent unto you at this tyme. And that ye and every of you shal provyde for copies of the same, to be had before the feast of Lammasse nexte ensuyng.

Item. That ye and every of you do instructe and teach your parishioners, the kinge's majestie to be only the supreme heed under Chryst in erthe of this his church of Englande, unto whom all potentates and powers of the same owen to obey, being therto obliged and bounde by Goddes worde. And that the bishop of Rome, and his predecessours, did ever heretofore usurp upon the kynges of this realme, in the using any manner of jurisdiction or auctorite within the same. And that ye shal exhorte every Sunday at your parishioners, to the due obedience of our prince and soveraigne lorde, his heires and successors, kynges of Englande.

Item. That every person or proprietary of any parishe church within my diocesse, shal on thisside the feast of Pentecoste nexte comynge, provide a boke of the hole Byble, bothe in Latin and also in Englishe, and laye the same in the quire, for every man that will, to loke and reade thereon : and shal not discourage, but earnestly comforte, exhorte, and admonishe every man to rede the Bible in Latin or Englishe, as the very worde of God, and the spiritual food of man's sowle, whereby they maye the better knowe their deutes to God, to their soveraigne lord the kinge, and their neighbour : alwaye gently and charitably exhorting them to use a sober and a modeste haviour in the readyng and inquisition of the true sence, and that in no wise they stiffly or egerly contende, or strive with one another about the same, but referre the declaracion of those places that be in controversie, to the judgement of them that be better learned.

Item. I decree and ordeyne that all monasteries, collegiate churches, and al persons to whom any benefices be impropried within my diocesse, shal from henceforth four times in the year at the leaste, that is, one tyme every quarter cause one sermon to be preached, purely, sincerely, and according to the true

scripture of God, in al such churches where they, or any of them, receive any profytes or commodities, upon payne of sequestration of their frutes.

Item. I require and exhorte you, in our soveraigne lorde's name, and as his gracies mynister, I straitly charge and commaunde you, to declare and publishe every Sondaye in the pulpet at high masse tymes, the Pater Noster, Ave, and Crede in Englishe, distinctly, and in suche wyse as the people maye lerne the same. And that four tymes in the quarter ye declare to your paryshoners, the seven deadly synns, and the Ten Commandments, so as the people therby may not only lerne how to honour God, their prince, and parentes ; but also how they shall avoide sinne and vice, and to lyve veruoulsly, folowinge Goddes lawes and his commandements.

Item. That ye bothe in your preachings, secret confessions, and al other workes and doings, shall excite and move your parishioners unto such workes as are commaunded expressly of God : for the whiche God shall demaunde of them a straye reckeninge ; as the Articles of the Fayth, the Ten Commandments, and all other workes which men do of their own will or devotion, to teache and instruct your parishioners, that they are not to be esteemed, in comparison of the other. And that for the not doinge of any wilfull workes, God wyll not aske any accompte.

Item. That ye, nor any of you, sufre no fryer or other religious man, to have any cure or servyce within your churches or cures, excepte they be lawfully dispensed withal, or licensed by the ordinary.

Item. That ye, and every one of you, doo your dyligence, and endeavour your selves to your best industries and labour, to instructe and teache aswell chyl dren as all other your people, both men and women, of that your parishe, the Pater Noster, Ave, and Crede, and the Ten Commandments in Englishe, and that ye or any of you do admyt no man nor woman to receyve the sacrament of the Aultare, untill that ye have harde them recite and declare at the least, the same Pater Noster, Ave, and Crede in Englishe, without boke.

Item. That ye, and every of you, shal two tymes in a quarter declare to your parishioners the bande of matrimony, and what great danger it is to al men, that use theyr bodies, but with such personnes as they lawfully may by the law of God ; and to exhorte in the said tymes your parishioners, that they make no pryve contractes of matrimonie, but that they call two honest menne to recorde the same, as they wyll avoide the extreme payne of the lawes used within the kinge's realme by his gracies auctorite.

Item. Where some frowarde persons, partly for malice and disdaine, neglecte theyr curates, and such as have the cure and charge of theyr soules, and partly to cloke and hyde their lewde and naughtie livinge, as they have used all the yere before, use at lent to go to be confessed to the fryers, and such other religious houses : therefore I wyl you to declare, and shew to your parishioners that no testimoniall, brought from any of them, shall stande in any effect : nor any such persones shall be admitted to Goddis bourde, unto they submit themselves to be confessed to their owne curates, onlesse for certayne arduate and urgent considerations of conscyence, they be, or shall be otherwise lausfully dispensed or lycensed withal, either by me or my depnties.

Item. Whereas unyversally reigneth this abhominable, detestable, and dyvelishe use and custome, that upon the holy dayes, in the tyme of divine servyce and preaching, that youthe and other unthrifites, resorteth to ale-houses, and there use unlawfull games, blasphemie, dronkenness, with other enormities : so

that good people thereat be offended, and no punishment hadde as yet: therefore I wil and commaunde you to declare to suche that kepe alehouses or taverns within your parishes, that at suche they suffre no more such unlawfull and ungodly assemblies; nor to receive suche persons to bollynge and drynkinge at such seasons in their houses, under peine of the kinges high displeasure, and to be punished for so doinge.

Item. Ye shall teache and instructe your paryshoners, at the least twelve tymes in the yere, the essential maner and forme of christeninges in Englishe, and that the mydwife may use it in tyme of necessitie: commaundinge the woman, when the tyme of birthe draweth nere, to have at all seasons a vessell of cleane water for the same purpose.

Item. Where I am credibly informed, that certain priestes in my diocesse, go in habite dissimuled more liker of the temporalitie than of the clergie, whiche may and dothe minister occasion to suche light persons when they come in places, and to persons not known, to be more licentious, bothe of their communication and actes, to the great sclaunder of the clergie: therefore frome hensforthe I charge and commaunde, that in cities, towns, and villages, and in all other places, they weare mete, convenient, and decent apparrell, wherby they may be knowne of the clergie: as they and every one of them will avoide the penaltie of the lawes.

Item. I desire, require, and exhorte you and every of you, in the name of God, that he firmly do observe and kepe these all and singular mine injunctions. And that ye and every one of you that are priestes, having cure or not cure, as well benefyced, as not benefyced within my diocesse, do gette a copie of these injunctions, to the intente ye maye observe, and cause to be observed the contentes of the same.—God save the king.

Londini in Ædibus Thomæ Bertheleti Regii Impressoris Excus. Anno M.D. XXXVIII. Cum Privilegio.

NUMBER LIX.

Injunctions given by the Bishop of Salysbury, throughout his Diocess.

INJUNCTIONS made by me Nycolas Shaxton, bishop of Sarum, at mine ordinarie visitacion, done in tharchdeaconry of Dorset, in the yere of our lord God 1538, and in the 30th yere of the reign of our soveraigne lord King Henry the Eighth, by the Grace of God, King of Englande and of France, Defender of the Faythe, lord of Ireland, and Supreme Hede here in erth, next under God, of the Church of England. All which and singular injunctions, by thauctorite given to me of God and the kinge, I exhorte, and also commaunde all parsons, vicares, curates, chauntry prestes, and other of the clergy whatsoever they be, to observe, kepe, and perform, as concerneth every one of them, upon pain of inobedience, and also of all such lawes and statutes as may be laid against them, for breaking or violating of the same at any time hereafter.

Fyrst. Whereas benefyced men, having and taking cure of souls at the byshop's hands, do absent themselves from their said cures without licence or counsell of the said byshop, not leavinge there able curates to discharge the said cures: I monyshe all such preempertorily, either to be personally upon their said cures, by Myghelmas nexte cumminge, or els to present unto me, or my deputies, such curates, as upon myne examination, shall be abled and admitted to serve and discharge the said cures, in thabscence of the said benefyced men. And that neither any French, or Irish preest, which cannot perfily speke the Englysh

tongue, serve no cure in this dyocesse, after the terme before specified.

Item. That all such having cures, do every Sonday and holidaye continually, recite, and sincerely declare in the pulpet, at the highe masse tyme, in the Englishe tonge, both the epystle and gospell of the same daye, (if ther be time therto) or elles the one of them at the leest; and also to set forthe the king's regall power to be supreme heade, and highest power, under God, in erthe, of the church and realme of Englande: and to abolyse the byshope of Rome's usurped power. And furthermore, to declare openly and distinctly the Ten Commaundements, the Articles of our Beleve, the Pater-Noster; and finally, bydde the beades, according to the king's ordinaunce, and none otherwise.

Item. That everie prebendary, or proprietary of any paryshe-churche, whose annuall fruytes extendeth to 20*l.* shall make, or cause for to be made fourte times in the yere, (that is to saye, every quarter) one sermon there. And if the fruytes be 15*l.* three sermons; if but 10*l.* two sermons; and if it be under that, he shall make one sermon at the leest, over and besydes the gyving of distribucions, almes, or other comfortable and bodily, or charitable socour amonge the poore parochians there, accordinge to theire appropriacions, or rate of their prebends.

Item. That ye suffre no man to preache, excepte he be especially licensed by his ordinary, or els the king's highnes' auctorite: nor that ye permit any friere, or other wearing a religiouse habyte, to have any chaire in your churches, neither to serve chauntry, nor trentall, neither any brothered service; and that no preeste saye two masses upon one daye, excepte Chrystmas daye only.

Item. That everie benefyced man, whose benefice is taxed at ten pounce, or above, have (before Whytson-tide next) the holie bible; and all other preestes, benefyced or not benefyced, at the leest have the New Testament, both in Latyn and in Englishe; and that everie one of them rede over and studie everie daye one chapiater at the leest, by order as they stande in the boke unto the ende, conferringe the Englishe and Latyn together. And if, by occasion of a lawfull let, it be undone one daye, be it supplied with two chapiaters the nexte day, &c. so that one daye with another he faile not to study one chapiater.

Item. That every one of you procure diligentlie before Myghelmas nexte, to have copies of the king's injunctions made in his last visitacion; and then to kepe and observe them effectually, upon paine therein mencioned.

Item. That every one having cure of souls, parson, vicar or curate, admitted, do perfily con without boke the two whole gospells of Matheu and Johan, and the epistles of Paule to the Romyans, Corinthians, Galathians, and other as they stande, with the Actes of the Apostles, and the Canonical Pistles, after the rate, to con every fournyghte one chapiater without the boke, and the same to kepe still in memory; over and besides, to rede and studie everi day one chapiater within the boke, as is above expressed. And that the 28th chapiater of Deuteronomie be openly red in the church every quarter, in stede of the general sentence.

Item. That everie curat, the first Sonday of every moneth in the yere, do openly (in the pulpet) exhorte and charge his parochians, in no wise to make any prevye or secrete contract of matrimony; but that they utterly deferre it, untill such time as they may have two or three honest men, to hear and record the words and maner of their contract, as they will avoide thextreme paine of the lawe, if they do the contrarye.

Item. That none of you discourage any person from reding of the Holy Scripture, but rather animate and encourage them therto; so that it be done of them without braging or arrogancy, but onelie to lerne therby to live vertuously, folowing the lawes of God, and giving good examples and holsome counsell to other that be ignorant.

Item. That not only such as have cure of soules, but also chauntry preestes, do hensforth their true diligence to instruct and teach children, until they can reade Englyshe; taking moderately, for their labours, of their frendes that be able to paye, which shall so put them to learning.

Item. That yonge people be taught their Pater Noster, Crede, and Tenne Commandments in Englyshe; so that none of them be admitted to receive the Sacrament of the Aulter, until he or she can, and do perfectly say and rehearse in Englyshe unto the curate, the Pater Noster, Crede, and Tenne Commandements, distinctly, wheresoever they be shryven, either at their parishes-churche, or els where. And in case any of them be obstinate to do, as is aforesaide, let them be detect immediatly after Ester, unto their ordinary.

Item. That preaching be not left off for any other manner of observances of the church, as processions, or exequies of the deade.

Item. That at your preaching time, ye diligentlie see that youre parochians be present, and take hede therunto; and that none presume to be at an alehouse, tavern, or els where, at the preaching-time, but onelie at the church, attentively hearing, as becometh good Christen people. And if any be disobedient, let them be first warned to amend; and afterward, if they amend not, detect them to their ordinary.

Item. That ye suffre no night-watches in your churches or chapells, neither decking of ymages with gold, silver, clothes, lights, or herbs; nor the people knele to them, nor worship them, nor offre candles, otes, cake-bread, chese, wolle, or any such other things to them: but he shall instruct and teach them, how they ought and may use them; that is to say, only to beholde, or loke upon them, as one loketh upon a boke; wherby mens mindes be stirred and kendled some times to vertue and constancy, in faith and love towards God, and sometimes to lament for their sinnes or offences. For otherwise there might be peril of ydolatrie, especially of ignorant lay-people, if they either in hert, or outward gesture worship them, or give honour to them, which ought onlie to be given to God, the Lord of all Saintes.

Item. Ye shall instruct your parochians, not to be envious about workes invented by their own folishe devocion, as to go about in idle pylgrimage, and say with vain confidence this prayer, and that prayer, with other superstitious observacions, in fastings, prayeng, and kepinge of olde folysh customs, which be not found commaunded or counseled, in any parte of Holy Scripture. But ye shall instruct them, and exhorte them, to know and do all such thinges, as be commaunded or commended in the Holy Scripture to be done; that is to say, to know and believe all the articles of our faith, contained in the Crede, to kepe inviolably the Tenne Commandements, to performe the workes of mercy, after every mannes power and habilitie, to be in love and charite eche with other, and one to beare with other in his weaknes or infirmite, and not to be vengeable for any offence.

Item. That every curate do at all times his best diligence, to reduce such as be at discord, to peace, love and charite, and one to forgive an other, how often so ever they be offended.

Item. That every curate, not only in his preaching;

but also at all other times necessary, do perswade, exhorte, and warn the people, whatsoever they be, to beware of swering, and blasphemie of the holy name of God, or any part of Christ's precious body or blode. And also to beware and abstaine from cursing or banning, chidinge, scoldinge, bakbiting, slaundering, lyinge; and from adultery, fornicacion, glotony, drunkenness, sorcere, witcherafte: and if they be notoriously faulty in any of these, then to detect them, that they may be corrected in example of other.

Item. That every curat instruct his parochians, and especially the midwives, the essencial maner and forme how to christen a child in time of nede; commaunding the women, when the time of byrthe draweth nere, to have a vessel of cleane water redy for the same purpose, charging also the said midwives, to beware that they cause not the woman, being in travaile, to make any folishe vowe, to go in pilgrimage to this ymage, or that ymage, after her deliveraunce, but only to call on God for helpe. Nor to use any girdels, purses, mesures of our lady, or such other superstitious thinges, to be occupied about the woman while she labourereth, to make her beleve to have the better spede by it.

Item. That none of you do magnifie and extol, praise, maintaine, or otherwise set forth, the superfluous holidayes abrogated by the kinge, with the advise of his ecclesiastical convocation.

And finally, forasmuch as all Christen men ought earnestly to covet and desiere their soules helthe, and the very meane therof is to obtaine the true knowledge of God's worde, which is the fedyng of the soul: I exhort, desier, and, asmoche as I may I require, that in every honest paryshe-churche within my diocesse of Sarum, either of their church-boxe, or of stockes given for mainteining of lightes before ymages, (with the which I dispence for this better use,) or els by waye of collection among themselves, there be ordeined and bought an Englyshe bible before Whitsondaye next, to be chained to a deske in the body of the church; where he that is letterdy may rede, and other unlearned may hear, holsome doctrine and comfort to their soules, and avoid idelnes and other inconveniences, whereunto the fraile disposicion of man is sone inclined.

Forasmuche as intollerable supersticion, and also abhominable ydolatrie, have no small time ben used in this my diocesse, by the occasion of suche thinges as be set forth and commended unto the ignorant people, under the name of holy reliques, being in veray dede vaine thinges, as I my self of certeine, which be alreddie comen to myne handes, have perfitte knowledge: namely, of stinking bootes, mucky combes, ragged rochettes, rotten girdles, pyl'd purses, great bullock's horns, lockes of heere, and filthy ragges, gobbetts of wodde, under the name of parcells of the holy cross, and such pelfrie, beyond estimation; and besides the shamfull abuse of such as peradventure be true reliques in dede, whereof nevertheless certain profe is none, but only that so they have bene taken, judged and esteemed, ye and so called without monumentes had of them in any autentyke forme of writing. Therefore in remedy herof, I hertelie prais you all and singular my said brethren of the clergie in my said diocese; and nevertheless by thauctorite that I have under God and the kynges's highnes, and in their names I commaunde you, and everyche of you, that you send al suche your reliques (as they be called) one and other unto me at myne house at Ramesbury, or other where, togyther with such wrytings as ye have of the same, to thintent that I and my counsel may explore and try them what they be, and those that be esteemed and judged to be undoubtedly

true reliques, ye shal not fayle at convenable tyme to have againe with certayne instruction how they ought to be used; that is to say, as memorialis of them whose reliques they be, in whom and by whom Almighty God did worke all that ever they virtuously wrought; and therefore onely he ought in them all to be glorified, lauded, and praysed; so that he which rejoiceth may in the Lorde rejoyse; to whom be all honour and glorie, for ever and ever. Amen.

Item. That the bell called the pardon, or ave bell, whiche of longe tyme hath been used to be tolled three tymes after, or before divine service, be not hereafter in any parte of my diocesse any more tollyd.

I exhorte, desire, require, and also (as ferre as I maye) commaunde you and all and every of you to provide you copies of these injunctions, and firmly to observe and perform them, and every of them, as ferre as they concerne you, and that for your welthe and my discharge to God and the kyng, of whom I have min auctorite in this behalf.

God save the kyng.

Imprinted at London, in Fletestrete, at the sygne of the Sonne, by John Bydell, and are to sell at the Close Yate in Salysbury.

NUMBER LXI.*

The Petition of Gresham, Lord Mayor of London, to the King, for the City Hospitals.

[Cott. Lib. Cleop. E. 4. p. 222.]

MOST redowted, puyasant, and noble prince. My most dradd, beloved, and naturall soveraigne lorde, I your poore humble and most obedient servaint, dailly considering, and ever more and more perceivyng, by your vertuous begynninge and charitable proceedings in all your causes, your persone, and majestie royall, to be the elected and chosen vessel of God, by whom not only the very and true worde of God is, and shall be sett forth, and according to the trewgh and verytie of the same; but also to be he whom God hath constituted and ordeyned, both to redresse and reforme all crimes, offences, and enormities, beyng repugnant to his doctrine, or to the detryment of the common welth, and hurt of the poor people beyng your natural subjects; and farther to forsee, and vigilantly to provide for the charitable reformation of the same. Which thynk hath, and yet doth encourage me, and also my bounden dewtie obligeth me, in especiall beyng most unworthy your levetenant, and mayer of your cytie royall of London, to enforme and advertise your most gracious highnes of one thing in especiall, for the ayde and comfort of the poor, syke, blynde, aged, and impotent persons being not able to help themselves, nor having no place certain where they may be refreshed or lodged at, tyll they be helpen and cured of their diseases and sicknes. So it is most gracious lorde, that nere, and withyn the cytie of London, be ij hospitalls, or spytells, commonly called Seynt Georges spytell, Seynt Barthilmewes spytell, and Seynt Thomas spytell, and the new abbey of Tower-hill, founded of good devotion by auncient fathers, and endowed with great possessions and rents, only for the releffe, comforte, and helping of the poor and impotent people, not beyng able to help themselves, and not to the mayntenance of chonons, priests, and monks, to live in pleasure, nothing regarding the miserable people lying in every street, offendyng every clene persone passyng by the way, with theyre fylthy and nasty savours.

* No. 60 contained two passages accidentally omitted in the first part, and which in this edition have been restored to their proper place.—Ed.

Wherefore may it please your merciful goodness enclnyed to pity and compassion, for the reliefe of Christ's very images, created to his own similitude, to order by your high autorite, as supreme head of this church of England, or otherwise by your sage discretion, that your mayor of your cytie of London, and his brethren the aldermen for the tyme being, shall and may, from henceforth, have the order, disposicion, rule, and gouvnaunce, both of all the lands, tencments, and revenewes apperteynyng, and belongyn to the said hospitalls, gouvners of theym, and of the ministers which be, or shall be withyn any of them; and then your grace shall facillie perceyve, that where now a small number of chonons, preests, and monikes, be founde for theyr own proffitt only, and not for the common utilitie of the realme, a great number of poore needy, syke, and indugent persons shall be refreshed, maynteyned, and comforted, and also healed and cured of their infirmities, frankly and freely by physicions, surgeons, and potycaries, which shall have stipende and salarie only for that purpose; so that all impotent persons not able to labour shall be releved, and all sturdy beggars not willing to labour shall be punished: for the which doyng your grace shall not alonely merit highly towards God, but shewe your selfe to be more charitable to the poor, then your noble progenitor kyng Edgar, foundour of so many monasteries; or kyng Henry the Thyrd, renewer of Westmynster; or kyng Edward the Thirde, foundor of the New Abbey: or kyng Henry the Fifte, foundor of Syon and Shene; but also shall have the name of conservatour, protectour, and defendour of the poor people, with their contynuall prayer for your health, welthe, and prosperitie long to endure.

Your humble and most obedient servant,

RYCHARD GRESHAM.

NUMBER

A Part of a Proclamation, chiefly concerning Becket.

[Cott. Lib. Titus. B. 1.]

And whereas his most royall majestie, heretofore most prudently considering, as well the great and manifold supersticions and abuses which have crept in the harte and stomake of many his true, simple, and unlerned subjects, for lacke of the sincere and true application, and the declaryng of the true meaning and understanding of holy Scriptures, Sacraments, rites and ceremonies; as also the sondry strifes and contentions, which have and may growe amonges many of his saide loving subjects, for lacke of the very perfect knowledge of the true entent and meaning of the same; hath divers times most straitly commanded all and singular his archbishops, bishops, and other ministers of the clergie of this his noble realme, in their sermons and preaching, plainly, purely, sincerely, and with all their possible diligence, to set forth first to the glorie of God, and trouthe of his most blessed word; and after, the true meaning and end of the said sacramentalls and ceremonies; to the entent that all supersticious abuses and idolatries being avoided, the same sacramentalls, rites and ceremonies, might be quietly used, for such only intent and consideration, as they were first instituted and meant. His majestie having knowledge, that this his most godly and most vertuose commandment, hath not been executed according to his trust and expectation; therefore straitly eftsones chargeth and commandeth, all his said archbishops and bishops of this his realme, not only in their own persons, with more diligence to preach, teach, open and set forth, to his people and loving subjects within their cures, committed to them

by his highnes for that purpose, as often as they conveniently maie, the word of God sincerely and purely; declaring such difference between thinges commanded by God, and the rites and ceremonies aforesaid, and the use of them, in such wise as his people, being under their cures by his highnes to them committed, maie be brought to the true knowledge of their lively faith to God, and obedience to his highnes, with their love and charity also to their neighbours: but also his highnes straitly chargeth and commanded, all archdeacons, deans, provosts, parsons, vicars, curates, and other ministers, and every of them, in their own persons, within their cures, truly and diligently to do the same. And further, in all their said sermons and collations, to stirre and exhorthe the people to charitie, love and obedience; and also rede and heare with simplicitie, and without any arrogancie, the very gospell and holie scripture, and to conforme, by earnest deeds, their mindes and willes unto the same; avoiding all manner of contencion, strife and occasions, upon pain not only to incurre his majestie's indignacion, but also for their slacknesse and negligence in the executing of their cures and charges committed unto them by his highnes, to be imprisoned and punished at his majesty's pleasure.

Item. Forasmuch as it appeareth clearly, that Thomas Becket, sometime archbishops of Canterbury, stubbornly to withstand the wholesome lawes established against the enormities of the clergy, by the king's highnes' most noble progenitor, king Henry the Second, for the common welth, rest, and tranquillity of this realme; of his froward mind, fled the realme into France, and to the bishop of Rome, mainteneur of those enormities, to procure the abrogation of the said lawes, whereby arose much trouble in this said realm. And that his death, which they untruly called martirdome, happen'd upon a reskewe by him made: and that, as it is written, he gave opprobrious wordes, to the gentlemen which then counsailed him to leave his stubbornnes, and to avoid the commotion of the people, risen up for that reskewe. And he not only called the one of them bawde, but also toke Tracy by the bosome, and violently shoke and plucked him in such manner, as he had almost overthroned him to the pavement of the church. So that upon this fray, one of their company perceiving the same, struck him, and so in the throng Becket was slain. And further, that his canonisation was made only by the bishop of Rome, because he had been a champion to mainteine his usurped authority, and a bearer of the iniquitie of the clergie. For these, and for other great and urgent causes long to recite, the king's majestie, by the advice of his counsell, hath thought expedient to declare to his loving subjects, that notwithstanding the said canonization, there appeareth nothing in his life and exteriour conversation, whereby he should be called a saint, but rather esteemed to have been a rebel and traitor to his prince. Therefor his grace straightly chargeth and commandeth, that from henceforth the said Thomas Becket shall not be esteemed, named, reputed, nor called a saint, but bishop Becket: and that his images and pictures, through the hole realme, shall be put down and avoided, out of all churches, chappelles, and other places. And that from henceforth, the days used to be festivall in his name, shall not be observed; nor the service, office, antiphones, collettes, and praiers in his name redde, but rased and put out of all the booke. And that all other festivall daies already abrogate, shall be in no wise solemnised, but his grace's ordenance and injunctions thereupon, observed; to the intent his grace's loving subjects shall be no longer blindly led, and abused, to committ idolatrie, as they have done

in times passed; upon paine of his majestie's indignacion, and imprisonment at his grace's pleasure.

Finallie, his majestie willesh, and chargeth all his said true, loving, and obedient subjects, that they, and every of them for his parte, shall keepe and observe all and singular the injunctions made by his majestie, upon the paine therein contained, and further to be punished at his graces pleasure.—God save the king.

Westm' xvj. Novembris, Anno Regni Regis Henrici Octavi xxx.

NUMBER LXIII.

An Original Letter of the King's, much to the same purpose.

[Cott. Lib. Cleop. E. 6. p. 2:]

BY THE KING.

HENRY R.—Trusty and welbeloved, we grete you well. And whereas we, chiefly and principally regarding and tendring the quiet, rest, prosperite and tranquillite of our nobles and commons, and ther conservacion no less than our own, directed lately our letters unto you, and other justices of our peace throughout this our realme, conteinng our admonition and gentil warening, to have such special regard to the dewties of your office, according to the trust we have reposed in you, that not only for thimportance it is both unto us and our commonwelthe, ye should see our dignitie of supremacie of our church (wherwith it hath pleased Almighty God, by his most certain and undoubted word, to endowe and adorn our auctorite and crown imperiall of this our realme) to be set forth, and impressed in all our subjects' herts and mindes; and forsee, that the mayntenors of the bishop of Rome's usurped and fayned auctorite, with all his papistical supersticions and abuses, with which he hath in times past abused the multitude of our subjects; of whose yoke, tyranny and skornfull illusion, we have, by God's providance, deliver'd this our realm, and other his satellyts, which secretly did uphold his faction, should be by you diligently serched, enquired and tried out, and so brought to our justice, to receive condign punishment, according to their demerits; but also that tale-tellers about the cuntries, and spreaders of rumors, and false inventors of news, to put our people in fears, and to styrrer them to sedicion, should be apprehended and punished, to the terrible example of others. Also, that vagabonds, and valyant beggers, shall be avoided, and have worthy correction: and for the same purpos, to keep watches, and to see commun justice with indifferencie, and without corruption, to be observed and ministred unto all our subjects; like as by the purport and contents of our said letters, ye may more amply perceive. We have been credibly informed, that sundrie of you have for a time so well done your dewties, and endeavored your selfs fulfilling our said admonicions, and causing the evil doers to be punished according to ther demerits, that our loving subjects have not been disquieted of a long season, untill now of late, that some ungracious, cankred, and maliciose persons, have taken boldnes tattempt with sundry devilish persuasions, to move and seduce our true subjects; using false lyes, and most untrew rumors. And amongst them, we understand, sundry parsons, vicars and curates of this our realme, to be cheef; which (to bring our people to darkness) of their owne perverse minde, not only to blinde our commons, do rede so confusely, hemmyng and hacking the word of God, and such our injunctions as we have lately set forth, that almost no man can understande the trewe meanyng of the said injunctions, and also secretly have suborned certain spreaders

of rumors and false tales in corners, which do interpretat and wrast our trewe meanyng and intencion of our said injunctions, to an untrewse sense: for whereas we have ordainyd by our said injunctions, for the avoiding of sundry strifes, processis and contentions, rising upon aegle, lyneall descents, title of inheritance, legitimation, or bastardy, and for knowledge whether any person is our subject born or no: also for sundry other causes, that the names of all children christen'd from henceforth, with their birth, their father's and mother's names; and likewise all marryages and burials, with the time and date therof, should be registred from tyme to tyme in a booke in every parish-church, safely and surely to be kept. They have brutid and blowen abrode, most falsely and untrewly, that we do intend to make sum new examinations, at all christnyngs, weddinges, and buryalls; the which in no wise we never meanyd, or thought upon. Alledging, for to fortify and colour their false and manyfest lyes, that therein we go about to take away the liberties of our realm; for conservation whereof, they fayne, that bishop Becket of Canterbury, which they have tofore called saint Thomas, dyed for: where in deede ther was never such thyng don nor ment in that tyme, nor since: for the said Becket never swarwed nor contended with our progenitor, king Henry the Second; but only to let, that those of the clergie shuld not be punished for their offences, nor justified by the courts and lawes of this realm; but only at the bishop's pleasure, and after the decrees of Rome. And the causes why he dyd, were upon a wyllfull reskow and fraye, by him made and begon at Canterbury; which was nevertheles afterward alledged to be for such liberties of the church, which he contended for, during his life, with the archbishop of Yorke; yea, and in case he should be absent, or fugitive out of the realme, the king shuld not be crowned by any other, but constrainyd tabyde his retorne. These, and such other detestable and unlawfull liberties, nothing concerning the comun wele, but only the partie of the clergie, the said Thomas Becket most arrogantly desired, and traytorously sewed, to have contrary to the lawes of this our realme. To the which most false interpretations, and wrasting of our trewe meanyng, they have joynd such myschevouise lyes, and false tales, for marking of catalls, and others lyke sedyciouse devises, wherupon our people were lately styrryd to sedicion and insurrection, to their utter ruyn and destruction, onles Allmighty God, who by his divine providence gave unto us habundance of force, (as he allwayes doth unto rightfull prynces) had so with clemencie illumyned us, that whereas we, with the edge of the sword, and by our lawes might have overthrowen and destroyed them, their wives, children, and posterite for ever; we nevertheles, as ye can right well remember, extended upon them at that time our benygne and mercifull pardon. Those miserable, and papistical, superstitiouse wretches, nothing regarding the same, nor caryng what daunger and myscheef our people shuld incurre, have both rayseyd the said old rumors, and forged newe sedyciouse tales, intending (as much as in them lyeth) a newe commocion, and all to satisfye their cankered herts. Wherefore, and for the immynent daunger to you, and to all our good subjects, and trouble that might ensue, onles good and earnest provision to repress them be taken thereupon: we desire and pray you, and nevertheles straitly charge and command you, that within the precynct and lymyt of your charge, ye shall not only endeavour your selfe, and employ your most diligence, to inquire and fynde out such canker'd parsons, vicars and curats, which do not truely and substantially declare our said injunctions, and the very

word of God, but mumble confusely, saying that they be compelled to rede them, and byd their parishioners nevertheles to do as they did in times past, to live as their fathers, and that the old fashion is the best, and other craftie sedyciouse parables; but also with your most effectual vigilancie do inserche and try out such sedyciouse tale-tellers, and spreaders abroade of such bruts, tydings, and rumours, touching us in honour, or suretie, the state of our realm, or any mutation of the lawes, or customes thereof, or any other thing which might cause any sedition, and the same with their setters-forth, mayntenors, counsaylers, fautors, and adherers with all diligence to apprehend and comytte to ward, or prison, without bayl or mynprise till evidence to be given against them, at the arrival of our justice in that country, or otherwise upon your advertisement to us, or to our counsell, to be given, to our further pleasure known, they may be punished for their sedyciouse demerits according to the lawe, to the fearful example of all others: employing and indevoring your self therunto, so earnestly, and with such dexteritie as we may have cause to think that ye be the men which above all thing desire the punishment of evil doers and offenders, and that will let for no travail to set forth all things for the common peas, quiet, and tranquility of this our realme: and like as the daunger is immynent no les to your self and your neighbours then to other, so ye of your own mind shuld procure and see with celeritie our injunctions, laws, and proclamations, as well touching the Sacramentaries and Anabaptists, as others, to be set forth to the good instruction and conservation of our people, and to the confusion of those which would so craftely underminde our common wealth, and at the last destroy both you, and all other our loving subjects, although we should give unto you no such admonishon: therefore fayle ye not to follow the effect, admonishon and commandment both in our said letters, and in these presents, and to communicate the whole tainour of these, to and with such justices of our peas, your neighbours, and other in that district, and to give unto them the trew copie therof, exhorting them likeas by these we desire and pray, and nevertheles straitly charge and command you, and every of you, that you will shew your diligence, towardnes, and good inclination to see every thing for his parte, put in execution accordingly, as ye and they tender our pleasure, and will deserve our condigne thanks, given under our signet at our manner of Hampton-court, the day of Decembre, in the 30th year of our reign.

NUMBER LXIV.

The Design for the Endowment of Christ-Church in Canterbury.

[Cott. Lib. Cleop. E. 4. p. 301.]

	£.	s.	d.
FIRST a provost	100	0	0
Item. 12 prebendaries, each of them at 40 <i>l.</i> by the year	480	0	0
Item. 6 preachers, every of them 20 <i>l.</i> a year	120	0	0
Item. A reader of humanitie in Greke, by the year	30	0	0
Item. A reader in divinitie in Hebrew, by the year	30	0	0
Item. A reader both in divinitie and humanitie, in Latin, by the year	40	0	0
Item. A reader of civil	20	0	0
Item. A reader of physike	20	0	0
Item. 20 students in divinitie to be found			

	£	s.	d.
10 at Oxford, and 10 at Cambridge, every of them 10 <i>l.</i> by the year	200	0	0
<i>Item.</i> 40 scholars to be taught both grammar and logik in Hebrew, Græke, and Latene, every of them 5 marks by the year	200	marks.	
<i>Item.</i> A scholè-master 20 <i>l.</i> and an usher 10 <i>l.</i> by the year	30	0	0
<i>Item.</i> 8 petty-canons to sing in the quere, every of them 10 <i>l.</i> by the year	80	0	0
<i>Item.</i> 12 layemen to sing also, and serve in the quere, every of them 6 <i>l.</i> 1 <i>s.</i> 4 <i>d.</i> by the year	80	0	0
<i>Item.</i> 10 choristers, every of them 5 marks by the year	38	6	8
<i>Item.</i> A master of the children	10	0	0
<i>Item.</i> A gospeler	6	13	4
<i>Item.</i> A episler	5	6	8
<i>Item.</i> 2 sacristens	6	13	4
<i>Item.</i> 1 chief butler, his wages and diet	4	13	4
<i>Item.</i> 1 under butler, his wages and diet	3	6	8
<i>Item.</i> A cater to buye their diet, for his wages, and making of his books	6	13	4
<i>Item.</i> 1 chief cook, his wages and diet	4	13	4
<i>Item.</i> 1 under cook, his wages and diet	3	6	8
<i>Item.</i> 2 porters	10	0	0
<i>Item.</i> 12 poor men being old, and serving men, decayed by the warres, or in the king's serving, every of them at 6 <i>l.</i> 13 <i>s.</i> 4 <i>d.</i> by the year	80	0	0
<i>Item.</i> To be distributed yearly in alms	130	0	0
<i>Item.</i> For yearly reparations	100	0	0
<i>Item.</i> 6 to be employed yearly, for making and amending of high ways	40	0	0
<i>Item.</i> A stuard of the lands	6	13	4
<i>Item.</i> An auditor	10	0	0
<i>Item.</i> For the provost's expences, and receiving the rents, and surveying the lands, by the year	6	13	5

NUMBER LXV.

A Letter of Thomas Lord Archbishop of Canterbury, to Cromwell, upon the New Foundation at Canterbury.—An Original.

[Cott. Libr. Cleop. F. 1.]

MY VERY SINGULAR GOOD LORD,—After my most hartie commendations, these shall be to advertise your lordshippe that I have received your letters, dated the 27th of November: and therewith a bill concerning the divise for the new establishment to be made in the metropolitan church of Canterbury, by which your lordshippe requireth my advice thereupon by writing, for our mutual consents. Surely, my lord, as touching the books drawn, and the order of the same, I think that it will be a very substantial and godly foundation; nevertheless, in my opinion, the prebendaries, which will be allow'd 40*l.* a peece yearly, might be altr'd to a more expedient use: and this is my consideration, for having experience, both in tymes past, and also in our daies, how the said secte of prebendaries have not only spent their time in much idleness, and their substaince in superfluous belly chere, I think it not to be a convenient state or degree to be mainteyned and established: considering firste, that commonly a prebendarie is neither a learner nor teacher, but a good viander. Then by the same name they look to be chief, and to bere all the hole rule and preheminance in the college where they be resident: by means whereof, the younger of their own

nature, given more to pleasure, good chere, and pastime, than to abstynance, studye, and lerning, shall easily be brought from their books to follow the appetite and example of the said prebendaries, being their hedds and rulers. And the state of prebendaries hath been so excessively abused, that when learned men hath been admitted unto such room, many times they have desisted from their good and godlie studies, and all other vertuous exercise of preaching and teaching: wherefore if it may so stand with the king's gracious pleasure, I would wish that not only the name of a prebendarie were exiled his grace's foundations, but also the superfluous conditiones of such persons. I cannot deny but that the beginning of prebendaries was no lesse purposed for the maintenance of good learning and good conversation of living, than religious men were: but for as much as both be gone from their first estate and order, and the one is found like offendour with the other, it maketh no great matter if they perish both together: for to say the truth, it is an estate which St. Paule, reckoning up the degrees and estates allowed in his time, could not find in the church of Christ. And I assure you, my lord, that it will better stand with the maintenance of Christian religion, that in the stede of the said prebendaries were 20 divines at 10*l.* a peece, like as it is appointed to be at Oxford and Cambridge; and 20 students in the tongues and French, to have 10 marks a peece; for if such a number be not there resident, to what intent should so many reders be there. And surely it were great petie that so many good lectures should be there redde in vain: for as for your prebendaries, they cannot attend to applie lectures for making of good chere. And as for your 20 children in grammar, their master and their husher be daily otherwise occupied in the rudiments of grammer, then that they have space and time to hear the lectures. So that to these good lectures is prepared no convenient auditorie. And therefore, my lord, I pray you let it be considered what a great losse it will be to have so many good lectures redde without profite to any, saving to the 6 preachers; farther, as concerning the reader of divinitie and humanitie, it will not agree well, that one man should be reader of both lectures. For he that studieth in divinitie must leave the reading of profane authors, and shall have as much to doe as he can to prepare his lecture to be substantially redde. And in like manner he that redeth had not need to alter his studie, if he should make an erudite lecture. And therefore in mine opinion, it would be office for ii sundry learned men. Now, concerning the dean and others, to be elected into the college, I shall make a bill of all them that I can here of in Cambridge, Oxford, or elsewhere, mete to be put into the said college, after my judgment: and then of the hole number, the king's highnes may choose the most excellent, assuring you, my lord, that I know no man more mete for the dean's room in England, then doctor Crome, who by his sincere learning, godly conversation, and good example of living, with his great soberness hath done unto the king's majestie as good service, I dare say, as any priest in England. And yet his grace daily remembreth all others that doth him service, this man only except, who never had yet, besides his gracious favour, any promotion at his highnes' hands. Wherefore, if it will please his majestie to put him in the dean's room, I do not doubt but that he should shew light to all the deans and ministers of colleges in this realm. For I know that when he was but president of a college in Cambridge, his house was better ordered than all the houses in Cambridge besides. And thus, my lord, you have my finale advice concerning the premisses, which I

referr unto the kinge's grace's judgment, to be allowed or disallowed at his highnes' pleasure. Sending unto your lordshipp herewithall the bill again, according to your request. Thus, my lord, most hartely fare you well.

At Croyden, the xxixth day of November,
Your own ever assured,

T. CANTUARIEN.

NUMBER LXVI.

A Part of a Letter concerning the Debates of the Six Articles in the House of Lords.

[Cott. Lib. Cleop. 5, E. p. 129.]

AND also newes here; I assure you, never prince shew'd himself so wise a man, so well lerned and so catholick, as the kinge hath done in thys parlyment. With my penne I cannot expresse his marvelous goodnes; which is come to such effecte, that we shall have an acte of parliament, so spirituall, that I think none shall dare saye, in the blessed sacrament of the aulter, doth remayne eyther bred or wyne after the consecration; nor that a prist may have a wife; nor that it is necessarie to receive our maker "sub utraque specie;" nor that private masses should not be used as they have be; nor that it is not necessarie to have auricular confession. And notwithstanding my lord of Canterbury, my lord of Ely, my lord of Salisburie, my lord of Worcester, Rocester, and saint Davyds defended the contrary longe tyme, yet finally his highnes confounded them all with Goddes lerning. Yorke, Duram, Winchester, London, Chichester, Norwiche, and Carlile, have shewed themselves honest and well lerned men. We of the temporalitie have been all of one opynion, and my lord chancellor and my lord privye scale, as good as we can devise. My lord of Cant' and all theis bishopes have given their opinion, and came into us, save Salisburie, who yet contynneth a lewed fole. Fynally, all England have cause to thank God, and most hertlie to rejoyse of the king's most godlie proceedings.

NUMBER LXVII.

A Letter of the Visitors sent to examine the Abbott of Glastonbury.

[Ex MSS. D. Tanner.]

PLEASE hyt your lordship to be advertised, that we came to Glastonbury on Fryday last past, about tenn of the clock in the forenoone: and for that the abbot was then at Sharpham, a place of hys, a myle and somewhat more from thabhey, we, without any delay, went unto the same place; and there, after certain communication, declaring unto hym theeffect of our coming, examined him upon certain articles. And for that his answer was not then to our purpose, we advised him to call to his remembrance that which he had as then forgotten, and so declare the truth. And then came with him the same day to the abbey, and there of new proceeded that night to search his study for letters and books: and found in his study secretly laid, aswell a written book of arguments, against the divorce of his king's majestie, and the lady dowager: which we take to be a great matter. As also divers pardons, copies of bulls, and the counterfeit life of Thomas Bequet in print. But we could not find any letter that was materiall. And so we proceeded again to his examination, concerning the articles we received from your lordship, in the answers whereof, as we take it, shall appear his canker'd and traitorous heart and mind against the king's majestie, and his succession; as by the same answers, syned with his hand, and sent

to your lordship by this bearer, more plainly shal appear. And so, with as fair words as we could, we have conveyed him from hence into the Tower, being but a very weak man, and sickly. And as yet we have neither discharged servant nor monk; but now the abbot being gone, we will with as much celerity as we may, proceed to the despatching of them. We have in money 300*l*. and above; but the certainty of plate and other stuffe there, as yet we know not, for we have not had opportunity for the same; but shortly we intend (God willing) to proceed to the same; whereof we shall ascertain your lordship, so shortly as we may. This is also to advertise your lordship that we have found a fair chalice of gold, and divers other parcels of plate, which the abbot had hid secretly from all such commissioners as have bine there in times past; and as yet he knoweth not that we have found the same: whereby we think, that he thought to make his hand, by his untruth to his king's majestie. It may please your lordship to advertise us of the king's pleasure, by this bearer, to whom we shall deliver the custody and keeping of the house, with such stuff as we intend to leave there, convenient to the king's use. We assure your lordship it is the goodliest house of that sort that ever we have seen. We wold that your lordship did know it as we do; then we doubt not, but your lordship would judge it a house mete for the king's majesty, and for no man else: which is to our great comfort; and we trust verily that there shall never come any double hood within that house again. Also this is to advertise your lordship that there is never a one doctor within that house, but there be three batchelors of divinity, which be meanly learned, as we can perceive. And thus our Lord preserve your good lordship.

From Glastonbury, the 22d day of September.

Yours to command,

RICHARD POLLARD. THOMAS MOYLE.

RICHARD LAYTON.

To the ryght honorable, and their syngular good lord, my lord pryve seal, thys be dd.

This agrees with the original, in the possession of
THOM. TANNER.

NUMBER LXVIII.

Cromwell's Letter to the King when he was committed to the Tower.

[Cott. Lib. Titus, B. 1.]

MOST gracyous king, and most mercyfull soverayng, your most humble, most obbeysand, and most bounden subject, and most lamentable servant and prysouer, prostrate at the feet of your most excellent majesty, have herd your pleasure by the mouth of your comptroller; which was, that I should wrytte to your most excellent highnes suche things as I thought mete to be wryttyn, considering my most myserable state and condicyon. For the which your most haboundant goodnes, benignte and lycens, the Immortal God, Three and One, rewarde your majesty. And now, most gracyous prynce, to the matter. Fyrst, wher I have been accused to your majesty of treason, to that I saye, I never in all my life thought willinglye to do that thing that might or should displease your majesty, and much less to doe or saye that thing, which of itself is so highe and abominable offence, as God knoweth, who, I doubt not, shall reveale the trowthe to your highnes. Myne accusers your grace knoweth; God forgive them. For as I ever have had love to your honour's person, lyfe, prosperite, health, wealth, joye, and comfort, and also your most dear and most entyerly beloved son, the prynce his grace, and your

proceedings. God so helpe me in thys mine adversyte, and confound me if ever I thought the contrarye. What labours, paynes, and travailes I have taken, according to my most bounden deutie, God also knoweth. For if it were in my power, as it is God's to make your majesty to live ever young and prosperous, God knoweth, I would, yf it had been, or were in my power, to make me so puissant, as all the worlde should be compellyd to obbey you, Christ he knowyth I woulde; for so am I of all other most bounde; for your majesty hath been the most bountifull prince to me, that ever was king to his subjects: ye, and more like a dear father, your majesty not offended, then a master. Such hathe been your most grave and godly counceyles towards me at sundry tymes: in that I have offended I ask your mercy. Should I now for suche exceeding goodnes, beniguite, liberalite, and bounty, be your traytor, nay then the greatest paynes were lityll for me. Should any faction, or any affection to any poynt, make me a traytor to your majesty, then all the devylls in hell confounde me, and the vengeance of God light appon me, yf I should ons have thought it. Most gracyous soverayng lord, to my remembrance, I never spake with the Chancellor of the Augmentations and Throgmorton together, at one tyme. But yf I did, I am sure, I spake never of any such matyer; and your grace knoweth what maner of man Throgmorton hath ever been towards your grace proceedings: and what master channcler hath been towards me, God and he best knoweth. I will ne can accuse hym. What I have been towards hym, your majesty right well knoweth. I would to Christ I hadd obeyed your often most gracious, grave counceyles and advertisements, then it had not been with me as now it is: yet our Lorde, if it be his will, can do with me, as he did with Susan, who was falsly accused. Unto the which God, I have onely comytted my soule, and bodye and goods at your majesty's pleasure, in whose mercye and pyete I do hollye repose me: for other hope than in God and your majesty I have not. Syr, as to your common welth, I have, after my wytt, power, and knowledge, travayled therin, having had no respect to persons (your majesty onely except, and my duty to the same) but that I have done any injustice or wrong willfully, I trust God shall be my witness, and the world not able justly to accuse me: and yet I have not done my duty in all things as I was bounde. Wherefore I aske mercy. That I have herde of any combinations, conventicles, or such as were offenders of your laws, I have (though not as I should have done) for the most parte revealed them, and also caused them to be punished; not of malise, as God shall judge me. Nevertheless, sir, I have medelled in so many matiers under your highnes, that I am not able to answer them all. But one thing I am well assured of, that wittingly and willingly, I have not had will to offend your highnes. But harde it is for me, or any other medling as I have done, to live under your grace, and your lawes, but we must dailie offende: and wher I have offended, I most humbly aske mercy and pardon at your gracious will and pleasure. Amongst other things, most gracious soveraigne, master comptroller shewed me, that your grace shewed hym that within these 14 days ye committed a matter of great secrecy, which I did reveal contrary to your expectacyon: syr, I do remember well the matter, which I never revelid to any creature: but this I did, sir, after your grace hade opened the matter, fyrst to me in your chamber, and declared your lamentable fate, declaring the things wich your highnes myslyked in the queen;

at which time I shewed your grace that she often desired to speak with me, but I durst not: and ye said why should I not, alleging that I might do much good in goeing to her, and to be plain with her in declaring my mind: I theruppon taking opertuntye, not being little greyed, spake prevely with her lord chamberlayn, for which I aske your grace mercie, desiryng him, not naming your grace to him, to finde some means that the queen might be inducid to order your grace plesantlie in her behaveour towards you, thinking therbie for to have hade some faults amended to your majesty's comfort; and after that by general words, the said lord chamberlain, and other of the queen's counsayle being with me in my chamber at Westminster, for lycens for the departure of the strange maydens, I then required them to counsayle their mistresse to use all plesantnes to your highnes: the which things undoubtedly were bothe spoken before your majesty committed the secret matter unto me, onlie of purpose that she might have been inducid to such pleasant and honorable fassions, as might have been to your grace's comfort, which above all things, as God knoweth, I did most covit and desire: but that I opened my mouth to any creature after your majesty committed the secrecie thereof to me, other than onely to my lord admyrall, which I did by your grace's commandment, which was uppon Sunday last in the morning, whcm I then founde as willing and glad to seek remedye ffor your comfort and resolution, and saw by him that he did as much lament your highnes' fate as ever did man, and was wonderfullie grieved to see your highnes so troubled, wishing greatly your comfort; for the attaining whereof, he said your honour salvyd, he would spend the best blood in his body, and if I would not do the like, ye, and willingly die, for your comfort, I would I were in hell, and I would I should receyve a thousand deths. Sir, this is all that I have done in that matter; and if I have offended your majesty therin, prostrate at your majesty's feet, I most lowlye aske mercy and pardon of your highnes. Sir, ther was also laide unto my charge at mine examination, that I had retained contrarye to your lawes; and what expositcion may be made uppon retaynours, I know not, but this will I saye, if ever I retayned any man but such onely as were my howshold servants, but against my will, God confound me. Most gracious soveraigne, I have been so called on and seywd to by them that said they were my friends, that constrained therunto I retayned thair chyliden and friends, not as retayners, for their fathers and parents did promise me to finde them, and so toke I them, not as retayners, to my great charge, and for none evil, as God best knoweth, interpret to the contery who will. Most humbly beseeching your majesty of pardon, if I have offended therin; and I do knowledge my self to have been a most miserable and wretched sinner; and that I have not, towards God and your highnes, behaved my self as I ought and should have done; for the which mine offence to God, whiles I live I shall continually call for his mercy, and for mine offences against your grace, which God knoweth wer never malicious nor willfull: and that I never thought treson to your highnes, your realme, or posterite: so God helpe me, either in word or dede; nevertheles, prostrate at your majesty's feet in what thing soever I have offended; I appell to your highnes for mercy, grace, pardon, in such wise as shall be your pleasure; beseeching the Allmightie Maker and Redeemer of this world, to send your majesty continuall and long helth, welthe, and prosperitie, with Nestor's yeres to reigne, and your most dear son, the prince's grace, to prosper alwayes, and contenen after you: and they that would contrarye, short life, shame, and confusion:

writin with the quaking haud, and most sorrowfull harte, of your most sorrowful subject, and most humble servant and prisoner, this Satyrday, at the Tour of London.

THOMAS CRUMWELL.

NUMBER LXIX.

Questions concerning the Sacraments.

The first question :—WHAT a sacrament is by the Scripture ?

The second question :—What a sacrament is by the antient authors ?

The third question :—How many sacraments there be by the Scriptures ?

The fourth question :—How many sacraments there be by the antient authors ?

The fifth question :—Whither this word sacrament be, and ought to be, attributed to the seven only ; and whither the seven sacraments be found in any of the old authors ?

The sixth question :—Whither the determinate number of seven sacraments be a doctrine, either of the Scripture or of the old authors, and so to be taught ?

The seventh question :—What is found in Scripture of the matter, nature, effect, and vertue of such as we call the seven sacraments ; so as although the name be not there, yet whether the thing be in Scripture or no, and in what wise spoken of ?

The eighth question :—Whether confirmation, *cum Chrismate*, of them that be baptized, be found in Scripture ?

The ninth question :—Whether the apostles lacking a higher power, as in not having a Christian king among them, made bishops by that necessity, or by authority given by God ?

The tenth question :—Whether bishops or priests were first ? And if the priests were first, then the priest made the bishop.

The eleventh question :—Whether a bishop hath authority to make a priest by the Scripture, or no ? And whether any other, but only a bishop, may make a priest ?

The twelfth question :—Whether in the New Testament be required any consecration of a bishop and priest, or only appointing to the office be sufficient ?

The thirteenth question :—Whether (if it fortuned a Christian prince learned, to conquer certain dominions of infidels, having none but temporal learned men with him), if it be defended by God's law, that he and they, should preach and teach the word of God there, or no ? And also make and constitnte priests, or no ?

The fourteenth question :—Whether it be forefended by God's law, that (if it so fortune that all the bishops and priests of a region were dead, and that the word of God should remain there unpreached, and the sacrament of baptism, and others unministred), that the king of that region should make bishops and priests to supply the same, or no ?

The fifteenth question :—Whether a man be bound by authority of this Scripture (*quorum remisistis*) and such like, to confess his secret deadly sins to a priest, if he may have him, or no ?

The sixteenth question :—Whether a bishop or a priest may excommunicate, and for what crimes ? And whether they only may excommunicate by God's law ?

The seventeenth question :—Whether unction of the sick with oil, to remit venial sine, as it is now used, be spoken of in the Scripture, or in any antient authors ?

NUMBER LXX.

An Answer to the former Queries ; with some Remarks on them, in the King's Hand, written on the Margin : together with some Persons' Names ; but these are not written by the King.

[Cott. Lib. Cleop. E. 5.]

Why then should we call them so ?

1. SCRIPTURE useth the worde ; but it defineth it not.

2. In them is founde no proper definition, but a general declaration of the worde, as a token of an holly thinge.

3. So named only matrimony ; in effects moo ; and at the last 7, as we finde in the scripture expounded.

Why these seven to have the name, more then the rest ?

4. Auctors use the word sacrament, to signifie any mysterye in the Old and New Testament ; but spiritually benote

baptisme, euckarist, manuum, ordo."

matrimonie, chrisme, "impositio

Arch-bp. Cant. St. David's.

5. The worde, bycause it is general, is attribute to other thenne the seven ; but whether it ought specially to be applied to the One only, God knoweth, and hath not fully revealed it soe as it hath been received.

6. The thing of al is found, but not named al sacraments, as afore.

7. The doctrine of scripture is to teach the thinge, without numbring or nyming the name "Sacrament," saving only the matrimony.

Arch-bp. Cant.

Old auctors number not precisely.

Then penance is changed to a new name, the absolution of penance. I read that without it we cannot be saved after relapse, but not so of absolution ; and penance to sinners is commanded, but absolution of open crimes is left free to the asker.

8. Scripture speaketh,

(1.) Of baptism manifestly.

(2.) Of the holy communion manifestly

(3.) Of matrimony manifestly.

(4.) Of absolution manifestly.

(5.) Of bishops, priests and deacons, ordred "per impositionem manuum cum oratione," expressly.

Laying on of hands being an old ceremony, is but a small proof of Confirmation.

6. Laying of the hands of the bishop after baptism, which is a parte of that is done in confirmation is grounded on Scripture.

Arch. Cant. S. Davids, Cox.

7. Unction of the sick, with prayer, is grounded in Scripture.

Then shew where.

The thing of confirmation is found in Scripture ; the name "confirmation" is not there.

Arch-bp. Cant. S. David's.

Of *Chrisma* Scripture speaketh not expressly ; but it hath been had in high veneration, and observed synnes the beginning.

The answer is not direct, and yet it proveth nither of the two parts to be grounded in Scripture.

9. The calling, naming, appointment, and preferment of one before an other, to be bishop or priest, had a necessite to be don in that sort, a prince wanting. The ordering appereth taught by the Holy Gost in the Scripture, "per manuum impositionem cum oratione."

Where is this distinction ? Now, since you confess that the apostles did occupate the one part, which you now confess belongeth to princes, how can you prove that ordering is only committed to your bishops ?

10. Bishops, or not after.

Ubi hoc ?

Arch-bp. Cant.

S. David's, Cox.

Arch. Cant.

vide.

11. Scripture warranteth a bishop (obeying high power as his prince Christianed) to order manuum

sitionem cum Oratione :” and so it hath been from the beginning.

12. Of other Scriptures speaketh not.

“Manuum impositionem cum oratione” is required, which is a consecration ; so as only appointing is not sufficient.

13. It is to be thought, that God in such case assisting the perfection of such an enterprise, would further teach and inspire the conscience of such a prince, what he should and might doe, more then is yet openly taught by the Scripture : which, in that case, were a good warrant to follow. For a secret vocation supplieth where an open wanteth.

14. Sinnes the beginning of Christe’s church, wherin Christ himself made distinction of ministers, the order hath had a derivation from one to another, “per manuum impositionem cum oratione.” How it should begin again of an other face, where it faileth by a case, Scripture telleth not ; no doctor writte of it, that I have rede.

Arch. Cant. 15. Bounde ordinarily.

Arch. Cant. 16. They may, being before of their
Bp. St. David’s. prince auctorised to minister for open,
publique, dedly synne.

Of excommunication by others, we rede not in the New Testament.

16. The thing is in Scripture, and in auncient authors, according wherunto the use
Arch. Cant. should be : how it is in dede used, is a
B. S. David’s. matter of fact, and not of lernyng.

Against the 15th article these names are set down :

Yorke. Duresme. Carlisle. Winchester. Curwen.
Simon. Ogleshorp. Edgworth. Day. Redman.
Robinson.

And a little below :

Canterbury. Hereford. Rochester. Westminster.
S. David’s. Laton. Tresham. Cox. Crayford.

But these lists are not in the king’s hand.

NUMBER LXXI.

Answers to these Queries.

[Cott. Lib. Cleop. E. 5.]

1. SCRIPTURE sheweth not what it is : but useth the worde sacrament in Latyn, for the worde misterium in Greek.

2. Sacrament, by the authours is called, “Sacri Rei Signum,” or “Visibile Signaculum, Sacrosanctum Signaculum, Visibile Verbum, Visibilis Forma Invisibilis Gratiae ;” and perfytt diffinition we fynde noone.

3. In scripture we fynde no determinate number of sacraments.

4. There be very many in the most general signification ; and there is no precise, or determinate number of sacraments in the auncent authours.

5. Not only to the seven ; but to many more. We fynde in the olde auctours, matrimony, the holly communion, baptisme, confirmation, ordre, pennance, and extrem unction. In pennance, it is doubted of the name of sacrament.

6. As touching the determinate numbere of seven only, we fynd neyther in the scripture, nor auncent auctours, any such doctrine that ther shulde be seven onely.

7. Of baptisme, scripture speaketh, that by it synnes be remitted.

Of eucharista ; that we be united by it to Christe, and receive thereby spirituall nurrishment, to the comforte of our soules, and remission of our synnes.

Of matrimony ; that the acte of it is made lawfull, and without synne ; and grace given, wherby to directe ordinately of the lustes and appetites of the fleshe.

Of pennance ; that by it we be restored again to the favour of God ; from which we did fall by synne.

Of ordre ; that by it, grace is given to mynistrre effectually in preacheinge the worde of God, and ministration of the sacramentes.

Of confirmation, (which is conteyned in scripture, speaking “de Impositione Manuum post Baptisma”) it appeareth by scripture, how thereby encrease of grace is given.

Of inunction of the sick, scripture speaketh, that by unction of the sick, and prayer of the priestes, comforte is given to the sicke, and synnes be forgiven him.

8. “Impositionem Manuum post Baptisma,” which we call confirmation, we rede in the scripture : but that it was don chrismate, we fynde not in the scripture expressed. But in the old auctours, we fynde, that chrisma hath been used in the sayd confirmation.

9. Making of bishops hath two partes ; appointment, and ordering. Appointment ; whiche the apostles, by necessity, made by common election, and sometye by their own severall assignement, could not then be don by christen princes ; because at that tyme they were not : and now, at these dayes, appertaineth to christian princes and rulers. But, in the ordering, wherein grace is conferred, as afore the apostells did folowe the rule taught by the Holly Ghoste, “Per Manuum Impositionem, cum oratione et Jejunio.”

10. Christe made his apostles first, which were of his making bothe prestes and bishops ; but whether at one time, some doubt.

After that, the apostells made bothe bishops and prestes : the names wherof in the scripture be confounded.

11. A bishop having auctorite of his christian prince to give orders, maye, by his ministerye geven to him of God in scripture, ordeyne a preste. And we rede not, that any other, not being a bishoppe, hathe, sence the beginning of Christ’s church, ordered a preste.

12. Onely appointment is not sufficient, but consecration, that is to saye, imposition of handes, with fasting and prayour, is also required. For so the apostles use to order them that were appointed ; and so have been used continually : and we have not rede the contrary.

13. In that necessite, the prince and his lerned men shulde preache and teache the word of God, and baptize. But as for making and constituting prestes, the prince shall and may thenne do, as God shall thenne by inspiration teache him : which God hath promised to do allwayes to his church, in revling and teaching every necessary knowledge, where any doubt requiring dissolution dothe arryze.

14. The answer to the other question next before, dissolveth this.

15. He that knoweth himself gylty of any secrete deadly synns, must, if he will obtaine the benefite of absolucion ministred by the preste, confesse the same secrete synnes unto him.

Absolution to be ministred by a preste, if a convenient preste may be had, is necessarie.

Absolution by a preste, is the surest waye, if he may be conveniently had.

16. Bishops and prestes auctorised by the prince, may excommunicate, by Gode’s lawe, for publique and open crimes : but that other thenne bishops or prestes may excommunicate, we have not rede in scripture. Some scolemen saye, that other thenne prestes, or bishops deputed therunto by the church, maye

excommunicate; because it is an acte "Jurisdictionis," and not "Ordinis."

17. We fynde it spoken of in scripture, and in olde authors.

NUMBER LXXII.

The Examination of Q. Katherine Howard.

BEING again examined by my lord of Canterbury of contracts and communications of marriage between Deerham and me: I shall here answer faithfully and truly, as I shall make answer at the last day of judgment; and by the promise that I made in baptism, and the sacrament that I received upon Alhallowes-day last past. First, I do say, that Deram hath many times moved unto me the question of matrimony; wherunto, as far as I remember, I never granted him more than before I have confessed: and as for these words, "I promise you I do love you with all my heart," I do not remember that ever I spake them. But as concerning the other words, that I should promise him by my faith and troth, that I would never other husband but him, I am sure I never spake them.

Examined what tokens and gifts I gave to Deram, and he to me: I gave him a band and sleeves for a shirt. And he gave me a heart's-ease of silk for a new-year's-gift, and an old shirt of fine holland or cambricke, that was my lord Thomas' shirt, and my lady did give it him. And more than this, to my remembrance, I never gave him, nor he to me, saving this sommer ten pounds about the beginning of the progresse.

Examined whether I did give him a small ring of gold upon this condition, that he should never give it away. To my knowledge I never gave him no such ring, but I am assured upon no such condition.

Examined whether the shirt, band, and sleeves of my own work. They were not of my work; but, as I remember, Clifton's wife of Lambeth wrought them.

And as for the bracelet of silkwork, I never gave him none; and if he have any of mine, he took it from me.

As for any ruby, I never gave him none to set in ring, nor for other purpose. As for the French fenel, Deram did not give it me, but he said there was a little woman in London with a crooked back, who was very cunning in making all manner of flowers. And I desired him to cause her to make a French fenel for me, and I would pay him again when I had money. And when I was first come into court, I paid him as well for that as for divers other things, to the value of five or six pound. And truth it is, that I durst not wear the said French fenel, until I had desired my lady Breerton to say that she gave it me.

As for a small ring with a stone, I never lost none of his, nor he never gave me none.

As for velvet and satten for billyments, a cap of velvet with a feather, a quilted cap of sarcenet, and money, he did not give me, but at my desire he laid out money for them, to be paid again. For all which things I paid him, when I came into the court. And yet he bought not for me the quilted cap, but only the sarcenet to make it of. And I delivered the same to a little fellow in my lady's house, as I remember, his name was Rose, an embroiderer, to make it what work he thought best, and not appointing him to make it with freer's knots, as he can testify, if he be a true man. Nevertheless, when it was made, Deram said, What wife here be freer's knots for Fraunce.

As for the indenture and obligation of an hundred pound, he left them in my custody, saying, that if he

never came again, he gave them cleerly unto me. And when I asked him whether he went, he said he would not tell me untill his return.

Examined whether I called him husband, and he me wife. I do answer, that there was communication in the house that we two should marry together; and some of his enemies had envy therat, wherefore he desired me to give him leave to call me wife, and that I would call him husband. And I said I was content. And so after that, commonly he called me wife, and many times I called him husband. And he used many times to kiss me, and so he did to many other commonly in the house. And, I suppose, that this be true, that at one time when he kissed me very often, some said that were present, they trowed that he would never have kissed me enough. Whereto he answered, "Who should lett him to kiss his own wife?" Then said one of them, "I trowe this matter will come to passe, as the common saying is." "What is that?" quoth he. "Marry," said the other, "that Mr. Deram shall have Mrs. Katherine Howard." "By St. John!" said Deram, "you may guesse twice and guesse worse." But that I should wink upon him, and say secretly, "What and this should come to my lady's ear?" I suppose verily there was no such thing.

As for carnall knowledge, I confess as I did before, that divers times he hath lyen with me, sometime in his doublet and hose, and two or three times naked: but not so naked that he had nothing upon him; for he had alwayes at the least his doublet, and as I do think, his hose also: but I mean naked, when his hose were put down. And diverse times he would bring wine, strawberries, apples, and other things, to make good cheer, after my lady was gone to bed. But that he made any special banquet, that by appointment between him and me, he should tarry after the keyes were delivered to my lady, that is utterly untrue. Nor I never did steale the keyes myself, nor desired any person to steale them, to that intent and purpose to lett in Deram, but for many other causes the doores have been opened, sometime over night, and sometime early in the morning, as well at the request of me as of other. And sometime Deram hath come in early in the morning, and ordered him very lewdly, but never at my request nor consent.

And that Wilks and Baskerville should say, what shift should we make, if my lady should come in suddenly. And I should answer, that he should go into the Little Gallery. I never said that if my lady came he should go into the Gallery, but he hath said so himself, and so he hath done indeed.

As for the communication of my going to the court, I remember that he said to me, that if I were gone, he would not tarry long in the house. And I said again, that he might do as he list. And further communication of that matter, I remember not. But that I should say, it grieved me as much as it did him, or that he should never live to say thou hast swerved, or that the tears should trickle down by my cheeks, none of them be true. For all that knew me, and kept my company, knew how glad and desirous I was to come to the court.

As for the communication after his coming out of Ireland, it is untrue. But as far as I remember, he then asked me if I should be married to Mr. Culpepper, for so he said he heard reported. Then I made answer, What should you trouble me therewith, for you know I will not have you; and if you heard such report, you heard more then I do know.

KATHERINE HOWARD.

NUMBER LXXIII.

A Letter of Sir W. Paget's, of his treating with the Admiral of France.

[Paper-Office.]

PLEASE it your most excellent majestie to be advertised that the 16th of this present, I received letters from my lordes, and others of your majestie's privie counsaill, conteyning such several conferences as your majestie, and certain of your said counsaill, have had with the French ambassader there sithens my last dispeche. And yesterday havinge the furst opportunity to speke with the admiral, I said unto him, that albeit it was likelyhode that the king his master's ambassader then in England, did from time to time advertise them of the processe of the matier now in treatie; yet your majestie, reputing him to be a man of honour and singular vertue, and such a one, as with right judgment doth consider the hole state of his master's causes, with the circumstances: and therefore conceiving no little affection towards him, had commanded me to signifie unto him, to the intent he might know certainly the plainnes of every thing, what communication had now last been had with their ambassador there. For the which, rising from his seate, and making a gret and humble reverence; after that he had given thanks unto your majestie, and with two or three great othes declared his affection towards you; I entred the accomplishment of your majestie's commandment. And when I had declared unto him from point to point at length, and word by word (for it was a lesson meet to be learned without book) as is conteyned in the said letter, aswel the communicacion had with your counsaill at the furst congresse, and such kingly and philosophical conference as your majestie had with him your self; as also the seven points uttered by your majestie's counsaill at their last assemblies; and finally, the epilogue of all together pronounced of your said counsaill as of themselves; which he herd all together, not without twenty sighes, and casting up his eyes; for I marked him when he was not ware of it; accrossing himself, and gyving a gret sigh, he saide: as for the amytie which ought to be between our masters, how much I have travailed, and do travaile for the confirmation of it, God is my judge; and almost all the world knoweth that I am an English-French man, and that next after my master, I esteem the king your master's finger more than I do any prince's body in all the world, and would be glad to give all the goods I have in the world, that this matter went through between them; for I perceive by my master that he will not lyve alone, and yet I am sure he will seek no new friendship, nor accept none offred, until the king your master have refused this. As touching this matter, I knowe they be two princes of such honour, and of wise conduct in all their things; that though this marriage had never been spoken of, they would have continued friends according to their treaties; and this overture was never opened, neither for confirmation, nor for encrease of amitie between them; for greater cannot be, but marriage and commiction of blood with blood, doth unite and knit generation to generation, and posteritie; the benefit whereof how great it will be; how many inconveniences may thereby be avoided by processe of time; the wisest man may soner think then be able to express. But, alas! said he, what is two hundred thousand crowns to give in marriage with so great a king's daughter to Monsieur Dorleans. Four hundred, five hundred thousand is nothing to him; Monsieur Dorleans is a prince of great courage; Monsieur Dorleans doth aspire to great things, and

such is his fortune, or els I am wonderfully deceived. It will grieve my master much when he shall here of this basse offer, as we have not herd yet from our ambassador; I marvel therof not a little; nay, to tell you plainly, as one friend shuld tell another, there is farre gretter offers, if we would herken unto them, we might have in redy money with the daughter of Portugal, four hundred thousand ducates, with the increase that hath grown of it sithens her father's departure, which will amount to asmuch and more. At the furst breaking of this matter, it was said the man must desyre the woman; now that we have desired her, you will give nothing with her; for what is two hundred thousand crowns; and herewithall giving a great sigh, stayed. And I because I perceived his tale such as was meet to be answered, said unto him, Monsieur l'Admiral, I have no more to say unto you on my master's behalf, then I have said unto you already. But for because you have made a long discourse as it were sunewhat replying to that that I have reported; if it shall like you to give me leave to say myn own fantasie, as a man that would this thing shuld take effect, if it may be equally done, I will saye it. Yes (quoth he), with all my hart: why shuld not we talke together friendly, as two that be servants to two great friends; and I neither to take your words to be spoken as of an ambassader, nor you to take my words to be spoken of him that holdeth the place about his master that I do? Sir (quoth I), as touching the benevolence you bear unto my master, you may think it well employed; as well for that my master (I think) concearneth like opinion of you in that parte, as also for that you have proved my master alwayes to be a perfect friend unto your master. And to saye to you frankly myn opinion: albeit I am no man at home, neither of great place nor of great counsaile, yet have I bene of court: and men, you knowe, of like sorte, whenne they mete together, will be oftentimes talking of matiers that they have litle to do in, and bable of heresayes. And I being one of that sorte, have many tymes herd that my master hath been allwayes much affected unto your master, and hath shewed towards him great kindnes, when that if he would have taken offers for the contrary, he might have had inestimable benefites. Yea, and that he hath been so well mynded unto your master, that neither the maner of your truce taken with the emperor, nor your strangenes at the emperor's being here, nor Pole's passage, nor the conveying of Brancester, nor the reteyning of the hosyer that called himself Blancherose, nor Cowbridge, nor nothing els could alienate him from you, such hath been his friendship towards you. And therefore (I said), if you love him, *vous avez raison*. And if you have set furth this marriage for love, let it appere. Is not two hundred thousand crowns a faire offer? I graunt you well, that Monsieur d'Orleans aspireth to gret things, and is of great courage: and reason it is, for he is a great king's sonne; and such a king, as both may and must, if he will have his courage mainteyned, give him wherewithall. It is not reason that my master shuld mainteyn his courage. My master hathe a sonne of his own, whom I trust he shall live to see a man of courage, and will, I doubt not, provide him thereafter. And as for his daughter, he doth consider her as reason requyeth. Had king Lowys any more with one of my master's systers than three hundred thousand crownes; and the king of Scotta, with another, any more than one hundred thousand? If our friendship be advisable unto you (for that was his terme), as you say it is, seke it by reasonable meane, I doubt not but you shall obtaine it; and ask reasonably with her, and it shall be granted you to.

By my truth (quoth he), and so we doe. Doe you so (quoth I)? I have allwayes noted you a man of reason, and so reported you. Turn the case (quoth I). Would you remitt eight hundred thousand crownes, discharge an hundred thousand a year, for the mariage of your daughter? Yea, by my trouth would I (quoth he); for the eight hundred thousand crowns I compe nothing: and as for the pension, she shuld have redubled here in France; and we would be amys to amys, and enemies to enemies: I meane, *pour la defence de nostre estats* (quoth he). *Par nostre Dame* (quoth I), you shall not be myn auditour. Here is all the matier (quoth I): you take a wrong pathe; you compe these eight hundred thousand crownes nothing; and we, if it were wayed in an indifferent ballance, think they should waye down tenne hundred thousand. We have a saying in England, "a penny at a time is worth a pound." He that should lend me three or four hundred crowns at my nede, should do me even more pleasure then to offer me tenne hundred when I neded not: so much esteeme I money lent at such a tyme. Consyder our parte (quoth he), and we must knowledge it great: consyder your parte (quoth he), it is nothing. The payn is past, and not to be reckened upon. You say not much amiss (quoth I) if we had an evil debter; but our debter is riche ynough, and a good debter. And though he have been bold of a long respite with his friend, yet he will pay it (quoth I). I doubt not (quoth he) but the princes will observe their treaties. My master hath, and will, I am sure (quoth I); and so I think will yours. I wot not what to say (quoth he). Marrye (quoth I), do that that I have said heretofore: aske reasonably for the dote, and make a reciproque for the rest, if you would be eased of it. Marke this; for it is to be embraced, and a great mariage to Monsieur d'Orleanns. By my trouth (quoth he), the dote you have offered is nothing; and if I wer as king Lewys and the king of Scotts wer, I would rather take your daughter in her kytel, and more honour wer it for me, then, being Monsieur d'Orleanns, to take her with eight hundred thousand crowns. But I wote not what you meane by that reciproque. Marry (quoth I), it is to do somthing again of like goodnes to the thing that you desire to have done unto you. As (quoth I) you desire to have our daughter, and for her you will give your sonne, there is one for an other. Your sonne is the reciproque of our daughter. You would have two hundred thousand crownes with her; the reciproque of that must be a like jointer. Here is sonne for daughter, dowery for dote. Now, if you will be discharged of 600,000 crowns, what other thing, that is as good, shall we have for that, and also for our pension? Devise a reciproque. O! Monsieur l'Ambassadeur (quoth he), I understand your reciproque well. The king your master is a gentle prince, and a great prince; and what grive should it be to him, to lett passe eight hundred thousand crowns, and ywys we be not able to pay them. In faith (quoth I), seing he hathe borne so long with you for all, he will be contented to bear with you sumwhat longer for sum: and if you will give some in hand, I think he will give you terms for the rest. Ah Monsieur l'Ambassadeur (quoth he)! and shoke his head. As for the pension (quoth he), you shall have a reciproque here, a dowery mete for it. Nay (quoth I), your relative agreeth with a wrong antecedent: my master is the antecedent, and the reciproque must be to him, and not to Monsieur d'Orleanns, for he should have the benefite by it. Nay (quoth he), it is your master's daughter, and it is no more but for your master to give from himself to his daughter. Ywys, the queen of Navarre's daughter is

a greater mariage; and as for the eight hundred thousand, if I were a right man, and able to give, I would paye a great peece of it my self, er it shuld stick. What the queen of Navarre's daughter is, I know not (quoth I); but if you might have my master's daughter upon these conditions, you might say, you had such a mariage as was never herd of. And here we stay'd both. At the last (quoth he), suddenly, when it was told me yesternight that you sent to speke with me, I thought it was for these matiers: and all this night I have turned and tossed, and thought upon them. I would God it had never been spoken of, if it take not effect. And evyn now cummyth into my head the overture that the king your master made ones unto me. What overture was that (quoth I)? Marry (quoth he), the overture of the marriage of the lady Elizabeth, his daughter; you to have had recompence for the perpetuel pension upon Monsieur de Vandome's lands: and for the pension vyager, to have bene converted to a estate. Without any other recompence (quoth I)? Yes (quoth he). We shuld have bene enemys to enemys, and left the bishop of Rome. That was sumwhat (quoth I); and yet not a reciproque; because you shuld not have given as good as you tooke. But then, was none arrerage (quoth I)? And here he paused again. I will tell you my fantasy (quoth he); but yon shall promise me by your faith that I shall never heare of it again. I woll speke it unto you, as a friende to a friende; and peradventure neither of both parties will like it. Sir (quoth I), you shall never take dishonour by things you shall say to me. What (quoth he) if the overture shuld take effect in one parte? As how (quoth I)? Marry (quoth he), the arrerage to be remitted, for the marriage of your daughter; and because you think it great, we to becum friends to friends, and enemys to enemys, and so to enter warre together: and of that, that shuld be conquered by commyn expenses, to lay out first a recompence for your pension viager, and the perpetuel pension to be supplied, as the king your majesty devised. How like you this devise (quoth he)? Mary (said I), if you will heare a fool's answer, I like it not; for what need we to fight for that we have already? Mary (quoth he), then you should have it *in perpetuum*. What if you desired this for a reciproque? Mary (quoth I), peradventure my master might purchase more land another waye than that might cost him. Why shuld we desire warre (quoth I); we have no quarrell? It is true (quoth he); but we would be the authors: and if you covenanted to be enemye to enemye, would you not joyne warre with us? By my trouth, sir (quoth I), you be entred now into a deep matier, which passeth my capacite. It is a great matier indeed (quoth he); but I talk with you privement, neither because I would have you to declare this to your master, nor for that I will declare it to myne: and yet both you and I may use meanes to the same ende. Well (quoth I), I see you make cursey at the matier, and would have a great commodity, and yet are loth to offer for it; but I say unto you as a friend, aske, and offer reasonably, and go roundly to worke, and make an ende of it; for I fear I may say to you, if you will not, others will. Yea (quoth he), we know the emperor practiseth with you, as he doth with us; and that the bishop of London hath brought him three fayre palfreys from the king your master for a present. I name no man (quoth I); but whether the emperor practiseth with you, I reoport me to his offers and his demands. I think he practiseth with us both (quoth he) onely to disserve us; for with your master he will not joyne, onles he will returne again unto the pope: for so his

nuntio told the chancelor, and the chancelour told the queen of Navarre, who fell out with him upon the occasion of that conference, and told him he was ill ynough before, but now sithens he hath gotten the marke of the beast (for so she called it, because he was lately made priest), he was worse and worse. But to my purpose (quoth he); I think the emperor practiseth with us both; he seeketh nothing els but to disseuer us. You speake of his offers and his demaunds (quoth he); knowe you what they be? No (quoth I): and yet, indeed, I did cume by the knowledge of them within 24 howres before. Mary (quoth he), he would make the duke of Orleans king of Naples, and give us the seigneurie of Flanders. They be faire offers (quoth I); but what be his demands? Wherat he smiled. By my trowth (quoth he), I will tell you:—he desireth a renunciation of the title of Milan and Navarre, and the restitution of Piedmont and Savoy. What say you to it (quoth I)? The king my master, will none of it (quoth he); for he thinketh that the next war that shuld fall, being so great distance between father and sonne, the emperor would sende the duke of Orleans to his father *une Baton blanche*. I have herd saye (quoth I) the duke of Cleves also laboureth now sore to have his wife home, and smyled therewith. Why (quoth he), heare you any thing? Yea, mary (quoth I); I hear saye the emperor is in great practise with the duke of Cleves; and that he hath made him half a promise, that for to have Gelders quietly, he and his wife will renounce the title of Navarre. Which indeed I had never herd. But musing upon the word before, it came into my head at that time, and chauncyng then to speake it, I struke the admirall into a great dumpe. Wherin, when he had pawed a great while, I said, sir, I desease you. No, no, Monsieur l'Ambassadeur (quoth he): she is too young and sickly to go out of this country. When Monsieur de Cleves (quoth he) hath done the king summe good service, and declared himself to all the world to be *pour le Roy*, then shall he have his wife. You know what you have to do, sir (quoth I); but seeing you see the world so full of practises, it is good dealing with them that meane plainly. Yo say trowth (quoth he); and so it is:—we knowe the emperor doth nothing but practise with us, as he doth with your master; and we knowe how he offereth your master to accord hym with the pope, without breache of his honour, and that it shall be at the pope's suite. I am pryve (quoth I) of no suche matiers; but if the emperor desyre my master's friendship, I cannot greatly blame him, consyderinge he knoweth, partly by his own experience, and partly by evident tokens towards other men, my master is a friendly friend. And as for the bishop of Rome (quoth I), if he sue to be restored to my master's favour again, I think it will be herd for him to obeyn it, for vertue and vice cannot stand together in one predicament. Call you him Vice (quoth he)—he is the very divel. I trust once to see his confusion. I have begune to pick him a little; I trust to pick him better: every thing must have a tyme and a beginning. But when begin you (quoth I)? I think (quoth he), er it be ought long, the king, my master, will converte all the abbéis of his realme into the possession of his laye gentlemen, and so go furth by little and little (if you will join with us), to overthrow him altogether:—why may not we have a patriark here in France? Which purpose, I think, he doth perceive; and his legate, therefore, now in Almayn, offred that for a reformation there should be a council called, and appointed the place either Mantua, Verona, or Cambray: he had as lief be hanged (quoth he) as have a general council; and

even then will that be his sentence. I would fayne see you ones begyne somewhat (quoth I). A Monsieur le Ambassadeur (quoth he)! I am sherewdely matched. Why so (quoth I)? is not your master a king, and if he mynde that you speake of, who can match you? He favoereth wondrous well (quoth he); but every thing I saye must have a tyme: who was a greater champyon for the pope then was your master, now who is more contrary? If they might ones (quoth he), speke together, I think it will be one of the grettest benifites that ever came to Chrisendome, but that cannot well be, until these matiers cum to some nerer point. The faulte is not in us (quoth I) that it is not at a nerer point. Nor it shall not be long of us (quoth he); but paradventure sum of your master's counsail moveth him more to the emperor's friendship. And what is that friendship in comparison of this friendship! England is a kingdome perpetuel, and so is France. Our masters, their children, their succession, maye joyne for ever. We be under one clyme, and of one complexion: we be at hande one to another. The emperor is but one, and when he is dead, sum Almayn may be emperor, I wot not who. Truth it is, Spayne is a kingdome; but what is that alone! As for Flanders, it shall be our friend, if we joyne together. And as for Italy, when the emperor is dead, who shall be master, trowe you? And if the emperor might live always, what is his friendship? He careth not if friend, father, and all together shuld sinke, so as his insatiable desyre to reign might be satisfied: did he not suffer two of his brethren-in-lawe to perishe for lacke of fifty thousand crowns; furst the king of Hungarye, and after the king of Denmark, whom he might have restored with ten thousand crowns? He is a covetous man, saving the honour of a prince, and yet he is now base ynough, and therefore let us take him while he is lowe, before he take his breth. Sir (quoth I), you are a man of a great trade, and knowe to discourse of things better then I am able to conceive. If you esteem the effect of this matier so necessary for you, and the emperor's friendship such as you speke of, take then a direct waye for the compassing of it; and if you have any thing in your stomachs that you would have uttered, but not to many, let your ambassadour utter it to sum one, and lett him utter it not coldly, but frankly; and that is the next waye to make an ende. Would God, Monsieur le Ambassadeur (quoth he), it laye in my hande, it shuld then be sone at an ende! Put to your good will (quoth I), in an honest cause God will help you. I marvaile much (quoth he) we here not from our ambassader there. So do I (quoth I); by lykelyhod he is ill at ease, or his man is sike by the way, or some other like matier. When send you to England (quoth he)? I have no great matiers to write of (quoth I); and yet I am determined within a day or two to send into England, for I have appointed my bank to be made at Paris, but now I must sende to have it changed to Lyons, because I here say the king goeth thither. I pray you (quoth he) conveye a lettre to our ambassadeur in England, which I will send to you to-morrow, which I promised him. And brake our communication; and so ready to depart, and standing, I asked him whither the ambassadeur was come to the king out of Almayn, or no? He asked me which ambassador? I told him for aid against the Turk. No, no (quoth he); thinketh men my master is so unwise, to aid the emperor and king Ferdinand for the defence of Hungarye, their private dominion? Should my master mainteyn their state at his dispens, which keep his state from him? not but if it wer to defend Almayn, my master would help the best he could. What doth the king your master?

gyveth he any ayde? I know not (quoth I) that any hath been yet asked. If any be, I think his majesty will make a reasonable answer. And thus we departed.

Sir, your majestie hath heard truely reported the diverse communication and varietie of matier that hath passed between the admirall and me: wherein, when I consider myn accustomed protestations, me thinketh he shuld take none advantage of me; and on the other side, when I remember the simplenes of my wit with the scarcitie of myn experience, joyning therewithall their proceeding with other your majestie's ambassadeurs heretofore, whose saing they reaporthe at will for their purposes; I cannot but tremble, fearing that sumthing may have passed me to hotely, sum what to coldly, sumthing spoken more then neded, or sumthing left out that shuld have been spoken. But sure you are my sayntuary, and my trust is only in your equanimitie; whom I beseech most humbly of your gracious and favourable interpretation, and of your benigntie, to consider that this is the first tyme that ever I came in *arenam*; and he with whom I am matched is an old player; nevertheless, if I had experience, or wit to judge a man, I would think him by his words and countenance to be none imperially, and an utter enemye to Rome; and yet I must note a practise in him, for that he hath promised me twise one shuld be sent over, and none is yet sent. And besides that, wheras he hath told me heretofore, that no man knew of this last treatie but he and Madame Destampes, adding yesterday the queen of Navarre. I know of the demands the ambassadeur hath made there, by other meanes then by your majestie's signification: but your majestie knoweth him farre better, I am sure, than my foolish wit can comprehend. And therefore I leave to your most excellent wisdom the judgment of his proceedings, the circumstance wherof your majestie knoweth without addition or diminucion of any thing, as nere as I could carye it away.

As touchin the occurrents of this court, it may please your majestie to be advertised, that the emperor's grand escuyer passed by Paris eight days agone into Flanders, and came not att the court.

It is said here that the emperor is in great practise with your majesty, for the marriage of the lady Mary, your majestie's daughter, which they think here the rather to be true, for that you have sent the bishop of London to be ambassador there, whom they note here to be an imperial, saing commonly that the marriage between France and England is dashed.

Certain merchants of Lyons, and Monsieur Langey, a partnerer with them, have sentence for them of threescore and tenne thousand crowns against the state of Florence, and reprisalls out for execution.

Salmaiti and Antenori, two Florentynes, having their houses in Lyons, who were *fideiussores de soluendo indicato*, be fled into the emperor's dominion, into Bresse.

The Florentynes take the matier greivously, and think there is no justice in France; for they had moved theyr case before in all the universities and courts of Italy, and thinking it out of doubt, offred to put it to the judgement of France, wherof now they repent them, and will in no wise stand to it. And to advertise your majesty of the case briefly: the state of Florence bought of certain marchants of Lyons a quantitie of wheat to such a sune, to be delivered at Florence before such a day. The wheat arryved not before eight daies after the tyme appointed. The Florentines, constreyned by necessity, provided themselves other ways, and say the bargain is voyde. The Lyonnois alledge *tempestatem* for the lett, and say that *emptio is contractus bonæ fidei*, and that therefore the

Florentynes must fulfill their bargayn; and so, leaving their wheat there, went their wayes.

Error is founde in the admirall's processe, and the sentence revoked; whereby the application of his lands to the crown, and the *amende pecuniaire* that he shuld have made to divers townes here in Bourgoyn is adnichilated, and he *restitutus in integrum*.

I thinke your majestie heareth from your agent at Venice, that James Bey, sumtyme a Christian man, is coming from the Turcke in ambassade to Venice; and, as I think, by this time arryved there, if the emperour have not intercepted him, who hath layed wayte for him in Ragusa: his cumyng is nothing pleasant to the Venycians; the cause therof being as the Venycians conjecture, the same that I have written to your majestie before; that is to saye, passage through their country, or to be enemyes to enemyes, or to redeem the same with sum great sumes of money, if nothing els be asked.

Seignior Horacio being heretofore accustomed to be lodged at the court, or near as the place required, is lodged now four leaggs of, and yet the king lyeth in a great town; wherof the nuntio's secretarye, complainyng to the admirall, the admirall answered him in coler, he had one gyven him, and he refused it; we cannot give him here a palais, as though he were at Paris and turned his back, and would talk no longer with the secretary.

I sende unto your majestie herewith an other charte of Algieri, set furth after a sorte, with the emperor's assigge before it; the plate wherof varietly from the other I sent your majestie before: and yett I trust your majestie will take the same in good part; for as they came to my hands, being sent to such personages as they wer; thone to the French king, and this to the duke of Ferrare; I thought it my duety to sende both unto your majestie, leaving unto your excellent wisdom the judgment, whither this, or the other be true, or neither of them bothe.

I sende also unto your majestie a little book, both printed here in Paris, conteynyng the conclusion of their dyet in Almayn against the Turk; whither the same be true or no, I doubt not but your majestie knoweth by such advertisements as you have out of those partes. And thus having nothing els to write unto your majesty at this time, I beseeche God to send you most prosperously and long to reigne. From Chabliz in Bourgoyn, the 19th of April.

Your majestie's most humble, faithful, and obedient subject, servant, and daily oratour,

WILLIAM PAGETT.

Postscript.

AFTER I had written to your majestie this letter, redy to send the same furthwith; and deferring the dispeche onely uppon attendance of the admirall's letter, to be conveyed into England; because the same came not, I sent the same night one to the courte, which is four long leaggs hens to the admirall to know his minde therin; which messenger he returned to me with this letter herinenclosed, written and defaced as your majestie seith the same; upon motion wherof, I was at his lodging the next day, by eight in the morning, but I found him not there. At my cumming a letter was delivered me from certain of your majestie's privy counsaill, the tenor wherof, both before and sithens I have observed as far as my wit can extend, like as your majestie rather by your great judgment, and gracious interpretation of my discourses, then by my simple writtings may gather. Anone cummeth monsieur Admirall, accompanied with monsieur Longeville, gouverneur to the duke of Orleans, and with more solemnitie than was wont to be, took me with

them to the church, to passe the tyme (they said) untill the king wer up. Monsieur Longeville left the admirall and me walking, and entring communication after this sorte. Monsieur le Ambassadeur, I have been bold to put you to this great payne this morning; but this matier troubleth me so sore, that I am at my wittes end : by ———* I could not sleep for it all this night. We have received letters from our ambassadeur in England, conteyning the same discourses that you have declared, which my master is sorye to heare ; mervailing that the king, his good brother, would offer that summe to his sonne with his daughter, that some of his gentlemen would not accept. The pope offred to monsieur de Guyses sonne, with his nepce, two hundred thousand crownes, and he refused it. To see us so farre asunder, after so long a traitye, by ———† it greveth me. For you must understand, that all which be of counsaile about my master, be not of one opinion. And upon the recepte of our last lettres, it was said to me, we told you wherto the enterprise of this matier would cum at length : but surely I have never repented me, nor myn affection can never diminishe, for the friendship that hath been showed on your parte, aswell in commyn, as to my particuler. And as for the pope's and the emperor's lyes and falsetes, we know well ynough. Wherefore, for the love of God, let us growe to some friendly point. After I had declared unto him for some recompense of his affection, what good affection I beare to France ; I said unto him, monsieur l'Admirall, you knowe, we commun now privately, and therefore you shall hear my private opinion. Seing that you knowe other men's proceedings with you to have been so indirect as you speake of, and (as your self hath confessed unto me oftentymes) that the king's majestie, my master, hath been so perfect and sincere a friende unto you at all tymes ; embrace this friendship, consyder this friend, and think that he is to be desyred rather with one hundred, than any other with tenne hundred. You said, your master will not live alone. Ywys, my master may have company enough, if he would slippe out of the couple from you. Ye (quoth he), I know ; but so will not every man of this counsaile knowe, their faulseties. True it is (quoth he) your friendship hath been much, and we do recognise it, and think our selfs in obligation to requite it. But we can do no more than we can do. But to come to a point ; the matier consisteth in these termes. Within these two yeres, we shall owe you a million ; after the which tyme, we must pay you during the king your master's life (God grant it to be long) a hundred thousand crownes yearly, and afterward fyfty thousande perpetually, you saye. As for the pencions (quoth he) there may be sumwhat sayde for things that shude be done by treaties : for our defence, things shuld have been done ; shippes and men, and I wot not what. And he began to hack and to hume. Monsieur le Admirall (quoth I) speke out plainly : for if you have any thing to say in that parte, I can answer. Well, well (quoth he) let those things passe : you can clayme no pencion yet these two yeres. And herewithall the king sent for him. With whom, after masse, he went to the standing in a forest hereby ; promising me to return ymedyately after dyner, and praying me hartely to tary his return. monsieur le Admirall (quoth I), in his eare, if you talk with the king, your master, of this matier, deduce him to conformitie. I speake for the affection I beare unto you : for I may say to you, there be others that woe harder thenne you, and yet hitherto we have not given like eare. But you know, a man may droppe water

so long upon a stone, that it may sooke in. And herewith, monsieur Longeville took me at his hand by and by, and had me to monsieur D'Orlean's lodging, where I had an exceeding gret feast and chere. About two of the clock the admirall sent for me ; and after our meting, every man avoided out of the chamber. Monsieur le Ambassadeur (quoth he) let us devise some good meane, to joyne these two princes together. Then must you (quoth I) go another way to worke. Devide your treatye into two partes : treatie a marriage, and treatie the redemption of the reste you desyre. Well, be it (quoth he) : but I understand not yet very well your reciproque ; (and here he began to be plaisant in his countenance, and to set his wordes merily :) and yet (quoth he) our ambassadeur writteth of the same terme, but I wot not what. You will not (quoth I) understande it : but you must learn it ; for els I feare (wherof I would be wondrous sorye) that this matier will not go forward. Let me hear again (quoth he). I told him even the same lesson, that is declared in the former parte of this letter. It is not (quoth he) a hundred thousand crownes, or two hundred thousand, that can enriche my master, or impoverishe yours : and therefore, for the love of God (quoth he), let us go roundly together. We aske your daughter (quoth he) : for her, you shall have our sonne, a gentyl prince (quoth he), and set him out to sale. We aske you a dote with her ; and for that after the som you will give, she shall have an assignment after the custome of the country here. And as for the rest (quoth he), what reciproque demande you ? what will you, that we do for you ? As for the rest of the money (quoth I), take order for the payment of it ; and for the pencions, devise a reciproque. Devise you (quoth he) what you will have us to do for it. Nay (quoth I), offer you first, for it passeth my capacite, and reason is so, for the first commodity shall be yours. It is no mattier (quoth he), we will offer first, and you shall aske nexte : or you shall offer first, and we shall aske nexte ; all is one. But I will now, as I did laste daye, speke unto you after myn passion, after myn own affection ; for I would all the world knew I am not imperial. And here, with many qualifications and termes, he set forth his passion and affections. You will give us your daughter, and a summe with her (it maketh no matier what) ; howbeit, I trust, your gentle prince will aske no money of us. And as for the reciproque of the rest ? and therewith stayed. Well (quoth he), to speake frankly to you myn affection ; will you enter the warre with us against the emperor ; and be enemye to enemye, for the defence of all such states as we have at this present, and of such as we shall conquere together ; or of such as shall be comprised in treaty ; the king, your master, to sett upon land in Flanders, tenne thousand Englishmen, and we tenne thousand Frenchmen ; pay the wages of five thousand Almayns, and we of asmany ; finde two thousand horsemen, and we three thousand ; finde a certain number of shippes, and we as many. And yett shall the king, my master, chaffe the emperor in other places, he was never so chaffed : and spende a hundred, yea two hundred thousand crowns a month other wayes. And of such lands as shall be conquered, the pencion first to be redoubled, and the rest to be divided equally. What a thing will it be to your master, to have Graveling, Dunkirk, Burburg, and all those quarters joining to his Calais ? Mary (quoth I), all the craft is in the catching. And here I put him a foolish question ; What if you spent your money, and conquered nothing ? Mary (quoth he), then should the pencion stand still as it standeth. Monsieur le Admirall (quoth I), these matiers you talk of, be of too great importance for my witt ; and I have also no commission to medle in

* An oath.

† An oath.

them. But to saye my fantasie, I knowe of no quarrel that my master hath against the emperor. ———* (quoth he), why say you so? Doth he not owe your master money? Hath he not broken his leages with him in 600 points? Did he not provoke us, and the pope also, to joine for the taking of your realme from you, in preye for disobedience? And hath he not caused even now the pope, to offer a council at Mantua, Verona, Cambray, or Metz (which place he added now last); the chief cause wherof, is to pick you? A pestilence take him, fause dissembler (quoth he): saving my dutie the majestie of a king. If he had you at such an advantage, as you maye now have him, you shuld well knowe it at his hande. And here he went furth at large against the bishop of Rome, and the emperor; discoursing what commoditie shuld ensue of this warre; and that he would have it in any wise beginne this yere, now that the emperor wer so lowe; and had, as he saithe, for all his millions, never a sols. And that he would the matier should take effect shortly; for the yere goith awaye: reckening how many moneths wer now lost mete for the warre: and how the conquests should be fortified in the winter; and the warre recommenced in the sommer. And that theis chiefe points resolved, his master shuld (if your majestie would) turne into Picardy, to enter-vieu. And a great discourse, sir, passing min experience, shewing themselves by his wordes and countenance wonderfully gredy of present warre: which when he had ended; What say you, monsieur le Ambassadeur (quoth he)? will you saye nothing to me in this matier? Sir (quoth I), and told him trueth, I wote not what to saye. Why do you not (quoth he)? Open the bottom of your stomack to the king, my master (quoth I) by your ambassadour there, by whom you have begun and treated this matier. And also I noted in our other conference, that you would not have these discourses reported again of your mouth. Monsieur (quoth he), this is indeed but my devise. Howbeit, to speake frankly to youe, I have spoken nothing therin, but I thinke to perswade my master to it: and write so to the king, your master (quoth he), and also the hole devise. That shall be as you will (quoth I). Nay (quoth he), I pray you to write, so as you write as devised of me; and repeted the overture hole together, as is before expressed. Sir (quoth I), seing you require me, I will write it, so that you will promise me to confirme my tale by your ambassadour there. Yes (quoth he), and clapt his hande in mine. But I pray you (quoth he) send one in diligence, that no tyme be lost. Will you not write (quoth I)? Yes (quoth he): but your post will be there before ours. And so departed.

Sir,—I beseeche your majestie most humble on my knees, graciously to accept my good will, albeit my witt be not able to serve you in so great an affaire; and to pardon me, of your most gracious goodnes, if any thing have been said, more or less thenne was meet to have been spoken for the advancement of your purposes: of my faulte wherin, if it should please your majestie to advise me of, I should have the more witt another time, and take the better hede in a semblable case. For surely, sir, I have an exceeding good will to serve you; and if my witt wer as good, I am assured I should serve well, and that knoweth God: to whom I pray daily, for your prosperous and long continuance. From Chabliz, the 22d of April.

Your majestie's most humble, faithful, and obedient subject, servant, and daily oratour,

WILLIAM PAGETT.

To the king's most excellent majestie, 1542.

* An oath.

NUMBER LXXIV.

Bishop Thirleby's Letter concerning the Duke of Norfolk and his Son.—An Original.

[Paper Office.]

I WOULD write unto you my harte (if I coulde) against those two ungracious, ingrate, and inhumane "non homines", the duke of Norfolk and his sonne. The elder of whom I confess I did love, for that I ever supposed hym a true servant to his master; like as both his allegiance, and the manifold benefits of the king's majestie bounde him to have been; but nowe when I sholde begyn to wright to you herin, before God, I am so amased at the matter, that I know not what to say; therefore I shall leave them to receyve for their deads, as they have worthily deservyd; and thank God of his grace that hath openyd this in tyme, so that the king's majestie may see that reformed: and in this point, wher Almighty God hath not now alone, but often and sondry tymes hertofore, not only letted the malice of such as hate imaged any treason against the king's majestie, the chiefe comforte, wealth, and prosperite of all good Englishmen next unto God; but hath so wonderfully manifest, that in suche tyme that his majestie's high wisdom myght let that malice to take his effecte, all good Englishe cannot therefore thanke God enough. And for our parts, I pray God, that we may, thorough his grace, so contynue his servants, that hereafter we be not founde unworthy to receyve suche a benefyte at his hands. On Christmas even, about 10 of the clocke after noon here arryved Somerset, with the letters of the king's majestie's most honourable counsell, dated the 15th of December, at Westminster, wherby I perceyved the malicious purpose of the said two ungracious men: and for the execution of the king's majestie's commandment declared in the same letters, I syud immediately for audience to the emperor, who entred this town within halfe an houer after Somerset was come. The emperor praid me of pacience, and to declare to the secretarie Joyse, that I wolde saie to him. For he said he had determyned to repose him selfe for 3 or 4 days; and had therefore for that tyme refused audience to the nuntio, the ambassador of France, and the ambassador of Venice, which had sued for audience. On Christmas-day on the morning, at nine of the clocke, Joyse came to my lodginge, to whom I declared as well as I coulde the great benefits theis ungracious men had receyved at the king's majestie's hands, and how unkindly and traytorously they went about to searve him, with the rest as myn instructions led me. The king's majestie, my master (taking the same affection to be in the emperor, his good brother, towards him, that his highnes hath to the emperor, "ut amicorum omnia sint communia, gaudere cum gaudentibus, flere cum flentibus"), hath commanded me to open this matter to the emperor: that as naturally all men, and much more princes, ought to abhorre traytors, and specially suche as had receyved so great benyfits as theis men had; so his majestie might rejoyse that the king's highnes, his good brother, had founde forthe this matter, or the malice coulde be brought to execution. Secretary Joyse said that he would advertise the emperor herof accordingly, and after a little talke of the haughtiness of the earle of Surrey, and a few salutations, he bade me fare well. When I asked him for monsieur de Grandvela, to whom I said, that I wolde tell this tale, for that I doubted not but that he, and all honest men wolde abhorre such traytors: he said that he was not yet come, but he wolde this day advertise him herof by his letters; for I wright (quoth he) daily to him. Albeit that this be the hole, and the

effecte of that I have done in the execution of the king's majestie's commandment, declared in my said lord's letters, yet I will as my dutie is, answer a-part their said letters to the king's majestie : herin I dare not wright. For, to enter the matter, and not to detest that as the cause requireth, I think it not convenient. And again on the side, to renew the memorie of these men's ingratitude (wher with all noble and princely hartes above all others be sore wounded) I thinke it not wisdome. Therefore I beseeche you hartely, amongst other my good lords, there to make my most humble excuse to his majestie for the same. This ungracious matter that hath happened otherwise then ever I could have thought, hath caused you to have a longer letter than ever I had bene accustomed to wright. Ye shall herwith receyve a scedule of courte newis, whiche havynge lernyd while I wrote this, secretary Joyse hath prayd me to sende the letter herwith enclosed to the emperor's ambassador in England, whiche I pray you to cause to be delivered, and hartely fare you well. From Halebourne the Christmas-day at night, 1546.

Your assured loving friend,

THO. WESTM'.

Herewith ye shall also receyve the copie of my letters of the 19th of this moneth, sent by Skipperus, &c.

NUMBER LXXV.

A Letter of the Duke of Norfolk's, after he had been examined in the Tower.

[Cott. Lib. Titus, B. l. p. 94.]

My very good lords, whereas at the being here with me of my lord great chamberlayne, and Mr. Secretary, they examynd me of divers thyngs, which as near as I can call to my remembrance were the effects as here after doth ensue.

First, whether ther was any cypher betwene me, and any other man: for answer wherunto, this is the truth, there was never cypher betwene me and any man, save only such as I have had for the king's majestie, when I was in his service. And as God be my judge, I do not remember that ever I wrote in cypher, but at such time as I was in France; my lord great master that now is, and my lord of Rochford being in commission with me; and whether I wrote any then, or not, as God help me, I do not remember; but and I wrote any thing, I am sure both their hands were at it: and the master of the horse privy to the same. I do remember that after the death of the bishop of Hereford, Fox, it was shewed me that the said bishop had left a letter, which I had sent him amongst his writings, which being found by a servant of his, that is now with master Deny, who shewed the same to the bishop of Durham that now is, he caused him to throw the same in fier; as I do remember, it was my said lord bishop of Dureham that advised him to burn it: and as I also do remember, the matter that was conteyned therein, concerned lewde speaking of the northern men after the time of the comotion against the said Cromwell: if there had been any thyng concerning the king's majesty's affairs, neyther the bishope nor he, were he now alyve, would not have concealed the same; and whether any part of that was in cypher or not, as I shall answer to God, I do not remember.

Theffect of another question there asked me, was, as near as I can call to my remembrance, whether anie man had talked with me, that and ther were a good peace made betwene the king's majestie, the emperor, and the French king, the bishope of Rome would brek the same againe by his dispensation? and whether I enclined that waies, or not, to that purpose?

As God help me now, at my most nede, I cannot call to my remembrance, that ever I heard any man living speak like words. And as for mine inclinations, that the bishope of Rome should ever have authority to do such thing; if I had twentie lives, I would rather have spent them all against him, then ever he should have any power in this realme: for no man knoweth that better than I, by reding of stories, how his usurped power hath increased from time to time. Nor such time as the king's majestie hath found him his enemy, no living man hath, both in his harte and with his tounge, in this realme, in France, and also to many Scottish jantlemen, spoken more sore against his said usurped powre, then I have done, as I can prove by good witnes.

Also my said lord and Mr. Secretary asked me, whether I was ever made privy to a letter, sent from my lord of Wynchester and sir Henry Knevet, of any overture made by Grandville to them, for a way to be taken between his majestie and the bishope of Rome; and that the said letters should have come to his majestie to Dover, I being there with him. Wherunto this is my true answer: I was never at Dover with his highnes since my lord of Richmond died, but at that time, of whose death word came to Syttingborne: and as God be my helpe, I never heard of no such overture, save that I do well remember, at such time as sir Francis Biryen was sore sike, and like to have died, it was spoken in the council, that my lord of Wynchester should have said, he cou'd devise a way how the king's majestie might have all things upright with the said bishope of Rome, and his highnes' honour saved. Suche were the words, or much like. Wherupon, as I had often said in the councill, one was sent to the said sir Francis, to know if ever he heard the said bishope speake like words, which he denied: and as I do remember, it was sir Rauf Sadeler that was sent to the said sir Francis. And to say that ever I heard of any such overture made by Grandville, or that ever I commoned with any man concerning any such mater, other than this of the bishope of Wynchester, as God be my help I never dyd; nor unto more then this, I was never prevye.

Now, my good lords, having made answer according to the truth of such questions as hath been asked me, most humble I beseeche you all to be mediators for me to his most excellent majestie, to cause such as have accused me (if it might be with his high pleasure) to come before his majestie, to lay to my charge afore me, face to face, what they can say against me: and I am in no doubt, so to declare my selfe, that it shall appeare I am falsly accused. And if his pleasure shall not be, to take the paine in his royall person, then to give you commandment to do the same. My lords, I trust ye think Cromwell's service and mine hath not be like; and yet my desire is, to have no more favour shew'de to me than was shew'de to him, I being present. He was a fals man; and severly I am a trewe poore jantleman.

My lords, I think suerlie there is some fals man, that have laid some great cause to my charge, or els I had not be sent hither. And therefore, eftsonys most humble I beseeche to finde the names, if they and I may not be brought face to face, yet let me be made privy what the causes are; and if I do not answer truely to every point, let me not live one howre after: for sewerlie I would hide nothing of any questions that I shall know, that doth concern my self, nor any other creature.

My lords, there was never gold tried better by fier and watter than I have been, nor hath had greater enemy about my soveraign lord, than I have had, and yet (God be thanked) my trouthe hath ever tried me,

as I dout not it shall do in theis causes. Suerly if I knew any thought I had offended his majestie in, I would suerly have declared it to his person.

Upon the Tusedaye in Whitsonweek last past, I broke unto his majestie, most humbly beseeching him to helpe, that a marriage might be had between my daughter and sir Thomas Semour; and wheras my son of Surey hath a son and divers daughters; that with his favour, a crosse marriage might have been made between my lorde great chamberline and them. And also wher my son Thomas hath a son, that shall (be his mother) spend a thousand marks a yere, that he might be in like wise inaried to one of my said lord's daughters. I report me to your lordships, whether myn intent was honest in this motion, or not. And wheras I have written, that my truth hath been severely tried, and that I have had great enemies. First, the cardinal did confes to me at Asser, that he had gone about fourteen years to have destroyed me; saying, he did the same by the setting upon of my lord of Suffolk, the marquis of Exeter, and my lord Sands, who said often to him, that if he found not the meane to put me out of the way, at length I should surely undo him.

Cromwell, at such tyme as the marquis of Exeter suffred, examined his wife more streitly of me then of all other men in the realme, as she sent me word by her brother, the lord Montjoy. He hath said to me himself, many times, my lord, ye are an happy man, that your wife knoweth no hurt by you; for if she did, she would undo you.

The duke of Buckingham confessed openly at the bar (my father sitting as his judge), that of all men living, he hated me most, thinking I was the man that had hurt him most to the king's majestie: which now (quoth he) I perceive the contrary.

Rice, who had married my sister, confessed, that (of all men living) he hated me most; and wished many times how he might find the meanes to thrust his dagger in me.

What malice both my necys, that it pleased the king's highnes to marrie, did bere unto me, is not unknown to such ladies as kept them in this sute; as my lady Herberd, my lady Tirwit, my lady Kynston, and others, which heard what they said of me. Who tried out the falshod of the lord Darcy, sir Robert Constable. sir John Bulmer, Aske, and many others, for which they suffer'd for? But only I. Who shewed his majestie of the words of my mother-in-law, for which she was attainted of misprision? But only I. In all times past unto this time, I have shewed my self a most trewe man to my sovereign lord. And since these things done in tymes past, I have received more proffight of his highnes then ever I did afore. Alas! who can think that I, having been so long a trewe man, should now be false to his majestie? I have received more proffight than I deserved: and a poore man, as I am, yet I am his own near kinsman. For whose sake should I be an untrew man to them? Alas, alas! my lords, that ever it should be thought any ontrathe to be in me.

Fynally, my good lords, eftsonys most humble I beseech you to show this scrible letter to his majestie, and all joyntly to beseech his highnes to grante me the petitions that are conteyned in the same; and most especyally to remyt out of his most noble gentle hart such displeasure as he hath conceyved against me: and I shall, dewryng my lyff, pray for the continuence of his most royll estate long to endure.

By his highnes' poor prisoner,

T. NORFOLK.

COLLECTION OF RECORDS BELONGING TO BOOKS IV. V. AND VI.

NUMBER I.

Instructions given by Luther to Melancthon, 1534; of which one article was erroneously published by me in my 11d. Vol., and that being complained of, the whole is now published.

Cogitationes meæ sunt: (viz. Lutheri.)

PRIMO ut nullo modo concedamus de nobis dici, quod neutri neutros antea intellexerint. Nam isto pharmaco non medebimur tanto vulneri, cum nec ipsi credamus utrumque verum hoc esse, et alii putabunt à nobis hoc fingi, et ita magis suspectam reddemus causam, vel potius per totum dubiam faciemus, cum sit communis omnium. Et in tantis animorum turbis, et scrupulis non expedit hoc nomine addere offendiculum.

Secundo, cum hactenus dissenserimus, quod illi Forsan signum, nos Corpus Christi asseruerimus, novum. e contrarii in Sacramento. Nihil minus mihi videtur utile, quam ut medium et novam sententiam statuamus: Qua et illi concedant Corpus Christi addesse verè, et nos concedamus panem solum manducari. Ut enim conscientiam taceam, considerandum est certe; Quantum hic fenestram aperiemus in re omnibus communi cogitandi: Et orientur hic fontes questionum et opinionum: Ut tutius multo sit illos simpliciter manere in suo signo: Cum nec ipsi suam nec nos nostram partem, multo minus utrique totum orbem pertrahemus in eam sententiam: Sed potius irritabimus ad varias cogitationes. Ideo vellem potius ut sopitum maneret dissidium in duabus istis sententiis, quam ut occasio daretur infinitis Questionibus ad Epicurismum profuturis.

Tertio, Cum stent hic pro nostra Sententia, primum Textus ipse apertissimus Evangelii, qui non sine causa movet omnes Homines, non solum pios: Secundo, Patrum dicta quam plurima, quæ non tam facile possunt solvi; nec, tuta Conscientia, aliter quam sonant, intelligi, cum bona Grammatica textui fortiter consentiat. Tertio, quia periculosum est statuere, Ecclesiam tot annis per totum Orbem caruisse vero Sensu Sacramenti; cum nos fateamur omnes, mansisse Sacramenta et verbum, etsi obruta multis abominationibus.

Quarta, Dicta Sancti Augustini de Signo, quæ contraria nostræ Sententiæ videntur, non sunt firma satis contra ista jam tria Dicta. Maximè, cum ex Augustini Scriptis clarè possit ostendi, et convinci, eum loqui de Signo præsentis Corporis, ut illud, contra Adamantum, non dubitavit Dominus appellare Corpus suum, cum daret Signum Corporis sui: vel de Signo Corporis Mystici, in quo valde multus est, præsertim in Joanne: Ubi copiosè docet, manducare Carnem Christi, esse in Corpore mystico; seu, ut ipse dicit, in Societate, Unitate, Charitate Ecclesie: Istis enim Verbis utitur.

Quinto, Omnium est fortissimus Augustinus, quod dicit, Non hoc Corpus, quod videtis, manducaturi estis, &c. Et tamen Conscientia memor apertorum Verborum Christi (Hoc est Corpus meum) hoc dictum S. Augustini facilè sic exponit: Quod de visibile Corpore loquatur Augustinus, sicut sonant verba (Quod videtis) ita nihil pugnat Augustinus cum claris verbis Christi: Et Augustinus infirmior est, quam ut hoc uno dicto tam incerto, imo satis consono, nos noveat in contrarium sensum.

Sexto, Ego S. Augustinus non intelligo aliter (sic et ipse Patres ante se forte intellexit) quam quod con-

tra Judæos et Gentes docendum fuit, apud Christianos non comedi Corpus Christi visibiliter, et more corporali. Hac ratione Fidem Sacramenti defenderunt. Rursus contra Hypocritas Christianorum docendum fuit, quod Sacramentum non esset salutare accipientibus, nisi spiritualiter manducarent, id est, Ecclesiæ essent uniti et incorporati. Et hac ratione Charitatem in Sacramento exegerunt. Ut ex Augustino clarè accipi potest; qui, absque dubio, ex prioribus Patribus, et sui Seculi usu, ista accepit.

Septimo, Istis salvis, nihil est quod à me peti possit. Nam et ego hoc dissidium vellem (Testis est mihi Christus meus) redemptum non uno Corpore et Sanguine meo: Sed quid faciam? Ipsi forte Conscientia bona capti sunt in alteram Sententiam. Feramus igitur eos. Si sinceri sunt, liberabit eos Christus Dominus. Ego contra captus sum bona certè Conscientia (nisi ipse mihi sim ignotus) in meam Sententiam. Ferant et me, si non possunt mihi accedere.

Si verò illi Sententiam suam, scilicet de Præsentia Corporis Christi cum Pane, tenere velint, et petierint nos invicem tamen tolerari; ego planè libenter tolerabo, in spe futuræ Communionis. Nan interim communicare illis in fide et Sensu non possum.

Deinde, Si politica Concordia queritur, ea non impeditur diversitate Religionis: Sicut novimus posse Conjugia, Commercia, aliaque politica constare, inter diversæ Religionis Homines: Primo Corinth. 7. Christus faciat, ut perfectè coneratur Satan sub nostris pedibus. Amen.

Nostra autem Sententia est, Corpus ita cum Pane, seu in Pane esse, ut reverà cum Pane manducetur: Et quæcunque motum vel actionem Panis habet, eandem et Corpus Christi. Ut Corpus Christi verè dicatur ferri, dari, accipi, manducari, quando Panis fertur, datur, accipitur, manducatur; id est, Hoc est Corpus meum.

Coll. Corp. Christi, Febr. 4, 95-6.

We have collated this with the original paper of Luther, and find it to agree exactly. Witness our hands,

JOHN JAGGARD.
ROB. MOSS.
WILL. LUNN.

NUMBER II.

The Lady Mary's Letter to the Lord Protector, and to the rest of the King's Majesty's Council, upon their suspecting some of her Household had encouraged the Devonshire Rebellion.

[Ex MS. D.G. Cooke.]

MY LORD,—I have received letters from you, and others of the king's majesty's council, dated the 17th of this present, and delivered unto me the 20th of the same, whereby I perceive ye be informed, that certayn of my servants should be the chief stirrers, procurers, and doers in these commotions, which commotions (I assure you) no less offend me, than they do you and the rest of the council. And you write also, that a priest and chapleyn of mine, at Sampford Courtney in Devonshire, should be a doer there. Of which report I do not a little marvel; for to my knowledge, I have not one chaplain in those parts. And concerning Pooley, my servant, which was sometime a receiver, I am able to answer, that he remaineth continually in my house, and was never doer amongst the commons, nor came in their company. It is true that I have another servant of that name dwelling in Suffolk; and whether the commons have taken him or no, I know not, for he resorteth seldom to my house. But by report they have taken by force many gentlemen in these quarters, and used them very cruelly. And as

touching Lionell, my servant, I cannot but marvel of that bruit, specially because he dwelleth within two miles of London, and is not acquainted within the shire of Suffolk or Norfolk; nor at any time cometh into these parts, but when he waiteth upon me in my house, and is now at London about my businesse, being no man apt or meet for such purposes, but given to as much quietness as any within my house.

My lord, it troubleth me to hear such reports of any of mine, and specially where no cause is given, trusting that my household shall try themselves true subjects to the king's majesty, and honest, quiet persons; or else I would be loath to keep them. And where you charge me that my proceedings in matters of religion should give no small courage to many of those men to require and do as they do: that thing aspeareth most evidently to be untrue, for all the rising about these parts is touching no point of religion; but even as ye ungently, and without desert, charge me, so I, omitting so fully to answer it, as the case doth require, do and will pray God, that your new alterations and unlawful liberties be not rather the occasion of these assemblies, than my doings, who am (God I take to witness) inquired there-with. And as for Devonshire, no indifferent person can lay their doings to my charge; for I have neither land nor acquaintance in that country, as knoweth Almighty God, whom I humbly beseech to send you all as much plenty of his grace as I would wish to my self. So with my hearty commendations, I bid you farewell. From my house at Kennynghall, the xxth of July.

Your friend to my power,

MARY.

NUMBER III.

A Letter of Christopher Mont concerning the Interim.

Christophorus Montius, S.D.—Wolph. Musculo.

[Ex MS. Tigur.]

CUM harum Lator mihi indicasset se Dominum nosse, nolui eum sine meis ad te reverti literis. Cum ego Augustà discederem: discessi autem, hujus nihil dum ibi innovatum fuit per Ecclesias, sed optimi quique vehementer verebantur Superstitiones inducendas propediem.

Concionator ad S. Georgium mihi significavit, Senatam ut Concionatoribus efflagitaret, ut modo in his calamitatibus civitatem non desererent, sed porro in ea permanerent, se eos maturè et in tempore certiores facturos, modo viderint superstitionem imminere, quasi modo non in media urbe dominetur. Rogavit quoque Senatus, ut Concionatores Populo Interim quam compositissimis et coloratissimis verbis possent, proponerent, quod major pars recusarunt, dicentes se hoc Scriptum laudare nulla ratione neque constantia posse, quod communi suffragio damnassent, duo tamen se id facturos receperunt, quod et factum audivi ad S. Crucem et Mauricium. Non dubito te audisise, de eo Scripto, quod huc nuper allatum fuit ex Saxonia. Utinam Germana virtus et Constantia alicubi permanens emineat, ut si non fortiter agendo, saltem fortiter adversa propter Domini gloriam ferendo, professionem et officium nostrum testentur. Dux Gemini pontis Augustà discessisse dicitur, ut qui Interim indictionem et promulgationem Diocesano præstandam et committendam dixerit, neque se neque suos huic executioni idoneos Ministros esse. Tamen qua conditione dimissus sit, certo nondum didici. Bremenses discessisse audio, nondum reconciliatos, nam tam graves eis conditiones præscribi audio, ut quas omnino etiam si eas accepe-

rint, præstare non possint. Multi putant consulto tam gravia præscribi, ut sub specie contumaciæ et obstinationis, obsidione pressi et expugnati Frisias jungantur. Civitas quoque ea plurimis rebus agendis aptissima est, ut quæ supra Visurgim et Albim posita accessum aperiat ad Chersonesum totam occupandam. Qua lege Constantienses redierint domum ex Domino nosse cupio. Rogo quoque ut mihi significare velis quæ concordie et communicationis spes ipsis inter se Helvetis sit. Literas quas ad me perlatas vobis, cura ad D. Bucerum adferri. Bene vale. Argentinæ 18. Jul. 1548. Literas tectas exuras.

NUMBER IV.

A part of a letter of Hooper's to Bullinger, giving an Account of the Cruelty of the Spaniards in the Netherlands.

[Ex MS. Tiguri.]

Nos 14 Aprilis relicta Colonia, iter versus Antverpiam, per Campiniam Brabantinam, sterilem ac arenosam, instituimus. 18. ejusdem, venimus omnes, Dei Gratia, salvi et incolomes Antverpiam. 20. Die, Precibus Oratoris Regis nostri, qui apud Cæsarem nunc agit, compulsus, Bruxellam me contuli, unum cum Joh. Stumphio, ut videret mollitiem ac miserias Aulae, præterea servitutem Civium Bruxellensium, qui jam Hispanorum Imperium, atrociniū ac furtum, violationem Filiarum, Uxorū impudicitiam, minas denique ac plagas perditissimæ Gentis ferre coguntur; ut Statum ac Conditionem suæ Patriæ altius consideraret, ardentius pro illo oraret, ac diligentius suos admoneret, ut alienis malis edoctos cautions redderet. Cæsarem non vidimus, quod raro Cubiculum suum egreditur, nec Filium, qui Pascha suum egit extra Civitatem, in Monasterio quodam. Ducem Saxonie Jo. Stumphius vidit per fenestram. Ego bis sui in Aedibus illius valde humaniter acceptus à suis Germanis, qui ei adhuc inserviunt, ad numerum 30. Voluit Dux, bis vel ter, me admittere ad Colloquium; sed impedivit semper primi Capitanei Hispanorum præsentia. Vivit constanter in sua Fide. Non valet, quantum ad Valetudinem Corporis spectat, de liberatione illius nulla penitus affulget spes, nisi quod absit, Religionem suam mutet: non male sperat de Verbo Dei. Catus Landgravius Captivus detinetur Aulde-nardi, septem milliariibus à Gandavo: Homo omnibus numeris miser et inconstans: nunc omnem Obedientiam Cæsari, ac Fidem pollicetur; Missam, ac cætera impia sacra, obvis ulnis amplectitur, nunc Cæsarem, cum suo interdicto, execratur ac detestatur. Dominus misereatur illius; miserè affligitur, ac meritis poenas perfidiæ suæ jam luit. Et vidimus, præterea Lazarum Scuendi proditorem illum, quem nostis. De Brandeburgensi, ac aliis Germanis, Hispanorum mancipiis, nihil opus est quod scriberem. Legatus Papæ, præ totam Quadragesimam, in sua Aula est concionatus, quàm impiè non scribam. Hoc tamen pro certo scio, non bene convenire inter Papam et Cæsarem, nec inter Gallum ac Cæsarem. Uterque valde sibi timet à Cæsare: Cæsar vicissim à fulmine Papæ maxime timet. Jam agitur seriò inter illos, an Concilium Generale Tridenti, an Bologniæ fit celebrandum. Papa urget, mandat, rogat ac jubet, ut Cæsar consentiat de Bolognia: Is renuit, negat ac pernegat, omnibus modis: et potius dicit se omnes Amicitias cum Papa definire, quàm illum locum, Bologniam scilicet, admittere: Quid monstri in hoc, ex parte Papæ, lateat, facile divinare licet. Diffidit Regno suo valde; nam hoc didici ab Oratore nostro, quod si Cæsar Confessor esset mediocriter pius, esset maxima spes, quod brevi in Cognitionem Christi induceretur. Nam

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apertè mihi retulit, et Cæsarem, et Consiliarios suos omnes regi, impelli, duci ac trahi, per Confessorem, qui omnia Papæ suasu et concilio agit. Et facile credo: Nam ante septem Menses, cum Cæsar adhuc erat in superiore Germania, fuit derelictus à suo Confessore, quod crudeliter voluit sævire in pios Viros, et in integrum Papatum restituere. Cæsar obtulit ei Episcopatum in Hispania, ad 20. Millia Coronatorum per Annum: neglexit Cæsar Liberalitatem, et Cæsarem ipsum hisce Verbis, Ecclesiæ Christi me solum debeo, sed non Tibi, non Dono tuo, nisi Ecclesiæ mavis majori studio inservire. Jam de Cæsaris animo ergo Helvetiam. Omnes in hoc consentiunt illum vestræ libertati hostiliter invidere, propterea nullum non movere lapidem, ut rumpat inter vos concordiam: si hac via res non succedat, omnia aget pollicitationibus. Cavete igitur, ne lactet vos inani spe. Denique absque dubio vos aggredietur hostili manu, non ut sic vincat, vel multos ex suis exponat periculo, sed ut vobis incutiat timorem. Rogo itaque ut unanimiter ac mutuò vos diligatis, Deum timeate, sanctè vivite, strenuè pugnatè, ac expectate Victoriā à Deo, qui procul dubio vobis aderit ac defendet. Adhuc putem vobis non immineri periculum, sed sitis semper parati: et absit procul omnis securitas, ne obruat inopinantes. Adhuc Cæsar bene scit, se non posse pro Voto uti rebus Germaniæ. Doluit illi sæpius (ut accepi à Viris fide dignis), aliquid tentasse in Religione: quidem si Germanis permisisset liberam maxime fuisse in re illius. Aiunt Cæsarem brevi profecturum, Gandavum et à Gandavo iterum petiturum Bruxellam, vel ascensurum versus Spiram. Copias militum habet probe Bremam ac civitates maritimas, sed otiosas: Nihil proficiunt res, à civibus multum timetur, indies magis ac magis Civitates suas muniunt et comeatum habent ad quinque annos, non multum Cæsaris gratiam amplius ambiunt. Quam graves exactiones à suis Cæsar jam exigit credo se non ignorare. Dicam tamen tristem ac deplorandam Orationem, quam effudit pia mulier, hospita nostra in Campinia: Si inquit ferre poterim in sinu meo magnam ac jam nunc molestam turbam liberorum meorum, fugerem ac per stipem victum quaererem, nam Cæsare ac Regiæ exactores labores sudores nostri exantlant. Hac ex parte Angli etiam jam valde laborant, concessa est Regi quinta pars omnium bonorum. Sed adhuc de Helvetia unum. Heri 25. Aprilis invitatus ad prandium à quodam cive Antverpensi, qui optimè novit Helvetiam, ac sæpe in omnibus civitatibus Helvetiorum exposuit merces suas, is mihi retulit, se frequenter vidisse in aula Cæsaris ex eo quod Cæsar superiorem partem Germaniæ reliquerit, publicos Ministros Civitatis Lucernanæ, nam bene novit illos ex colore vestium, metuendum est, ne arcana patriæ per hujusmodi patefiant, vel aliquid majus malum lateat.

[The rest of the letter relates to private concerns.]

NUMBER V.

The Oath of Supremacy, as it was made when the Bishop did homage in King Henry the VIIIth's Time. The last Words were struck out by King Edward the VIth.

[Ex MSS. Rymer.]

Ye shall say and swere as foloweth, I shall be faithful and trewe, and faith and trowth I shall bere unto your majestie, and to your heires kings of this realme; and liffe and lymme, and erththelie honour for to live and dye as your faithful subject, agayne all persons of what degre, state, or condition soever they bee: and I shall preffer, sustayne, and mayntayne the honour, surtie, right, prehemynence, and prerogatif of your

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majestie, and your heires kings of this realm, and jurisdiction of your imperiall crowne of the same, afore and agaynst all manner of persones, powers, and auctorities whatsoever they bee : and I shall not wittingly do, or attempt, nor to my power suffer to be done, or attempted any thing, or things, prively or apertly, that may be to the dysmynion or derogation of your crowne of this realme ; or of the lawes, liberties, rights, prerogatives belonging to the same, but put myne effectual endeavour from tyme to tyme, as the case shall requier to advance and increas the same to my wit and uttermost of my power ; and in nowise hereafter I shall accept any othe, or make any promise, pact, or covenant, secretly or apertlye by any manner of means, or by any colour of pretence to the contrary of this my othe, or any part thereof. And I shall be diligently attendunt upon your majestie, and to your heires kings of this realme, in all your commaundements, causes, and busynesses. And also I knowledge and recognize your majestie ymmediately under Almighty God to be the chief and supreme hede of the Church of England, and clayme to have the bishepriche of Chester, holye and allonlye of your gift ; and to have and to hold the proffittes temporal and spiritual of the same allonlye of your majestie, and of your heires kings of this realme, and of none other ; and in that sorte and none other, I shall take my restitution owt of your handes accordinglye, utterly renouncing any other suit to be had therefore to any other creature lifyng, or hereafter to be, except your heires. And I shall to my wit, and uttermost of my power observe, keep, mayntayn, and defende all the statutes of this realme made agaynst the reservations and provisions of the bishop of Rome, called the pope, of any of the archiebusshopriches, or busshopriches in this realme, or of other your domynions. And also I shall observe, fulfill, defende, mayntayn, and kepe to the uttermost of my power all the hole effects and content of the statute made for the surtie of your succession of your crowne of this realme, and all the causes and articles mentioned and conteigned in the saide statute ; and also all other statutes made in conformation, or for the due execution of the same. And all theis things I shall do without colour, fraude, or any other undue mean agaynst all persons, powers, and auctorities of the world, whatsoever they be. And in one wise for any manner of cause, colour, or pretence, prively or apertlye I shall move, do, or attempt, nor to any power suffer to be done, or attempted any thing or things to the contrary herof, so help me God, all sayntes, and the holye evangels.

“ Per me Roland’ Co’ et Lich’ Electum.”

NUMBER VI.

A Letter of Peter Martyr’s to Bullinger, of the State of the University of Oxford, in the Year 1550, June 1.

[Ex MS. Tiguri.]

S. D. LITERIS tuis vir eximie mihique in Christo plurimum observande, longè antea respondisse debeueram, ad quod faciendum, non solum institutum officium inter amicos, verum etiam quod suavissimæ fuerunt et bene comitatæ aliis symmistarum epistolis jucundissimis : vehementer extimulabar sed quando redditæ sunt adversa valetudine nonnihil afflictabar : et statim ut convalui, ea mole negotiorum penè non oppressus, ut quod maximè cupiebam facere non licuerit, cujusmodi autem fuerint hæ occupationes paucis expediam. Præter quotidianas Interpretationes Pauli, quod totum ferme hominem sibi vendicat, si velit in eis pro dignitate versari, accessit ex legibus modò latis à Regia

Majestate, huic Academiæ novum onus. Quippe decretum est, ut frequenter publicæ Disputationes de Rebus Theologicis habeantur, hoc est alternis hebdomadis, quibus mihi præcipitur, ut et intersim et præsim. Deinde in hoc Regio Collegio ubi dego, singula quaque septimana, Theologicæ Disputationes agitantur, quæ cum ad illas audiendas aditus omnibus patet, identidem publicæ dici possunt, hisque sum constitutus pariter, atque aliis censor. Est itaque cum adversariis perpetuò luctandum, et quidem pertinacissimis, quò fit, ut velim nolim facillè cogar, alias non rarè seponere literas, et vocationi cui sum obstrictus, totum tempus mihi concessum transmittere. Verum certè scio boni consules, nec in malam partem capias (quæ tua est humanitas) quod à contempnitione profectum non esse animadvertes. Gaudeo quas scripseram literas, abs te hilari lætoque animo fuisse susceptas : neque vulgares ago gratias, quod tuum præsidium, si quid me possit cojuvare, tam promptè atque alacriter offers. Recompenset Deus istum Animum, ut ego illum sincera charitate complector ! Hic verò scitò negotium religionis procedere non quidem eo successu, eoque ardore quo velim, sed tamen plus quàm nostra peccata mereantur, et aliquantiò felicius, atque mihi ante quatuor menses polliceri ausus essem. Permulta certè sunt quæ nobis obstant, cumprimis adversariorum copia, concionatorum inopia, et eorum qui profiterentur Evangelium crassa vitia, et quorundam præterea humana prudentia, qui judicant religionem quidem repurgandam sed ita vellent demutari quam minimè fieri possit, quod cum Animo sint et judicio civiles, existimant maximos motus republicæ fore perniciosos. Verum tu ipse cernis, cum innumere corruptiones, infiniti abusus, et immensæ superstitiones in ecclesia Christi passim inoleverint, fieri non posse ut justa habeatur instauratio nisi quæ deflexerunt in vitium, ad suos genuinos ortus purissimos fontes et inadulterata principia revocentur. Satan astutè sanctos conatus aggreditur, vellet enim hoc prætextu q. numerosissimos papatus relinqueret reliquias. Partim ne homines ejus facillè obliviscerentur, partim verò ut reditus ad illum facilius maneret. At vicissim inde Consolationis hausimus, quod Regem habemus verè sanctum, qui tanto studio Pietatis flagrat, ea est, hac ætate, prædictus Eruditione, eaque Prudentia jam nunc et Gravitate loquitur, ut omnes in admirationem stuporemque se audientes, convertat. Quamobrem, orandum est Deus contentissimis votis, et eum Regno et Ecclesiæ multò diutissimè conservet. Sunt et complures Heroes, Regniq. Proceres, bene admodum sentientes ; et aliquos Episcopos habemus, non pessimos, inter quos est uti signifer Cantuariensis. Deinde in eorum Album cooptatus est Hooperus, magna porrò bonorum omnium lætitia ; utque audio, contigit ei Populus non malus : Me illum spero visurum, quando ad suum Episcopatum iter faciet. Nam si Glocestriam se conferet, quæ est ejus Ecclesia, per nos hac transibit. Quo autem pacto duci potuerit, ut fieret Episcopus, referrem pluribus, nisi comperitissimum haberem, illum ipsum (quæ est ejus in te observantia) omnia fusissimè scripturum. Est alius præterea Vir bonus, Michael Coverdallus, qui superioribus annis sgebat in Germania Parochum : Is multum in Devonia, et prædicando, et interpretando Scripturas, laborat ; eum te probè nòsse arbitror, qui Excestrensis Episcopus fiet. Nilque potest commodi, ut et utilis fieri ad Religionis Repurgationem, quam si homines hujus farinæ ad Ecclesiæ Administrationem impellantur. Contulit etiam se huc Dominus Alasco, quum ejus Phrysia Imperatorum Interim admisit, utque olfacio, Londini Germanorum Ecclesiæ præerit ; quod mihi vehementer placet. Dedit nunc apud D. Cantuariensem. Accepisti jam quo loco nostræ Res

PART III.—BOOKS IV. V. & VI.

in Anglia sint, quæ adhuc nonnihil melioris spei efficit; Pax ista, cum Rege Gallorum facta, quæ videtur indies magis corroborari. Solum nonnulli verentur, ne in bonorum perniciem, quod jactitare incipiunt Papistæ celebretur Concilium: Verum si sciverimus et hoc genus Cogitationum, in Deum rejiciamus. Sermones quos edidisti, fuerunt hoc tempore utiles moniales, qui ut ex mediis Scripturis sanctis recitati sunt, ita et grati fuerunt; et spero, non absque fructu legentur. Johannem ab Ulmis, et Stumphium, quos mihi commendasti, eâ quâ possum Charitate complector; atque ipsi vicissim me colunt, et observant: ad me ventitant sæpius; et si quid vel scribendum, vel aliud agendum, mea causa sit, præstare non detrectant, sed lubenti volentique animo faciunt; qua de causa, illis non parum debeo. Sed audio, Stumphium ad vos delatum esse, quod contra quàm vestris Legibus liceat, nescio quod ab Anglis Stipendium accipiat; id verò certò scias, falsum esse. Vixit hic aliquandiu in nostro Collegio, sed sua pecunia; quod posthac non illi fraudi sit, utque ulla specie mali absteineat: Ille dicessit, et in Oppido, apud Civem Bibliopolam, divertit. Modò quod superest, tuos, tuorumque Preces, quanta possum cum instantia imploro; quo progrediatur in hoc Regno Domini Opus, atque tandem Corda Patrum in Filios, et Corda Filiorum in Patres suos, nostro Ministerio revocentur. Oxonij, primâ Junij, 1550. Valeas in Domino; et me, ut facias, ama.

Tuus, ex Animo,

PETRUS MARTYR.

Salutes, quæso, isthic meo Nomine, omnes bonos in Fratres; ac nominatim, D. Bibliandrum, et Doctorem Ghisnerum.

Inscriptio.

Clarissimo, Pietate et Doctrina, Viro, D. Henrico Bullingero, Ecclesiæ Tigurinæ Pastori Fidelissimo, Domino suo ac Fr. Colendissimo, Tiguri.

NUMBER VII.

A Mandate, in K. Edward's Name, to the Officers of the Archbishop of Canterbury; requiring them to see, that the Articles of Religion should be Subscribed.

[Reg. Cranmer, f. 65.]

Mandatum pro Publicatione nonnullorum Articulorum veram proponi Fidem concernentium.

EDWARDUS Sextus, Dei Gratia, Angliæ, et Franciæ et Hiberniæ Rex, Fidei Defensor, et in Terra Ecclesiæ Anglicanæ et Hiberniæ Supremum Caput. Dilectis Sibi, Officiali Curie Cantuar' et Decano Decanatu de Arcubus Londin' ac eorum Surrogatis, deputatis aut locum tenentibus, Uni vel Pluribus, Salutem. Quoniam nuper, per Literas nostras Regias, Signeto nostro obsignatas, Reverendissimo in Christo Patri Consiliario nostro Fidelissimo, Thomæ Cantuariensi Archiepiscopo, totius Angliæ Primate et Metropolitano, dederimus in Mandatis. Quatenus ipse, ad Dei Optimi Maximi Gloriam illustrandam, nostramque, et Ecclesiæ nostræ Anglicanæ (cujus Caput Supremum, post Christum, esse cognoscimus) Honorem, et ad tollendam Opinionis Dissensionem, et Consensum veræ Religionis firmandum, nonnullos Articulos, et alia rectam Christi Fidem spirantia, Clero et Populo nostris, ubi libet infra suam Jurisdictionem degentibus, pro Parte nostra exponeret, publicaret, denunciaret et significaret; prout in Literis nostris (quarum Tenores, pro hic insertis haberi volumus) latius continetur, et describitur. Vobis igitur, et eorum cuilibet, tenore præsentium, districtè præcipiendū nostra sublimi Regia Auctoritate, mandamus; Quatenus moneatis, monerive faciatis, peremptoriè,

omnes et singulos Rectores, Vicarios, Presbyteros, Stipendiarios, Curatos, Plebanos, Ministros, Ludimagistros cujuslibet Scholæ Grammatices, aut aliter vel alias Grammaticam, apertè vel privatim profitentes, aut pubem instituentes, Verbi Dei Prædicatores, vel Prælectores, necnon quoscunque alios, quacunque aliam Functionem Ecclesiasticam (quocunque Nomine, aut Appellatione, censetur, habetur, aut nuncupetur) obtinentes et habentes. Oeconomos quoque cujuslibet Parochiæ, infra Decanatum de Arcubus prædictum, existentes aut degentes, quod ipsi omnes, et eorum quilibet, per se compareat, et compareat personaliter, coram dicto Reverendissimo Patre Cantuar' Archiepiscopo, in Aula Edium suarum apud Lambethitæ, die Veneris vicesimo tertio die præsentis Mensis Junij, inter Horas septimam et nonam, ante Meridiem ejusdem Diei. Hisque tunc in ex Parte nostra fuerint significanda, humiliter obtemperaturos, facturosque ulterius et recepturos, quod consonans fuerit Rationi, ac suo conveniret erga nostram Regiam Dignitatem Officio. Mandantes quatenus, dictis Die, Loco et Horis, eundem Reverendissimum, de Executione hujus Regij nostri Mandati, unà cum Nominibus et Cognominibus, omnium et singulorum, per vos Monitorum, ritè, rectè, et authenticè reddatis, certiore, unà cum præsentibus, uti decet. Teste Thomâ Cant' Archiepiscopo, prædicto, decimo nono die Junij, Anno Regni nostri Septimo.

Certificatorium factum super Executione Mandati prædicti.

Reverendissimo in Christo Patri et Domino Domino Thomæ, Permissione Divina, Cantuariensi Archiepiscopo, totius Angliæ Primate et Metropolitano; Auctoritate Illustrissimi in Christo Principis, et Domini nostri Domini Edwardi Sexti, Dei Gratia, Angliæ, Franciæ, et Hiberniæ Regis, Fidei Defensoris, ac in Terrâ Ecclesiæ Anglicanæ et Hiberniæ Supremi Capitis; sufficienti Auctoritate fulcito Johannes Gibbon Civilium Legum Professor, vestræ celsitudinis observantissimus, pariter eidem addictissimus decanatus vestr' Beatæ Mariæ Virginis, de Archibus London, Commissarius omnem que decet Reverentiam, et Obedientiam, tanto Reverendissimo Patri debitam cum Honore. Mandatum Illustrissimi et Potentissimo Domini nostri Regis, præsentibus annexum, nuper accepimus, cujus vigore pariter et auctoritate omnes et singulos Rectores, Presbyteros, &c. Dat. Vicessimmo Secundo Die Mensis Junij, Anno Domini Millessimo Quingentesimo Quinquagesimo Tertio.

NUMBER VIII.

The King's Mandate to the Bishop of Norwich, sent with the Articles to be subscribed by the Clergy.

BY THE KING.

RIGHT reverende father in God, right trustie and well-beloved, we grete you well: and because it hath pleased Almighty God in this latter time of the world, after long darkenes of knowledge to reveale to this his Church of England; whereof we have under Christ the chief charge in Earth; a sincere knowledge of the gospel, to the inestimable benefit of us and our people, redeemed by our saviour Christ. We have thought it mete, and our dutie for the pure conservacon of the same gospel in our church, with one uniforme profession, doctryne, and preachinge, and for the avoyding of many perilous and vain opinions, and errors, to sende unto you certayne articles, devised and gathered with great study, and by council, and good advice of the greatest lerned parte of our byshoppes of this realm, and sundry others of our clergie; which articles we wyll and exhort your self to sub-

scribe, and in your preachings, redings, and teachings, to observe and cause to be subscribed and observed, of all other which do, or hereafter shall preache, or reade, within your dioces. And if any person, or persons, having benefice within your dioces, shall from henceforth, not only refuse wyllfully to sett their hands to these articles, but also obstinately exhort their parrochians to withstande the same, and teache the people in a contrary way; our pleasure is, that beinge duly proved, ye shall advertise us, or our counsaile of the hoole mattier, fully to thintent suche further ordre may by direction from us, or our said counsaile, to be taken as the case shall require, and shall stande with justice, and th'ordre of our lawes. And further, that when, and as often as ye shall have any manner of person presented unto you to be admitted by yowe as the ordinary to any ecclesiastical ordre, ministry, office, or cure, within your dioces, that ye shall before you admit him, conferre with him in every theis articles. And finding him therto consenting, to cawse him subscribe the same in one legier book to be fourmed for that purpose, which maye remayne as a registre for a concorde, and to let him have a cople of the same articles. And if any men in that case shall refuse to consent to any of the said articles, and to subscribe the same, then we will and command you, that neither ye, nor any for you, or by your procurement in any wise shall admitt him, or allowe him as sufficient and mete to take any ordre, ministry, or ecclesiastical cure. For whiche yowe so doinge, we shall discharge yowe from all maner of penalties, or daungers of actions, suits, or plects of premonirees, "quare impedit," or such lyke. And yet our meaning is, that if any partie refuse to subscribe any of these articles, for lack of learning and knowledge of the trewth, ye shall in that case by teachinge, conference, and prouf of the same by the scriptures, reasonably and discretely move, and perswade him therto before yow shall peremptorilye judge him as unhabile and a recusant. And for the tryall of his conformitie, ye shall according to your discrecion prefix a time and space convenient to deliberate and give his consent, so that be twixt three weks and six weks, from the time of his first access to yowe. And if after six weks he wyll not consent and agree wyllinglie to subscribe, then ye may lawfullye, and shall in any wyse refuse to admitt or enhabile him. And where there is of late sett fourth by our authoritie a catechisme for the instruction of younge scolers in the feare of God, and the trewe knowledge of his holy religion, with expresse commaundment from us to all scole maisters to teache and instruct their scolars the said catechisme, making it the beginning and first foundation of ther teaching in ther scholes: our pleasure is, that for the better exequation of our said commaundment, ye shall yearlye, at the least once visit, or cause to be visited, every schole within your saide dioces, in which visitation yt shall be enquired both howgh the scole maister of every such schole hath used himself in the teaching of the said catechisme: and also howgh the scholars do receyve and follow the same, making playne and full certificate of the offenders, contrary to this our ordre, and of their severall offences, to the archbishop of that province, within the monethes from tyme to tyme after every such offence. Yeoven undre our signet at the manor of Grenewich, the 1xth daye of June, the virth yeare of our reign.

This is faithfully transcribed from the beginning of a folio MS. book in the principal registry of the lord bishop of Norwich.—After which immediately follow

"Articula de quibus in Synodo Londinensi, Anno Domini 1552, ad tollendam Disensionem et Consensu veræ Religionis, firmandum inter Episcopos

et alios eruditos Viros, convenerat Regiâ Autoritate in lucem Editi.

42 articles as in the appendix of 11d part of the History of the Reformation, n. 55. Subscribed by about 50 hands, thus:

Per me MILONEM SPENSER.

Per me JOHANNEM BARRETT.

Per me PETRUM WATTS, &c.

Feb. 12, 1713.

(Examined by)

THOM. TANNER.

NUMBER IX.

Ornatiss. Viris Dominis Sands, ac Regentibus et Non-Regentibus Academiæ Cantabr.

ÆQUUM est, ut qui se Literarum Studiis dediderunt, et in veri Inquisitione versantur, illius Disciplinæ veritatem profiteantur, quæ ad vivendum est utilissima, et ad judicandum cum Verbo Dei convenientissima. Cum autem in redintegranda religione, multum diuque Regiæ Majestatis Autoritate, et bonorum atque eruditorum Virorum judiciis sit elaboratum, et de Articulis quibusdam in Synodo Londonensi Anno Domini 1552, ad tollendam opinionum disensionem, conclusum: Aequissimum judicavimus, eosdem Regiâ Autoritate promulgatos, et omnibus Episcopis ad meliorem Dioceseos suæ Administrationem traditos, vobis etiam commendare, et visitationis nostræ Autoritate præcipere ac statuere de his, ad hunc modum.

Singuli Doctores et Bachallores Theologiæ, et singuli præterea Artium Doctores, solenniter et publice, ante creationem suam, hoc jurejurando sequenti se astringant, et in Commentarios Academiæ, ad id designatos, suâ ipsorum manu referant. Quod ni fecerint gradus sui capiendi repulsam patiantur.

Ego N.N. Deo Teste promitto ac spondeo, primo me veram Christi Religionem, omni Animo Complexurum, Scripturæ Authoritatem Hominum judicio præpositurum, Regulam Vitæ et summam Fidei, ex Verbo Dei petiturum, cætera quæ ex Verbo Dei non probantur, pro humanis et non necessariis habiturum. Authoritatem Regiam in hominibus summam, et externorum Episcoporum Jurisdictioni minime subjectam æstimaturum; et contrarias Verbo Dei Opinioniones, omni voluntate ac mente refutaturum. Vera consuetis, Scripta non Scriptis, in Religionis Causâ antehabaturum. Deinde me articulos, de quibus in Sinodo Londenensi Anno Domini 1553, ad tollendam Opinionum Disensionem et consensum veræ Religionis firmandum inter Episcopos et alios eruditos Viros convenerat, et Regiâ Autoritate in lucem editos, pro veris et certis habiturum, et omni in loco tanquam Consentes cum Verbo Dei defensurum, et contrarios Articulos in Scholis et Pulpitis vel respondendo vel concionando oppugnaturum. Hæc omnia in me recipio, Deoque Teste, me Sedulo facturum promitto ac spondeo.

An. 1553, 1 Jun. Ex MS. Coll. Corp. Chr. Cant.

Tho. Ely Canc. Joannes Cheeke. Gul. Meyer.

Tho. Wendy.

NUMBER X.

King Edward's Devise for the Succession, written with his own hand.

[Ex MS. Petyti.]

FOR lack of issue male of my body, to the issue male coming of the issue female, as I have after declared. To the said Frances' heirs males, if she have any; for lack of such issue before my death, to the said Jane and heirs males; to the said Kathe-

PART III.—BOOKS IV. V. & VI.

rine's heirs males ; to the lady Mary's heirs males : to the heirs males of the daughters, which she shall have hereafter. Then to the lady Marget's heirs males. For lack of such issue, to the heirs males of the lady Jane's daughters ; to the heirs males of the lady Katherine's daughters, and so forth, till you come to the lady Marget's heirs males.

2. If after my death the heir male be entred into eighteen year old, then he to have the whole rule and governance therof.

3. But if he be under eighteen, then his mother to be governess till he enters eighteen year old : but to do nothing without the advice and agreement of six parcell of a council, to be pointed by my last will, to the number of 20.

4. If the mother die before the heir enter into eighteen, the realm to be governed by the council : provided that after he be fourteen year, all great matters of importance be opened to him.

5. *If I died without issue, and there were none heir male, then the lady Frances to be governess regent. For lack of her, her eldest daughters ; and for lack of them, the lady Marget to be governess after, as is aforesaid, till some heir male be born ; and then the mother of that child to be governess.*

6. *And if, during the rule of the governess, there die four of the council ; then shall she, by her letters, call an assembly of the council within one month following, and chuse four more : wherein she shall have three voices. But after her death, the sixteen shall chuse among themselves, till the heir come to fourteen year old ; and then he, by their advice, shall chuse them.*

[The last two paragraphs, and what is scored underneath, are dash'd out, yet so as to be legible.]

NUMBER XI.

The Council's Original Subscription, to Edward the VIth's Limitation of the Crown ; in these words :

[Ex MS. Petyti.]

EDWARD,—We whose names are underwritten, having heretofore many times heard the king's majesty our most gracious sovereign lord's earnest desire and express commandment, touching the limitation of the succession in the imperial crown of this realm, and others his majesty's realms and dominions ; and having seen his majesty's own device, touching the said succession, first wholly written with his most gracious hand, and after copied out in his majesty's presence, by his most high commandment, and confirmed with the subscription of his majesty's own hand ; and by his highnes deliver'd to certain judges, and other learned men, to be written in full order : do, by his majesty's speciall and absolute commandment, estoones given us, agree, and by these presents signed with our hands, and sealed with our seals, promise by our oaths and honours, to observe fully, perform and keep, all and every article, clause, branch and matter, contained in the said writing delivered to the judges and others, and superscribed with his majesty's hand in six several places : and all such other matter as his majesty, by his last will, shall appoint, declare or command, touching or concerning the limitation of the succession of the said imperial crown. And we do further promise, by his majesty's said commandment, never to vary or swerve, during our lives, from the said limitation of the succession ; but the same shall, to the uttermost of our powers, defend and maintain. And if any of us, or any other, shall at any time hereafter (which God forbid) vary from this agreement, or any part thereof, we, and every of us,

do assent to take, use and repute him, for a breaker of the common concord, peace and unity of this realme ; and to do our uttermost to see him or them so varying or swerving, punished with most sharp punishments, according to their deserts.

T. Cant. T. Ely, Canc. Winchester. Northumberland. J. Bedford. H. Suffolk. W. Northampton. F. Shrewsbury. F. Huntington. Pembroke. E. Clinton. T. Darcy. G. Cobham. R. Ryche. T. Cheyne.
John Gate. William Petre. John Cheek. W. Cecill. Edward Mountague. John Baker.
Edward Gryffin. John Lucas. John Gosnald.

NUMBER XII.

Articles and Instructions annexed to the Commission for taking the Surrender of the Cathedral of Norwich.

FIRST, the said commissioners shall repair to the cathedral church of Norwich, declaring to the dean and chapter of the same, that the king's majesty's pleasure for diverse good and reasonable causes and considerations, to have the said college to be surrendered and given up into his majesty's hands ; to the intent that the same shall be altered in such good and godly wise, as the king that dead is (whose soul God pardon) amongst other his godly purposes and intents, and the king's majesty that now is, by the advice of his honourable council, hath determined. And that they shall practise and conclude with them, for and in his highnes's name, for the same surrender, to be had, done, and performed, in such manner and form as by their discretions shall be thought most reasonable and convenient.

2. And after the said surrender and gift made of the said college, and of all lands, tenements, hereditaments, and possessions of the same, by the dean and chapter thereof, to the use of the king's highnes, according to a deed and writing, devised and delivered to the said commissioners for that purpose ; the said commissioners to take order, with the dean and prebendaries, canons, and all other officers and ministers of the said cathedral church, that they shall be, remain, continue and minister there, in such sort as they do, until the alteration of the said church shall be made perfect. Declaring further to the same dean, prebendaries and canons, that they, and every of them, shewing themselves willing and conformable, according to the king's majesty's commission, shall, from the time of the said surrender, have as much in profit and commodity, for and towards their living, as they had before the same surrender, in such wise as they shall have good cause to be well satisfied and contented.

3. Also the said commissioners shall make an inventory of all the plate and jewels, ornaments, goods and chattels of the said cathedral church, and deliver the same to the dean and prebendaries, by bills indented : and the said commissioners are to take order with them, that the same may continue, remain, and be used there, until the new erection of the said church, to the intents and purposes that they were ordained for : and declaring further that the same shall be assigned, and given to them, upon the new erection and foundation of the said cathedral church.

4. Also the said commissioners, calling to them the officers and ministers of the said cathedral church, shall cause a perfect book, rental, of value, to be made of all the possessions, as well spiritual as temporal, of the same church, with the rents, resolute, and deduction of the same : and also to note and certify the

decays thereof, if any be: and to cause the same rentals, book or value, to be certified and delivered into the court of augmentations and revenues of the king's majesty's crown, with as convenient speed as it may be done.

5. *Item.* The said commissioners are to do and execute all such other things as they shall think convenient and necessary, to the full accomplishment of this commission; and to certify the truth and circumstance of the same, together with this commission.

Vera copia, H. Prideaux.

NUMBER XIII.

An Original Letter of Queen Mary's to King Philip, before he wrote to her.

[Cott. Lib.]

MONSIEUR,—Mon bon et perpetuel Allie: entendant que l'Ambassadeur de l'Empereur, Monseigneur et bon Pere, residant ches moy despeschoy le Porteur de cestes devers vostre Haultesse. Encores que ne niayes particulieusement escript dois, que nostre Alliance à este traictee. Si est ce me sentant tant obligee, de la sincere et vray Affection que me portes, que ves confirmee, tant par les effectz que par les lettres escriptes, audict Ambassadeur, et par la Negociation que le Sieur d'Egmont et aultres, et l'Ambassadeur de mondict Seigneur ont traicte. Je ne peu delaissier, vous tesmoigner le Vouloyr et Debuoyr, que jay de vous correspondre a jamais: Et vous Mercie treshumblement tant de bons Offices, et joyncement vous advertis, que le Parlement, qui represente les Estats du mon Royaulme, à approuve les Articles de nostre Maryage sans Contradiction, comme trouvant les Condictions dicelluy Honorables, Advantaigueses, et plusque raisonnables; que me met en entiere confidence, que vostre venue par deca sera seure et agreable. Et esperant de brief suplier le surplus Verbalement, je feray Fin aux presentes; priant le Createur qui vous donnat, Monseigneur, mon bon et perpetuel Allie, faire vostre Voyage par deca en prosperite et sante, me recommandant tresafectueusement et humblement à vostre Haultesse.

A Londres, le xx. d' April.

Vostre Entierement, Assuree, et plus Obligee Alliee,
MARYE.

NUMBER XIV.

Queen Mary's Letter to the Earl of Sussex, to Care of Elections in Parliament.

[Ex MSS. Petyti.]

MARY THE QUEEN.—Right trusty and welbeloved cosen, we greet you well. And where for diverse causes, tending principally to the advancement of God's glory and the commonwealth of this our realme, we have thought convenient to call our high court of parliament on the 12th of the next moneth, as by our writ of summons, sent unto you for that purpose, ye may at better length perceive; likeas for your own part, wee doubt not but ye wil be ready to assist us with your best advice and counsail for the furtherance of our good purpose, in such matters as are to be treated of in our said parliament; so to the end the same may be more gravely debatet, and circumspectly handled, to the honour of Almighty God, and general comodity of our loving subjects, wee have thought convenient specially to require and pray you to admonish on our behalfe such our good and loving subjects as by order of our writs have the elections of knights, citizens, or burgesses, within our rule, to choose of their

inhabitants, as being eligible, by order of our lawes, may be of the wise, grave, and catholick sort. Such as indeed mean the true honour of God, with the prosperity of the commonwealth. The advancement whereof wee, and our dear husband the king, doe chiefly professe and intend, without alteration of any particular man's profession, as amongst other false rumours, the hinderers of our good purposes and favorers of heresies, do utterly report. And to the end wee may the better confer with you about these matters that are to be treated of in our said parliament, our pleasure is, you do put your self in a readiness to make your repair hither, so as ye may be with us against the feast of All-Saints at the furthest. Given under our signet at our palace of Westminster the 6th of October, the iid year of our reigne.

NUMBER XV.

Cardinal Pole's First Letter to Queen Mary.

[Ex MS. penes me.]

BENEDICTA Manus Omnipotentis Dei, quæ non solum Majestatem tuam in alto Throno, et Possessione Regni collocavit (quod multos Annos ad eam spectabit, et ab omnibus bonis optabatur, atq; inter Sacras Preces petebatur a Divina Clementia): Sed etiam eò res deduxit, ut non modo res ipsa, verum etiam ratio ipsius rei conficiendæ omnes Amicos incredibili lætitia perfundat, et precipuè Pium Animum tuum, quia sine sanguine res peracta est, prope cum magna clades esset timenda propter fraudes Adversariorum, quæ non parvis viribus erant suffultæ ad eam justissima Successione privandam; atque cum propter longum sibi divinitus concessum ad suas insidias subtexas, putarant se ad finem optatum cum scelere suscepti consilii pervenisse, sine novis auxiliis, sed solis viribus quas Spiritus Dei excitavit in Animis mortalium, effectum est Divina Providentiâ, ut brevi momento Temporis irriti ac delusi sint omnes Mortalium apparatus: Ita conversi sunt, qui Humanæ Malitiæ militabant ad protegendum Honorem Dei, Majestatis tuæ incolumitatem, ac totius Regni salutem.

Si quis itaque miratur cur tua Majestas nullis externis Viribus, paucis etiam subditis audentibus ejus partes amplecta, potuerit Regnum ita Usurpatum adversus tantam Hominum militiam et Potentiam recuperare; aut siquis rogaret, quo modo factum est istud? Res ipsa respondere poterit; Spiritus Sanctus supervenit in corda Hominum, qui ea ratione tibi Regnum restituere voluit; atque hoc uno Exemplo non solum vestris Populis, sed Universis Christianis, et Barbaris Nationibus Manifestum fit, quia nullum fit Consilium, nec Prudentia, nec Fortitudo contra Dominum Deum, et quod excelsus dominetur, in Regno Hominum, et cui voluerit, et quando voluerit dabit illud. Ejus Divinæ Providentiæ in rebus Humanis Credulitas (Præcipium nostræ Religionis Fundamentum) si unquam in istud Regnum introduci, et confirmari debuit, per ulla Manifestam Experimentiam; hoc maxime tempore introduci necesse est, quo propter impiorum tam diuturnam Autoritatem, ita erat in Animis Hominum debilitata et in eorum Animis præsertim, qui prudentiores, sapientioresque putabantur, ut penitus videretur extincta. Cum Divinæ itaque Bonitati placuerit, ita evidentibus signis suam potentiam in tua Majestate extollenda, tunc cum à suis inimicis, et à multis aliis prorsus oppressa putabatur, declarare; hoc est cur maximè omnes Boni et Pii Gloriantur, et quod tibi magis gratum esse certò scio, quam Regiam Dignitatem. Atque, si ulla fœmina debuit Deum laudare iis Verbis suse Sanctissimæ Matris, cujus nomen refert, quibus ea usa est ad

exprimendam lætitiā propter Divinam Providentiam ad sui, Humanique generis salutem, cum Spiritu Sancto repleta inquit, Magnificat Anima mea Dominum, cum iis quæ sequuntur; tua Majestas justissima de Causa eum Psalmum canere potest; cum in se ipsa sentiat, quod omnes vident, ut Divina Bonitas respexit Humilitatem ancillæ suæ: Et fecit potentiam in brachio suo, statim deposuit Potentes de sede ex exaltavit humiles. Hoc dictum de Divina Providentia erga Majestatem tuam semper manifestius in Administratione cognoscetur tua, cum incremento illo lætitiæ, quod desideratur ad honorem et laudem Divinæ Majestatis. Enimvero mea erga Deum, et suam Ecclesiam Pietas, et erga Majestatem tuam me cogit ut unum tibi in memoriam revocem initio regnandi; quod est cum ita singulare Beneficium à Deo acceperis, diligenter consideres à quibus radicibus perturbationes pulularint, rerum adiustitiam pertinentem et ad verè Religionis cultum; quippe cum illæ indies cum tanta ruina succreverint, in isto Regno Privata et Publica, quanta non ignorantur: atque si hoc ita feceris; percipies perfectò Principium et Causam omnium malorum tunc pullasse, cum perpetuus humani generis Adversarius Patri tuo persuasit impurum Concilium; ut divortium fieret Matris tuæ optimæ Reginæ, atque illi magnæ in Deum, in ipsam, in te in seipsam injuriæ, majus additum est scelus, quod à Matre Spiritus divortium fecit omnium Christianorum; à Sancta Catholica Obedientia et ab Apostolica Reverentia. Ex hoc iniquo et impio semine tot pestiferi fructus nati sunt, ut ita Regnum corruerint, ut nullum neque justitiæ neque Religionis vestigium apperuerit: Tanquam relegatæ sint ambæ, quando Reverentia, et Obedientia Ecclesiæ ejecta fuit; neque prius sunt reditura, quam Divina Obedientia in Animum recepta sit eorum, qui rebus præfuerint. Hoc facile tua Majestas illi servo suo potest credere, qui omnium viventium plura, et istà Majestatis vestræ Causâ passus est: Neque ullam defendendæ Causæ tuæ rationem prætermisi, ubi ali-quod extaret remedium, quo toties molestiis sublevarerem. Quod nisi mei labores eum finem consecuti sint, quem semper desideravi; sæpius vel vitam ipsam periculis exponens; tamen nunc multo magis lætor, quam si ipse adiutor fuissim; cum apertissimè cognoverim, Divinæ Providentiæ in Majestatem tuam propensam voluntatem: Nam perfectò noluit Deus ulla humanâ manu te adjuvari, neque Cæsaris, neque ullius Principis: Quamvis nunquam cessavit Pontifex Cæsarem ad opem ferendam adhortari: Neque mea defuit diligentia, utrisque ad hoc pium opus sollicitantibus, sed Divinitus Res protracta est donec statutum tempus à Deo adventarit, quo Divinâ manu sublevareris. Interim usus est Deus eadem ratione, qua erga carissimos et dilectissimos uti consuevit, quos nutrit, et educat in omni calamitatum, ærumnarumque genere: Ut gratiæ suæ semen altiores radices in corde ipsorum posset extendere, meliusque floreat, ac nobiliores fructus producat, cum visum fuerit in pristinam felicitatem revocare. Istud nunc omnes boni expectant, atque ego in primis, cui major concessa est dotes Animi tui, quæ Divinitus tibi concessæ sunt, à teneris cognoscendi. Ea res me multò etiam magis impellit, ut Majestati tuæ id significem de re tanta, quanta est Ecclesiæ Obedientia, me magis etiam sollicitum esse, quàm antea, qua mente sis erga Religionem, et quo pacto affecta: nam cum circiter trecenta millia passuum distam ab Urbe Roma, nuper ad me de rebus Britannicis est delatum; per literas summi Pontificis certior factus sum, te ad summum imperium esse provectum, et quod ego sim delectus Legatus à Sancta sede Apostolica ad Majestatem tuam et ad Cæsarem, atque ad Galliarum Regem, ut tibi gratularer pro Victoria Dej in hac Causa ipsius Dei: Sed quia quanti

res sit intelligo, censui non inutile fore, si Majestatis tuæ mentem quo pacto Deus moverit, prius percunctatus fuero: Cujus causâ præsentem nuncium cum meis literis mitto: Neque istud quidem, quia de optime voluntate tua subdubitem, quoniam te semper gratam, erga Deum suis cognovi, et acceptorum non immemorem, legumque divinarum observantissimam, inter quas Obedientia Apostolicæ sedis continetur, cui

reliquit, nisi quia nus Causæ suæ favere turpi, et iniquo ejus desiderio assentiri. Sed quoniam tot annos tanta facta est mutatio, tantæque malitia conata est evellere ex Animis Hominum penitusque restringere hanc ipsam Obedientiam et Observantiam, mihi visum est non absurdum fore, si ex te ipsa percunctarer, quod tempus, aut quæ ratio aptior, commodiorque videretur futura ad ipsius Vicarii Christi Legatione perfungendum, idque ad istius Regni Beneficium et Consolationem, ejus Felicitas et Quies semper magis oppressa fuit, ex qua Sancta Obedientia expugnari cæpta est, coactaque solum vertere. Decevi igitur prius responsum expectare, quod ut expectationi meæ optimè respondeat, ab Omnipotente Deo suppliciter peto, omniumque piorum spei, quam habent de Majestate tua conceptam, idque ad confirmationem, et incrementum Felicitatis tuæ, et istius Regni. Quod si mihi benignam audientiam concesseris, spero futurum Dei optimi maximi Beneficio, ut intelligas in hac ipsa Obedientia Ecclesiæ consistere, et collocatum esse fundamentum et stabilimentum omnium bonorum ipsius Regni. Sic igitur rogans Omnipotentem Deum, ut pro sua infinita Misericordia Majestatem tuam fortunet in ipso imperio, in quo collocavit, finem faciendi. Cænobio Megazeni Benaci. Eidus Sextilis. 1553.

REGINALDUS POLUS.

NUMBER XVI.

The Queen's Answer to it.

OPTIME sobrine Pole, in Christo Observandissime; accepi literas tuas, quas tuus familiaris mihi reddidit, ex quibus intellexi perpetuam tuam optimam voluntatem erga hoc Regnum, Patriam tuam nimirum, et erga Legitimos Heredes, cum summa lætitiæ significatione ob ea, quæ placuerint Divinæ Clementiæ Omnipotentis Dei in ostendenda sua erga me vera, justissima, infinitaq; Misericordia; propter quam me tibi etiam non parum debere sentio, cum monitis amantissimos præterea in literis addideris: Quod si nullum naturæ vinculum inter nos intercederet, quod certè maximum intercedit; tamen vel hac unâ de Causa maximas tibi deberem gratias, quod me tam amenter monueris; atque ego dabo operam pro viribus, ut monitis tuis satisfaciam, quippe cum neq; unquam fuerim, nec sim, neq; ut Divinæ Misericordiæ confido unquam futura sim Catholicæ abhortionis in tuis literis contentæ adversaria. Quod attinet ad meam Obedientiam, et debitam Observantiam erga sponsam Christi, et Matrem Divinam, suam Catholicam et Apostolicam Ecclesiam, harum literarum lator poterit te commodè docere: Is non poterit explanare quanta sit Animi mei molestia, propterea quod non possim Animi mei Sententiam, in hac re prorsus patefacere; sed cum primum data erit facultas sinceritatis Animi mei erga Divinum cultum explicandæ, Obedientiæque quid Sentiam exequendæ, faciam te per literas certior. Quod spectat ad Coronationem, idem Nuncios omnia planè explicare poterit, multaq; alia quibus illum adesse volui; cum mirificè Omnipotentis Dei Misericordia confidam, futurum ut hæc

Comitia omnia statuta abrogent, unde omnium calamitatum hujusce Regni semina pollularunt. Spero autem futurum ut delictorum veniam à summi Pontificis Clementia obtineam, cui te rogo, ut meo nomine humillimè gratias agas pro sua multiplici in me Bonitate, ut in eadem persistat Clementia, omnemque præteritorum commissorum Oblivionem concedat; hunc igitur remitto spe postulationis non irritæ futuræ operâ tuâ; quando tantum Benevolentiæ, et fraternæ Charitatis, mihi pignus obtulisti: Me itaque plurimum Sancto Patri, ac tibi commendans, finem facio scribendi.

Westmonasterij, Sexto Idus Octobris.

MARIA REGINA.

NUMBER XVII.

Cardinal Pole's General Powers, for Reconciling England to the Church of Rome.

[Ex MS. penes me.]

JULIUS Papa III.

DILECTE Fili noster, Salutem et Apostolicam Benedictionem. Dudum, cum charissima in Christo Filia nostra, Maria Angliæ tunc Princeps, Regni declarata fuisset, et speraretur Regnum Angliæ, quod, sæva Regum Tyrannide, ab Unione Sanctæ Ecclesiæ Catholicæ separatam fuerat; ad Ovile Gregis Domini, et ejusdem Ecclesiæ Unionem, ipsa Maria primum regnante, redire posse. Nos Te, præstanti Virtute, singulari Pietate, ac multa Doctrina insignem, ad eandem Mariam Reginam, et universum Angliæ Regnum, de Fratrum nostrorum Consilio, et unanimi Consensu, Nostrum et Apostolicæ Sedis, Legatum de Latere destinavimus. Tibique, inter cætera, omnes et singulas utriusque Sexus, tam Laicas quam Ecclesiasticas, Seculares, et quorumvis Ordinum Regulares, Personas, in quibusvis etiam Sacris Ordinibus constitutas, cujuscunque Statûs, Gradûs, Conditionis et Qualitatis existerent, ac quacunque Ecclesiasticâ, etiam Episcopali, Archiepiscopali, et Patriarchali; aut mundano, etiam Marchionali, Ducali, aut Regia Dignitate præfulgerent: Etiam si Capitulum, Collegium, Universitas, seu Communitas forent: quarumcunque Hæreseum, aut novarum Sectarum, Professores, aut in eis culpabiles, vel suspectos, ac credentes, receptatores, et fautores eorum, etiam si relapsæ fuissent, eorum Errorem cognoscentes, et de illis dolentes, ac ad Orthodoxam Fidem recipi humiliter postulantes, cognita in eis, vera et non ficta, aut simulata Pœnitentia, ab omnibus et singulis per eos perpetratis (Hæreses, et ab eadem Fide Apostasias, Blasphemias, et alios quoscunque Errores, etiam sub generali Sermone non venientes, sapientibus), peccatis, criminibus, excessibus et delictis; nec non Excommunicationum, Suspensionum, Interdictorum, et aliis Ecclesiasticis, ac Temporalibus etiam Corporis afflictivis, et capitalibus sententiis, censuris et pœnis, in eos Præmissorum occasione, à Jure vel ab Homine latis, vel promulgatis; etiam si in iis viginti, et plus annis insorduissent; et eorum Absolutio, Nobis et Divinæ Sedi, et per Literas, in die Cœnæ Domini legi consuetas, reservata existeret, in utroque, Consentientiæ videlicet, et contentioso foro, plenariè absolvendi, et liberendi, ac aliorum Christi fidelium consortio aggregandi: Nec non cum eis super irregularitate, per eos, præmissorum occasione, etiam quia sic ligati, Missas et alia divina Officio, etiam contra et Ritus et Ceremonias ab Ecclesia eatenus probatas et usitatas, celebrassent, aut illis alias semisecissent. Contracta nec non Bigamia per eosdem Ecclesiasticos, Seculares vel Regulares, verè aut fictè, seu alias quacunque incurra (etiam si ex eo quod Clerici in Sacris constituti, cum Viduis vel aliis corruptis, Matrimonium contraxissent, pretenderetur);

rejectis et expulsis tamen prius Uxoribus, sic de facto copulatis. Quodque Bigamia, et irregularitate ac aliis præmissis non obstantibus, in eorum Ordinibus, dummodo ante eorum Lapsum in Hæresin hujusmodi, ritè et legitimè promoti vel ordinati fuissent, etiam in Altaris Ministerio ministrare, ac quæcunque et qualitercunque etiam curata Beneficia, secularia vel regularia, ut prius, dummodo super eis alteri jus quæsitum non existeret, retinere: Et non promoti, ad omnes etiam Sacros et Presbyteratus Ordines, ab eorum Ordinariis, si digni et idonei reperti fuissent, promoveri, Beneficia Ecclesiastica, si iis alias canonicè conferentur, recipere et retinere valerent, dispensandi et indulgendi: Ac omnem infamiæ, et inhabilitatis maculam sive notam, ex præmissis quomodolibet insurgentem, penitus et omnino abolendi; nec non ad pristinos Honores, Dignitates, Famam et Patriam, et bona etiam confiscata; in pristinumque, et eum, in quo ante præmissa quomodolibet erant, Statum restituendi, reponendi, et reintegrandi: Ac eis, dummodo corde contriti eorum errata et excessus, alicui per eos eligendo Catholico Confessori, sacramentaliter conferentur, ac Pœnitentiam salutarem, eis per ipsum Confessorem, propterea injungendam omnino adimplerent, omnem publicam Confessionem, Abjurationem, Renunciationem, et Pœnitentiam jure debitam, arbitrio suo moderandi, vel in totum remittendi. Nec non Communitates et Universitates, ac singulares Personas quascunque, à quibusvis illicitis Pactionibus et Conventionibus, per eos cum Dominis aberrantibus, seu in eorum favorum, quomodolibet initis, et iis præstitis Juramentis, et Homagiis, illorumque omnium observatione; et si quem eatenus occasione eorum incurriissent Perjurij reatum, etiam absolvendi, et Juramenta ipsa relaxandi. Ac quoscunque Regulares et Religiosos, etiam in Hæresin hujusmodi ut prefertur lapsos, extra eorum regularia loca absque dictæ Sedis licentia vagantes, ab Apostasiæ reatu, et Excommunicationis, aliisque Censuris ac Pœnis Ecclesiasticis, per eos propterea etiam juxta suorum Ordinum instituta incursis, pariter absolvendi. Ac cum eis à alicui Beneficio Ecclesiastico curato, de illud obtinentis consensu; etiam in habitu Clerici secularis, habitum suum regularem, sub honesta toga Presbyteri secularis deferendo, deservire, et extra eadem regularia loca remanere, liberè et licitè possint, dispensandi. Nec non quibusvis Personis, etiam Ecclesiasticis, ut quadragesimalibus, et aliis anni temporibus et diebus, quibus usus ovorum et carnis est de jure prohibitus, butiro et caseo, et aliis lacticiiniis; ac dictis ovis et carnibus, de utriusque seu alterius, spiritualis, qui Catholicus existeret, medici Consilio, aut si Locorum et Personarum Qualitate inspecta, ex defectu Piscium aut Olei, vel indispositione Personarum earundem, seu alia Causa legitima id Tibi faciendum videretur, ut tuo arbitrio uti et vesci possint, indulgendi et concedendi. Nec non per Te in præteritis duntaxat Casibus, aliquos Clericos seculares, tantum Presbyteros, Diaconos, aut Subdiaconos, qui Matrimonium cum aliquibus Virginibus, vel corruptis Secularibus, etiam Mulieribus, de facto eatenus contraxissent, considerata aliqua ipsorum singulari qualitate, et cognita eorum vera ad Christi Fidem conversione, ac aliis circumstantiis, ac modificationibus tuo tantum arbitrio adhibendis; ex quibus aliis præsertim Clericis in sacris Ordinibus hujusmodi constitutis, quibus non licet Uxores habere, scandalum omnino non generetur; citra tamen Altaris, ac alia Sacerdotum Ministeria, et Titulos Beneficiorum Ecclesiasticorum, ac omni ipsorum Ordinum Exercitio sublato, ab excommunicationis Sententia, et aliis Reatibus propterea incursis; injuncta inde eis etiam tuo arbitrio pœnitentia salutari, absolvendi ac cum eis dummodo alter eorum superstes remaneret, de cætero sine spe Conjugij, quod inter se

Matrimonium legitime contrahere, et in eo postquam contractum foret, licite remanere possent, Prolem exinde legitimam decernendo, misericorditer dispensandi. Ac quæcunque Beneficia Ecclesiastica, tam Secularia quam Regularia, et quæ per Rectores Catholicos possidebantur, de ipsorum tamen Rectorum Catholicorum consensu, seu absque eorum præiudicio, cuicumque alteri Beneficio Ecclesiastico, ob ejus fructus tenuitatem, aut Hospitali jam erecto vel erigendo, seu Studio Universali, vel Scholis Literariis; uniendi, annectendi, et incorporandi, aut fructus, redditus, et proventus, seu bonorum eorundem Beneficiorum dividendi, separandi, et dismembrandi; ac eorum sic divisorem separatorum et dismembratorum partem aliis Beneficiis, seu Hospitalibus, vel Studiis aut Scholis, seu piis Usibus, similiter arbitrio tuo perpetuo applicandi et appropriandi. *At cum Possessoribus bonorum Ecclesiasticorum (restitutis prius si Tibi expedire videretur, immobilibus per eos indebitè detentis) super fructibus malè perceptis, ac bonis mobilibus, consumptis, concordandi, et transigendi, ac eos desuper liberandi et quietandi.*

N. B. Ac quicquid Concordiis et Transactionibus hujusmodi proveniret, in Ecclesia cujus essent bona, vel in Studiis Universalibus, aut Scholarum hujusmodi, seu alios pios Usus convertendi; omniaque et singula alia, in quæ in præmissis, et circa ea quomodolibet necessaria et opportuna esse cognosceres, faciendi, dicendi, gerendi, et exercendi. Nec non Catholicos locorum Ordinarios, aut alias Personas Deum timentes, Fide insignes, et Literarum Scientia præditas, ac Gravitate Morum conspicuas, et Etate veneranda; de quarum Probitate et Circumspectione, ac Charitatis Zelo plena, Fiducia conspici posset, ad præmissa omnia, cum simili vel limitata Potestate (Absolutione et Dispensatione Clericorum, circa Connubia, ac Unione Beneficiorum, seu eorum fructuum et bonorum separatione, et applicatione, ac concordia cum Possessoribus bonorum Ecclesiasticorum, et eorum liberatione duntaxat exceptis) substituendi et subdelegandi: Ac diversas alias Facultates, per diversas alias nostras tam sub plumbo quam in forma Brevis confectas literas, concessimus, prout in illis plenius continetur. Verum cum Tu ad Partes Flandriæ, ex quibus brevissima ad Regnum transfreatio existit, Te contuleris, ac ex certis rationalibus Nobis notis Causis inibi aliquandiu subsistere habeas, ac à nonnullis, nimium forsan scrupulosis, hesitetur; an Tu, in Partibus hujusmodi subsistens, prædictis ac aliis Tibi concessis Facultatibus, uti ac in eodem Regno locorum Ordinarios, aut alias Personas (ut præmittitur) qualificatas; quæ Facultatibus per Te, juxta dictarum Literarum Continentiam pro Tempore concessis utantur, alias juxta earundem Literarum tenorem substituere et delegare possis. Nos causam tuæ Subsistentiæ in eisdem partibus approbantes, et singularum Literarum prædictarum tenores, præsentibus pro sufficienter expressis, ac de verbo ad verbum insertis, habentes, Circumspectioni tuæ, quod quamdiu in eisdem partibus de licentia nostra moram traxeris, Legatione tua prædicta durante, etiam extra ipsum Regnum existens; omnibus et singulis prædictis, et quibusvis aliis Tibi concessis, et quæ per præsentis Tibi conceduntur; Facultatibus etiam erga quoscunque, Archiepiscopos, Episcopos, ac Abbates, aliosque, Ecclesiarum tam Secularium, quam quorumvis Ordinum Regularium, nec non Monasterium, et aliorum Regularium Locorum Prelatos, non secus ac erga alios inferiores Clericos, uti possis; nec non erga alias Personas, in singulis Literis prædictis quovismodo nominatas, ad Te pro Tempore recurrentes, vel mittentes; etiam circa Ordines, quos nunquam aut malè susceperunt, et Munus Consecrationis, quod iis, ab aliis Episcopis vel

Archiepiscopis, etiam Hæreticis et Schismaticis, aut alias minus ritè et non servata forma Ecclesiæ consueta impensum fuit: Etiam si Ordines et Munus hujusmodi, etiam circa Altaris Ministerium temerè executi sint, per Te ipsum, vel alios, ad id à Te pro Tempore deputatos, liberè uti; ac in eodem Regno, tot quot Tibi videbuntur Locorum Ordinarios alias Personas (ut præmittitur) qualificatas, quæ Facultatibus per Te, eis pro tempore concessis (citra tamen eas quæ solum tibi ut præfertur concessæ existunt) etiam te in partibus Flandriæ hujusmodi subsistente, libere utantur; et eas exerceant et exequantur: Alias, juxta ipsarum, Literarum continentiam ac tenorem substituere et subdelegare. Nec non de Personis quorumcunque Episcoporum vel Archiepiscoporum, qui Metropolitanum aut alias Cathedralis Ecclesias de manu Laicorum etiam Schismaticorum, et presertim qui de Henrici Regis et Edvardi ejus nati receperunt, et eorum regimini et administratione se ingresserunt, et eorum fructus redditus et proventus etiam longissimo tempore, tanquam veri Archiepiscopi aut Episcopi et mere et de facto usurpando, etiamsi in Hæresin aut præfertur, inciderint, seu ante Hæretici fuerint, postquam per te unitati Sanctæ Matris Ecclesiæ restituti existerint, tuque eos rehabilitandos esse censueris, si tibi alias digni et idonei videbantur, eisdem Metropolitanis et aliis Cathedralibus Ecclesiis denuo, nec non quibusvis aliis Cathedralibus etiam Metropolitanis Ecclesiis per obitum vel privationem illorum Præsulum, seu alias quovis modo pro tempore vacantibus, de Personis idoneis pro quibus ipsa Maria Regina juxta consuetudinem ipsius Regni, tibi supplicaverit Autoritate nostra providere ipsasque Personas eisdem Ecclesiis in Episcopos aut Archiepiscopos præficere: Ac cum iis qui Ecclesias Cathedralis et Metropolitanas, de manu Laicorum etiam Schismaticorum ut præfertur, receperunt, quod eisdem seu aliis ad quas eas alias rite transferri contigerit, Cathedralibus etiam Metropolitanis Ecclesiis, in Episcopos vel Archiepiscopos præesse ipsasque Ecclesias in Spiritualibus et Temporalibus regere et gubernare ac munere Consecrationis eis hactenus impenso uti, vel si illud eis nondum impensum extiterit, ab Episcopis vel Archiepiscopis Catholicis per te nominandis suscipere libere et licite possint. Nec non cum quibusvis per te ut præmittitur pro tempore absolutis et rehabilitatis, ut eorum erroribus et excessibus preteritis non obstantibus, quibusvis Cathedralibus, etiam Metropolitanis Ecclesiis in Episcopos et Archiepiscopos præfici et præesse, illasque in eisdem Spiritualibus et Temporalibus regere et gubernare: Ac ad quoscunque etiam Sacros et Presbyteratos Ordines promovere, et in illis ut per eos jam licet minus ritè susceptis Ordinibus etiam in altaris Ministerio Ministrare, nec non munus Consecrationis suscipere, et illo uti libere et licite valeant; dispensare etiam libere et licite possis, plenam et liberam Apostolicam Auctoritatem per presentes concedimus Facultatem et Potestatem: Non obstantibus Constitutionibus et Ordinationibus Apostolicis, ac omnibus illis quæ in singulis Literis præteritis volumus non obstat, cæterisque; contrariis quibuscunque.

Datum Romæ apud Sanctum Petrum, sub Annulo Piscatoris, Die 8. Martis 1554. Pontificatus nostri Anno Quinto.

NUMBER XVIII.

A Letter from Cardinal Pole to the Bishop of Arras, upon King Philip's Arrival in England, and his Marriage to the Queen.

A Monsr. d'Arras.

MOLTO ILLE. & REV. SIG.,—Havendo a quest' hora ricevuto particolare avvisi dopo l'arrivo del Serenissimo

Principe nel Regno d' Inghilterra, del felice successo del Matrimonio mi e parso convenire al debito mio rallegrarmene con S. Majestà Cesarea siccome, fo con l' alligata la quale indirizzo a V. S. per la confidenza che ho nella solita sua cortesia, pregandola sia contenta presentarla a sua Majestà col baciarle riverentemente le mani da parte mia. L' Abbate Sagante suo l' altri' hieri mi comunico una Lettera di V.S. che dava particular aviso della ritirata de Franzesi il che mi su di molta consolatione. Ben si e visto di quant' importanza sia la presenza di S. Majestà. Ancor non e arrivato il messo mio da Roma, ma spero non possa tardar molto: subito che sarà gionto, non mancarò di darne aviso a V.S. alla quale di cuore mi raccomando e prego N. Sigr. Iddio la conservire favorisca a suo servitio. Di Bruxelles alli 29 di Luglio 1554.

REGINALDO CARD. POLE.

NUMBER XIX.

A Letter from Cardinal Pole to the Cardinal de Monte, acknowledging the Pope's favour in sending him full powers.

Al Card. di Monte.

REV. ET ILL. SIG. MIO OSS' MO,—Scrissa a V. S. Reverendissima per l' ultime mie, l' aviso dell' arrivo in Inghilterra del Serenissimo Principe, il qual' e poi stato con la Serenissima Regina a Vincestre, ove hanno celebrato il sponsalio il dì di San Giacomo con gran sollennita, come V. S. Reverendissima placendole potra intendere dall' essibitor di questa, al quale mi rimetto in quel di piu, che in tal proposito io le potessi dire e bacio humi mente la mano di V. S. Reverendissima e Illustrissima in suo buona gratia raccomandandomi. di Bruxelles alli 29 di Luglio 1554.

In quest' hora e giunto l' Ormaneto con l' Espeditione che e piaciuto darle alla Santità di nostro Signore, tutto secondo quello, che si potesse desiderare dalla pietà e benignità sua in servitio di Dio, e della sua Chiesa in questa causa cossi importante del che prego V. S. Reverendissima sia contenta baciarne humilmente a nome mio i piedi a sua Beatit^{te}. alla quale con la prima occasione non mai caro di dar pieno aviso di quanto sarà bisogno. In vero l' arrivell' Ormanete non poteva esser più a tempo, e spero che N. Signor' Iddio ci fara gratia, che le cose s' indirizzeranno in modo che sua Santità col servitio di sua Divina Maestà ne resterà consolata. Il tempo non patisce che per hora io possa essere più lungo, e di nuovo bacio humilmente le mani di V. S. Reverendissima et Illustrissima.

REGINALDO CARD. POLO.

Alli 29 di Luglio, 1554 il Signore Ormaneto arrivo a Bruxelles con l' infratta speditione.

NUMBER XX.

A Breve empowering Cardinal Pole to execute his Faculties with relation to England, while he yet remained beyond Sea, and out of England.

Al Card. Polo.

JULIUS Papa III.

DILECTE Fili noster salutem et Apostolicam Benedictionem. Superioribus mensibus ex diversis tunc expressis causis te ad Charissimam in Christo Filiam nostram Mariam Angliæ Reginam Illustram, et Universam Angliæ Regnum primò, et deinde pro conciliando inter eos pace ad Charissimos in Christo Filios nostros Carolum Romanum Imperatorem semper

Augustum, et Henricum Francorum Regem Christianissimum, nostrum et Apostolicæ sedis Legatum de latere de Fratrum nostrorum Concilio destinavimus. Et licet te multis, et quidem amplissimis facultatibus, quibus etiam in partibus Flandriæ existens, quoad Personas et Negocia Regni Angliæ hujusmodi uti posses per diversas nostras tam sub plumbo, quam in forma brevis confectas litteras muniverimus, prout in illis plenius continentur. Quia tamen ob Schismata, et alios errores, quibus dictum Regnum diutius inflectum fuit, multi casus potuerunt contingere, qui provisione per dictam sedem facienda indigebunt et sub dictis facultatibus veluti infiniti, et inexcogitabiles comprehendi nequiverunt, et insuper à nonnullis hæsitatur an tu facultatibus hujusmodi in insulis et Dominiis eidem Mariæ Reginæ subjectis uti possis, quibus item facultatibus apud Carolum Imperatorem et quibus apud Henricum Regem præfatos existens utaris: Nos de tuis fide, pietate, religione, doctrina, et prudentia, in Domino benè confidentes, et volentes omnem in præmissis hæsitandi materiam amputare, circumspectioni tuæ, ut ubicumq; fueris etiam extra partes Flandriæ Legatione tua hujusmodi durante, omnibus et singulis tibi concessis hactenus, et in posterum concedendis Facultatibus, quo ad Personas et Negocia Regni ac Insularum et Dominiorum hujusmodi per te vel alium vel alios juxta ipsarum Facultatum continentiam, et tenorem uti, ac omnia et singula quæ tibi pro Omnipotentis Dei, et nostro ac ejusdem sedis honore, nec non Regni, Insularum et Dominorum prædictorum ad Sanctæ, Catholicæ, Ecclesiæ Communionem, reductione ac personarum in illis existentium Animarum salute expedire judicaveris, et si ea in generali mandato et Facultatibus tibi alias concessis non veniant, sed speciale expressionem et mandatum magis speciale requirant, dicere, facere, exercere, et exequi, nec non quandiu pro pace hujusmodi tractanda, vel aliis Negociis nostrum, et sedis prædictæ honorem concernentibus, apud dictum Carolum Imperatorem fueris, omnibus et singulis Facultatibus olim dilecto Filio Hieronimo Tituli St. Matthæi Presbitero Cardinali tunc apud ipsum Carolum Imperatorem nostro et præfatæ sedis Legato de latere concessis, et in omnibus Provinciis, Regnis, Dominiis, Terris, et Locis, sub illis comprehensis. Si vero apud dictum Henricum Regem extiteris eis omnibus, quæ dudum dilecto Filio Hieronimo Sancti Georgii ad velum Aureum Diacono Cardinali tunc apud Henricum Regem eundem, nostro et dictæ sedis legato concessæ fuerunt, Facultatibus, et in omnibus Provinciis Regnis, Dominiis, Terris, et locis sub illis comprehensis uti liberè et licetè valeas, in omnibus et per omnia perinde ac si illæ tibi specialiter et expressè concessæ fuissent, Apostolica autem tenore presentium concedimus, et indulgemus, ac Facultates tibi concessas prædictas ad hæc omnia extendimus. Non obstantibus Constitutionibus, et Ordinationibus Apostolicis, ac omnibus illis, quæ in singulis Facultatibus tam tibi, quam Hieronimo Presbitero, et Hieronimo Diacono Cardinalibus præfatis concessis, volumus non obstatre cæterisq; contrariis quibusq; dat. Romæ apud S. Petrum, sub annulo Piscatoris, Die xxvi Junii, 1554, Pontificatus nostri Anno Quinto.

JO. LARINEN'.

NUMBER XXI.

A Second Breve containing more special Powers relating to the Abbey-Lands.

JULIUS Papa III.

DILECTE Fili noster salutem et Apostolicam Benedictionem. Superioribus mensibus oblata nobis spe

per Dei Misericordiam, et Charissimæ in Christo Filie nostræ Mariæ Angliæ Reginæ, summam Religionem, et Pietatem, Nobilissimi illius Angliæ Regni, quod jamdiu quorundem Impietate, à reliquo Catholice Ecclesiæ corpore à vulsum fuit, ad ejusdem Catholicæ et Universalis Ecclesiæ unionem, extra quam nemini salus esse potest, reducendi; te ad præfatum Mariam Reginam, atque Universum illud Regnum, nostrum et Apostolicæ sedis Legatum de latere, tanquam Pacis et Concordiæ Angelum, de venerabilum Fratrum nostrorum, Sanctæ Romanæ Ecclesiæ Cardinalium Consilio atque unanimi assensu, destinavimus, illisque Facultatibus omnibus munivimus, quas ad tanti Negotii confectionem Necessaryas putavimus esse, seu quomodolibet opportunas. Atque inter alia Circumspectione tua, ut cum bonorum Ecclesiasticorum Possessoribus, super fructibus malè perceptis, et bonis mobilibus consumptis, concordare et transigere, ac eos desuper liberare et quietare, ubi expedire posset, Authoritatem concessimus et Facultatem, prout in Nostris desuper confectis Literis plenius continentur: Cum autem ex iis Principiis, quæ ejusdem Mariæ Sedulitate et Diligentia, rectaque et constante in Deum Mente, tuo et in ea re cooperante Studio atque Consilio, præfatum reductionis opus in prædicto Regno usque ad hanc diem habetur, ejusdemque præclari Operis perfectio indies magis speretur; eoque faciliores progressus habitura res esse dignoscatur, quo nos majorem in bonorum Ecclesiasticorum Possessionibus, in illa superiorum Temporum confusione, per illius Provinciæ homines occupatis, Apostolicæ Benignitatis et Indulgentiæ spem ostenderimus. Nos nolentes tantam dilectissimæ Nobis in Christo Nationis Recuperationem, et tot Animarum pretioso Jesu Christi Domini nostri Sanguine redemptarum, Salutem, ullis terrenarum rerum respectibus impediri; more Pij Patris, in Nostrorum et Sanctæ Catholicæ Filiorum, post longum periculosæ peregrinationis tempus, ad Nos respectantum et redeuntium, peroptatum complexum occurrentes; Tibi, de cujus præstanti Virtute, singulari Pietate, Doctrina, Sapientia, ac in Rebus gerendis Prudentia et Dexteritate, plenam in Domino Fiduciam habemus, cum quibuscunque bonorum Ecclesiasticorum, tam mobilium quam immobilium, in præfato Regno Possessoribus, seu Detentoribus,

N. B. pro quibus ipsa Serenissima Regina Maria intercesseret, de bonis per eos indebitè detentis, Arbitrio tuo, Authoritate nostra, tractandi, concordandi, transigendi, componendi, et cum eis ut præfata bona fine ullo scrupulo in posterum retinere possint, dispensandi, omniaque et singula alia, quæ in his, et circa ea quomodolibet necessaria et opportuna fuerint,

N. B. concludendi et faciendi. Salvo tamen in his, in quibus, propter rerum magnitudinem et gravitatem, hæc Sancta Sedes merito tibi videretur consulenda, nostro et præfate Sedis, beneplacito et confirmatione, plenam et liberam Apostolicam Authoritatem, tenore præsentium, et ex certa scientia, concedimus Facultatem. Non obstantibus Literis, felicis Recordationis Auli Papæ II. Prædecessoris nostri, de non alienandis bonis Ecclesiasticis, nisi certa forma servata, et aliis quibusvis Apostolicis, ac in Provincialibus et Synodaliibus, Conciliis, Edictis Generalibus, vel Specialibus, Constitutionibus, et Ordinationibus. Nec non quarumvis Ecclesiarum et Monasteriorum, ac aliorum regularium et piorum Locorum, Juramento, Confirmatione Apostolica, vel quavis alia Firmitate raboratis, Fundationibus, Statutis et Consuetudinibus, illorum Tenores pro sufficienter expressis habentes contrariis quibuscunque.

Datum Romæ apud S. Petrum, sub Annulo Piscatoris, Die 28. Junij 1554, Pontificatus Nostri Anno Quinto.

NUMBER XXII.

A Letter to Cardinal Pole, from Cardinal de Monte, full of High Civilities.

Al Card. Polo.

REV. E ILL. SIG. MIO COL',—Ritornando à V. S. Reverendissima et Illustrissima l' Auditor suo con l' Espeditioni, che ella vedrà, à me non occorre dirle altro se non supplicarla, che si degni mantenermi nella sua bona gratia, è di non si scordare d' haver qui un Servitore che in amarla, et osserverla non cede à qualsivoglia altra Persona, è che il maggior Favore, che io sia per aspettare sempre da V. S. Reverendissima e Illustrissima sarà, che le piaccia di comandarmi in tutto questo, che mi conoscerà buono per servirla; il che so d'haverle scritto più volte, e non mi è grave di replicarlo. Sua Sanctità sta cossi bene della Persona come sia stata di dieci anni in quà, ringratiato Iddio: e saluta e benedice V. S. Reverendissima et Illustrissima e li desidera, e prega ogni prosperità nelle sue Negociationi importantissime a tutta la Christianità, et io le bacio humilmente le Mani. Di Roma alli xv. di Luglio, 1554.

H. CARD. DI MONTE.

NUMBER XXIII.

A Letter from Cardinal Morone to Cardinal Pole, telling him how uneasy the Pope was to see his going to England so long delayed; but that the Pope was resolved not to recal him.

Al Cardo. Polo.

REV. E ILL. SIG. MIO OSS'MO,—Avanti la partita mia di Roma hebbi la Lettera di V. S. Reverendissima del 25 di Maggio in risposta delle mie, che gli havevo scritto pur alli 6 di Maggio, quando vennero li primi avisi del Nuncio, doppo che V. S. Reverendissima fu ritornata alla Corte dal Viaggio di Francia, hebbi ancora l' altra di 28 del Medesimo, con la Querela Christiana, che ella fa contra di me, anzi per dir meglio con la Dottrina che V. S. Reverendissima con Sancta Charità querelandosi m'insegna, sopra la quale non m'occorre dir altro, se non che ella ha gran Ragione, et che io l'ho fatto torto a scriverle in quel modo, di che in una parte mi pento, e spero che ella mi habbi perdonato; nell' altra mi allegro, havendo havuto occasione di Guadagnar questa sua altra Lettera, e dato a lei occasione di esplicarsi in questo modo in Lettere come ha fatto, e ne ringratiò Dio prima, e poi lei ancora, che si sia degnata mandarmi Lettera cossi grata, la qual potrà servire a più d'un proposito.

La prima di 21, fù in summa comunicata da me a Nostro Signore parendomi necessario charir bene sua Sanctità, sì per Giustificazione delle attioni passate di V. S. Reverendissima come per non lasciar, che sua Sanctità stesse nella disperatione dimostrata già della cose d'Inghilterra, e della bonta del mezzo della Persona sua: e benche S. Sanctità non havesse pazienza secondo l'ordinario suo di leggere, o di udire la Lettera, nondimeno le dissi talmente la summa, che mostrò restare satisfattissima, e disse esser più che certa, che quella non haveva dato causa ne all' Imperatore, ne ad altri d'usar con lei termini oosi estravaganti. E quanto alla Revocatione di V. S. Reverendissima, sempre persisteva che non si potesse fare senza grand indignità sua, e dishonor della Sede Apostolica, e carico dell' Imperatore inteso, e di V. S. Reverendissima, e gran pregiudicio del Regno d' Inghilterra: e benche dicesse di scrivere alla Cæsarea Majestà, nondimeno non si

risolveva in tutto, com anco non si risolveva nella materia delli beni Ecclesiastici, sopra la qual sua Sanctità ha parlato molte volte variamente; e nel rescrivere alla Regina d' Inghilterra, ed al Principe di Spagna, come V. S. Reverendissima haverà inteso da M. Francisco Stella, ed intenderà hora dall' Ormaneto, il qual sarà portator di questa, e tandem vien' espedito in tutti li punti quasi conformi al bisogno, ed al desiderio suo.

Io son venuto a star qui a Sutrio sin le prime acque d'Agotto, che poi piacendo a Dio ritornerò a Roma. E le cause della partita mia V. S. Reverendissima hora l' intenderà dal prefato Ormaneto, non essendo stato opportuno scriverle prima; non ho havuto altro scrupolo se non partirmi, restando il Negocio, e l' Espeditioni dell' Ormaneto cossi in pendente. Ma conoscendo la sufficienza, e la diligenza, e la buon' Introduzione, che hanno quelli Ministri di V. S. Reverendissima giudicando, non poterui far di più di quel che già più volte haveva fatto, pensai che esse haveriano potuto supplire meglio di me, come hanno di poi fatto.

Non occorre al presente che io le scriva più a lungo venendo il detto M. Nicolò informato, che non e bisogno affaticarla in leggere mie Lettere. Resta solo che Iddio conduca esso, e M. Antonio a salvamento essendo il viaggio in ogni parte da qui in Fiandra tanto pericoloso, dopo che io preghi, che sua Majestà Divina prosperi e felicità V. S. Reverendissima, ad Honor e Gloria sua in quell' Attioni, che ha per mani, come son certo farà, e che quella mi ami, e mi comandi al solito, perche come ho detto, faccio conto, s' altro non mi interviene, avanti che di quella possi haver risposta da lei, poter' esser di ritorno a Roma, e con questo faccio fine, e baciandole humilmente la mano in buono Gratia di V. S. Reverendissima mi raccomandando. Di Sutrio, alli 13 di Luglio 1554.

ILL. CARD. MORONE.

Al Card. Polo.

NUMBER XXIV.

A Letter from Ormanet to Priuli, giving an account of what passed in an Audience the Bishop of Arras gave him.

A Monsieur Priuli.

CLARIS. E MOLTO REV. SIG. MIO.—Questa mattina assai per Tempo io gionsi al Campo, et ancor che io poco sperassi d' haver commodò audienza da Monsieur d'Arras, stando sì sul Marchiare, nondimeno l' hebbi con la Gratia di nostro Signore Iddio, assai commodà e grata, e fui gratiosamente visto da Signoria alla quale feci intendere tutto quello, che mi era stato commesso da Monsieur Illustrissimo. La Risposta fù che l' Imperatore haveuo molto a cuore queste cose della Religione, e che non haverebbe mai mancato d' aiutare questa sant' impresa come ha sempre atto in simili occasioni con pericoli fin della Vita, ma che quanto all' opportunità del tempo, la quale era stata il principio e fundamento del mio Ragionamento, a lui pareva, che si fosse caminato alquanto prosperamente, non si sapendo altro dopo la venuta del Rè d' Inghilterra, che la Celebration' e solennità del matrimonio, e che pur sarebbe stato a proposito, innanzi che s' andasse più oltre, veder che camino pigliavano le cose del Regno, e che dovendosi dar conto a sua Majestà di quello, perche io ero stato mandato, esso giudicava necessario che si fosse venuto più al particolare circa due cose, la forma delle facultà d' intorno questi beni (che gran differenza sarebbe se fosse stata commessa la cosa o al S. Cardinale, o alli Serenissimi Principi) e poi il modo che voleua tener

sua Sig. Reverendissima circa questo assetto, e qui esso tocco che fosse stato bene vedere la Copia delle Faculta. A la cosa del tempo io risposi che per questa opera era sempre maturo, immò che non se ne doveua perdere momento per il pericolo dell' anime, oltre che dovendosi dar principio a quest impresa col far capace ogn' uno di quello, che veramente fosse il ben suo, e persuaderlo ad abbracciarlo, il qual' Officio spetta principalmente al Signior Legato, non si vede che a far questo il tempo non sia sempre maturo, soggiungendo che S. Majestà non dovrebbe mai lasciar passar l' occasione di questa venuta del Principe suo figliuolo in dar compimento a questa riduzione, percio che facendosi hora, l' honor di questa impresa sarebbe stato attribuito a lui. Quanto al particular delle facultà, dissi che havendo detto a S. Signoria che questo assetto era stato commesso all' arbitrio di S. Signoria Illustrissima mi pareva d' haver soddisfatto assai, e che del modo del procedere ella non era ancora risoluto, non si potendo pigliare in una cosa tale alcuna risoluzione se non sul fatto, e dopo che ella fosse stata presente, per la necessaria informazione di molte cose che corrono in questa materia, circa la quale toccai alcuni altri punti, che S. Signoria Reverendissima intenderà più lungamente alla mia venuta. La conclusione fù che esso non mancherebbe d' informar sua Majestà del tutto, e per far ogni buon officio in questo, e qui mi disse dell' animo che haveva sempre havuto d' aiutar queste cose della Religione, e del desiderio che teneva di servir sempre S. S. Illustrissima ringratiandola che l' adoperasse io. Circa l' aspettar la risposta di S. Majestà mi disse che non potendo esso far' all' hora questo officio per la partita del campo, io me ne venissi a Valentiana, dove havuta la resolutione da S. Majestà mi farebbe chiamarè: e che non mi pigliassi altro affanno di questa, e cossi me ne son venuto quà con questo disegno, di dar tempo tutto dimane a S. Signoria di far quest' officio, e posdimane non essendo chiamato ritornarmene a sollicitare l' espeditione. Io ho voluto dar questo conto di quello che fin' hora e passato acciò che non ritornando io, a quel tempo che fossi stato aspettato, non si stesse in qualche sospension d' animo. Sua Majestà sta gagliarda, e cavalca, e va personalmente vedendo l' essercito, e le cose come passano, il qual' essercito hoggi innanzi mezzo giorno e partito da Dolci quattro leghe lontano di quà, ed e andato ad un altro viaggio chiamato lieu S. Amando lontano da quello una leggha, e più vicino al campo Francese, il quale questa mattina e partito da Crevacore e venuto una leggha più in quà. Bascio la mano a Mons. Illustrissimo e mi raccomandando a V. S. da Valentiano. L' ultimo di Luglio 1554.

SER' NICOLO ORMANETA.

NUMBER XXV.

The Letter that the Bishop of Arras wrote to Cardinal Pole upon that Audience.

Al Card. Polo.

ILL. E REV. SIG. MIO OSS' MO.—Trovomi con due Lettere di V. S. Illustrissima nella prima delle quali elle si rallegra della felice arrivata del Principe N. S. adesso Rè d' Inghilterra in quel Regno, e del consumato Matrimonio la Lettera del medesimo per S. Majestà Cesarea ho data io medesimo, alla quale e piaciuto sommamente l' officio tanto amorevolmente da V. S. Illustrissima: di poi arrivò assai presto il suo Auditore portator di questa, venuto da Roma, dal quale ho inteso quanto V. S. Reverendissima li haveva commesso di riferirmi sopra le Lettere Credentiale, che egli mi ha portato, di che tutto ho fatto relatione a S. Majestà Cesarea, la quale mi ha comandata risponderle

quello che esso suo Auditore le potrà riferire, non giudicando S. Maestà conveniente, che V. S. Reverendissima pigli il camino d' Inghilterra fin tanto, che consultato il tutto con quelli Serenissimi Re, come fa con un corriere espresso partito hoggi, s' intenda da loro il stato presente delle cose di là e quello che conforme a questo quel Regno potrà al presente comportare, accio che inteso il tutto S. Maestà possa meglio risolversi alla risposta che ella haverà a dare a V. S. Reverendissima su quella che di sua parte ha proposto il detto suo Auditore: non dubitando punto che come suo Maestà e V. S. Illustrissima hanno il zelo, che esse ed ambidoi i Rè hanno alle cose delle Religione, che terranno per certo, che non lasceranno preterir punto di quello che convenghi al rimedio d' esse nel punto Regno; caminandovi contal moderazione, che in luogo di farvi del bene, non si troncasse per sempre il camino al remedio. E senza più a V. S. Illustrissima bacio humilmente la mano. Dall' exercito Cesarea appresso Buchain li iij d' Agosto 1554.

Di V. S. Reverendissima Humil Serv.,

IL VESCOVO D'ARRAS.

NUMBER XXVI.

Cardinal Pole's Answer to the Bishop of Arras his Letter.

A Monsr. d' Arras.

MOLTO ILL. REV. SIG.—Dalla Lettera di V. S. e dalla relatione del mio Auditore ho inteso quanto e piaciuto a sua Maestà farmi per hora sapere della mente sua, intorno il negotio della mia legatione in Inghilterra, riservandosi a darmene maggior resolutione, quando haverà inteso da quelli Serenissimi Principi il presente stato delle cose di là, perche haveva spedito subito un corriere; lo mio sono molto rallegrato, vedendo che in mezzo di tanti, et si urgenti negotii della guerra S. Maestà habbia havuto tanta cura e sollicitudine di questa causa di Dio, la quale quando sia ben conclusa, non dubito le porterà seco ogni buon successo in tutto il resto; starò a spettando quello che piacerà a S. Maestà di farmi sapere, poiche haverà havuto risposta d' Inghilterra, ne altramente pensai prima mi convenisse fare. Ed in questo mezo pregarò la bontà d' Iddio, che cossi faccia ben intendere a tutto il corpo di quel Regno questo tempo, nel quale sua Divina Maestà lo visita con la gratia sua, come son certo intendino benissimo i capi loro, accio che non si habbita a dir contra di essi, miluus cognovit tempus suum, populus autem hic non cognovit tempus visitationis suae, ma havendo Iddio data gratia e quei Catholici Principi, a i quali tocca far' intendere ed essequir' a gli altri, quello che in questa causa con l'honor di S. Maestà farà di salute, ed universal beneficio di tutti, spero che le Maestà loro non siano per mancare di far' in ciò quello, ch' ogn' uno aspetta dalla pietà loro, essendo massimamente eccitati, et aiutati, ed in ciò dall' authoritè e prudentia di sua Maestà Cesarea: havendo inteso che a V. S. faria stato di satisfattione veder copia del Breve della facultà concessami da N. Sr. circa la dispositione di i beni ecclesiastici, io glie la mando con questa, pregandola sia contenta farmi intendere dalla ricevuta, e molto la ringratio dell' amorevolezza sua verso di me, e della cortesia usata al detto mio Auditore. Dal Monasterio di Diligam. alli 5 d' Agosto 1554.

REGINALDO CARD. POLO.

NUMBER XXVII.

Cardinal Pole's Letter to King Philip.

Al Re d' Inghilterra.

SERENISSIME REX,—Cum maxinè antea lætatus essem, cognito ex fama ipsa, et litteris meorum optatissimo Majestis tuæ in Angliam adventu, et felicissimis nuptiis, quæ cum Serenissima Regina nostra summo omnium gaudio et gratulatione celebratæ sunt: tamen hanc meam lætitiarum magnoperè cumularunt Serenitatis tuæ litteræ a Domino Comite de Horne, cum is in castris apud Majestem Cæsaream remansisset, heri missæ ad me per nobilem Virum D. de Sto. Martino Majestis tuæ domesticum, eundem cui ego has ad illam preferendas dedi. Etenim expressam in illis imaginem vidi ejus humanitatis ac benignitatis, qua Majestatem tuam præter reliquas eximias virtutes excellere omnes prædicant, quæ quidem virtus ab animi verè Regii altitudine proficiscitur. Itaq; ego Majestati tuæ ob hoc benevolentie signum mihi impertitum maximas ut debeo gratias, ac tametsi per alia Litteras uberius hoc ipso officio functus sum, tamen iterum illi de hoc felici matrimonio divina providentia, ut planè persuasem habeo, ad istius Regni quietem conciliato, gratulor. Idq; eo magis quod confido brevi futurum, ut ad coram sibi Pontificis Maximi nomine gratulandum, quemadmodum in mandatis habeo, Majestatis tuæ pietas aditum mihi patefaciat cum summo totius Ecclesie gaudio, et istius Regni salute. Reliquum est ut Majestati tuæ omnia obsequia, quæ illi vel pro Legationis munere publice præstare possum, vel jam ut meo Principi ac Domino privatim debeo, deferam, atque pollicear. Quæ quidem in rebus omnibus, quæ ad ejus amplitudinem, laudem, honoremque pertinebunt studiosissimè semper præstabo. Deus Opt. Max. Majestatem tuam, una cum Serenissima Reverendissima Regina custodiat; ac diutissimè felicem conservat. Monrio. Diligà prope Bruxellas, vii Idus Augusti 1554.

REGINALDO CARD. POLUS.

NUMBER XXVIII.

A Letter of Cardinal Pole's to the Pope, giving an Account of a Conference that he had with Charles the Vth, concerning the Church Lands.

BEATISSIME PATER,—E molto tempo che non havendo cosa d' importanza, non ho scritto a V. Santità per non molestarle: facendole col mezo del mio Agente intendere tutto quello che occorreva; e benche hora jo non habbia da dirle quanto desiderarei, nondimeno mi e parso conveniente scriverle, e darle conto del raggiamento prima havuta con Monsieur d' Arras e poi di quel che ho negoziato con sua Maestà. Mons. d' Arras alli ex che fu il giorno istesso che sua Maestà torno, essendomi venuto a visitare, trovandosi all' hora meco Monsieur il Nuncio, mi disse, che sua Maestà haveva veduta la Lettera che io mandai ultimamente per l' auditor mio, e che ella era benissimo disposta verso questo negotio della Religione in Inghilterra come si conveniva e si poteva credere per la sua Pietat, ed anche per l' interesse, che ne sequeria de quel Regno e de questi Paiesi per la congiuntione che e tra loro. Si che quanto a questa parte di disporer sua Maestà non accader far altro. Ma che era ben necessario, che io venissi a particolari, ed atrattar de gli impedimenti, e della via di rimoverli: Sopra che sua Maestà mi udiva molto volentieri, jo risposi che veramente non era da dubitare del buono e pronto animo di sua Maestà, e che io ni era stato

sempre persuassissimo. Na che quanto pertineva all'ufficio mio per esser io stato mandato da V. Santità per far intendere l'ottima sua mente verso la salute di quello Regno, e la prontezza di porgere tutti quei remedi che dall' autorità sua potessero venire; a me non toccava far altro, che procurar d'haver l'adito: E che ad esse Principi, quali sono sul fatto, e hanno il governo in mano, le apparteneva, far intendere gli impedimenti, che fossero in contrario: E tornando pur esso Monsieur d'Arras che bisognava che io descendessi alli particolari, io replicai che in questa causa non conveniva in modo alcuno che si procedesse come si era fatto in quella della pace; nella quale ciascuna delle parti stava sopra di se non volendosi scoprire, ma solo cercando di scoprirne, l'altra, per rispetto de gli interesse particolari; perciò che questa e una causa commune e nella quale V. Santità e sua Maesta Cesarea, e quei Principi hanno il medesimo fine, e noi ancora come ministri. Confermo cio esser vero quanto al tratar della pace, con dire in effetto in tratar del negozio della pace io mi armo tutto. Ma pur tuttavia tornava a dire, che io dovessi pensare e ragionar in particolare, con sua Maesta di quest' impedimenti. E Monsieur il Nuncio al hora voltatosi a me disse, che in effetto era bisogno venire a questi particolari: E così al sine restammo che ogniuno ci pensasse sopra.

Alli xi poi nell andar da S. Maesta, Monsieur d'Arras torna a replicarmi il medesimo; nell audientia di S. Maesta, nella quale si trovo presente Monsieur il Nuncio, e Monsieur d'Arras, poiche mi fui ralegrato con sua Maesta, che havendo liberato questi suoi paesi della Molestie della Guerre, doppo tanti travagli e d'animo e di corpo fusse tornato piu gagliarda e meglio disposita che quando si parti; in che si videva che il Signior Iddio haveva preservata e preservata, a maggior cose in honor di S. Divina Maesta a beneficio commune. Sua Maesta confermo sentersi assai bene, e disse dele indispositione che haveva havuta in Arras e altre cose in simil proposito: Entrai poi a dire della Lettera, che io haveva scritta a S. Maesta della risposta che Monsieur d'Arras mi haveva fatta, che era stata di rimettersi al breve. Retorno di sua Maesta qui e dissi che se havessi a trattar questo negotio con altro Principe, della Pieta del quale non fussi tanto persuaso, quanto io sono certo di quella di sua Maesta dimostrata da lei con tanti segni, e nella vita sua privata, e nell'attioni publiche, cercarei de essortarlo per tante vie quante si potria ad abbracciar, e favorir questa così santa causa. Ma che non essendo bisogno fare questo con S. Maesta, e tanto piu per esser in questa causa con honore d'Iddio, congiunto anco il beneficio di S. Maesta et del Serenissimo Re suo figliuolo, solo aspettava da lei ogni ajuto per remover gli impedimenti, che soffero in questo negotio: I quali per quanto io poteva considerare sono di duo sorti: Uno pertinente alla Doctrina Catolica, nella quale non poteva esser in alcun modo indulgente, per esser cosa pertinente alla fide ne poteva sanar altrimenti questo male, che con introdurre de nuovo la buona Doctrina. L'altro impediment essendo de i beni, gli usurpatori di quale, sapendo la severità delle Leggi Ecclesiastiche, temevano per questa causa di ritornar all' Obedienza della Chiesa desse dissi che in questa parte V. Santità poteva, et era disposta ad usar la sua benignità et indulgenza: E primo quanto alle Censure e pene incorse, ed alle Restitutione de frutti percetti, che era di grand' importanza, V. Santità haveva animo nell una nell'altra di questo due cose d'usar ogni indulgenza, rimittendo liberamento il tutto: Ne pensava d'applicar parte alcuna de detti beni a se, ne alla Sede Apostolica, come molti temevano: benché di Raggione lo potesse fare, per le ingiurie e danni ricevuti; ma che voleva

convertir il tutto in sevitio d'Iddio, ed a Beneficio del Regno, senza haver pur una minima consideratione del suo privato interesse: E confidandosi nella Pieta di quei Principi, voleva far loro quest' Honore di far per mezzo del suo Legato, quelle gratie che paressero convenienti secondo la proposta ed intercessione delle loro Maesta, a quelle Persone che esse giudicassero degne d'essere gratificate, ed atte ad ajutar la Causa della Religione. Sua Maesta rispondendo ringraziato prima molto V. Santità mostrando di conoscere la sua bona mente, e con dire, che ella in vero haveva fatto assai: Poi disse che per gli impedimenti ed occupationi della guerra, non haveva potuto attendere a questo negotio, come faria stato il suo desiderio: Ma che hora gli attenderia; e che haveva già scritto e mandato Inghilterra, per intendere meglio in questa parte il stato delle cose, ed aspettava in breve risposta: E che bisognava ben considerare fin dove si potesse andare nel rimover questo impedimento d' beni; il quali esso per l'esperienza che haveva havuto in Germania, conosceva esser il principale. Perchioche quanto alla Doctrina, disse, che poco se ne curavano questo tali, non credendo ne all' una ne all' altra via: Disse anche che essendo stati questi beni dedicati a Dio, non era da concedere così ogni cosa, a quelli che li tenevano: E che se bene a lei io dicessi fin dove s'estendesse la mia facultà, non però si haveva da far intendere il tutto ad altri: E che sarà bisogno veder il breve della facultà, per ampliarle dove fusse necessario: Alche io risposi haverlo già fatto vedere a Monsieur d'Arras, il quale non disse altra: E dubitando io che questa non fusse via di maggior dilazione dissi a S. Maesta, che devendosi come io intendeva e come S. Maesta doveva saper meglio, fare in breve il Parlamento, era d' avvertire grandemente, che non si facesse senza Conclusione nella causa dell' obediencia della Chiesa; che quando altrimenti si facesse, sarebbe d' un grandissimo scandalo a tutto il Mondo, e danno alla detta causa: E che se bene la Regina a fare un così grande atto, haveva giudicato haver bisogno della congiunzione del Re suo Marito, come che non esse bonum Mulierem esse solum, se hora che Iddio ha prosperito e condotto al fine questa santa congiunzione, si differisse piu l' essecutione di questo effetto, che dove esser il Principio ed il Fundamento di tutte le loro Regie attioni, non restarebbe via di satisfar a Dio, ne a gli Huomini: E dicendo S. Maesta che bisognava anco haver grand rispetto alla mala Dispositione de gli interessati, e quanto universalmente sia abborrito questo nome d' obediencia della Chiesa, e questo cappell rosso, e l' habito ancora de i Religiosi. Voltatosi all' hora a Monsieur Nuncio e in tel proposito parlando de frati condotti di Spagna dal Re suo figliuolo, che fu consigliato far loro mutar l' habito, se bene cio non si feci, ne si conveniva fare: con dire anco di quanto importanza fusse il tumulto del Popolo, ed in tal proposito toccando anche de i mali officij, che non cessavano di fare per ogni via i nemici esterni. Io risposi che volendo aspettare che tutti da se si disponessero, e che cessasse ogni impedimento, saria un non venir mai a fine, perchioche, gli interessi massimamente, altro non vorriano se non che si continuasse nel presente stato, con tenere et godere esse, tutto quello che hanno. In fine fu concluso che si aspettasse la riposta d' Inghilterra, col ritorno del Secretario Eras, che saria fra pochi di, e che in questo mezzo io pensassi, e conferissi di quelle cose con Monsieur d'Arras. V. Beatitudine puo con la sua prudenza vedere in che stato si trovi questa causa; e come sarà necessario, che qui si trattino le difficultà sopra questa beni; e per non tediare con maggior lunghezza, quel di piu che mi occurreria dirle V. Santità si degnira intendere dall' Agente mio, alla quale

con la debita reverenza bacio i santissimi piedi preghando il Sig. Iddio, che la conservi longamente a Servizio della sua Chiesa. Di Bruxelles alli 13 d'October, 1554.

REGINALDUS CARD. POLUS.

NUMBER XXIX.

A Part of Mason's Letter to Queen Mary, concerning Cardinal Pole.

CARDINAL POOLE having been sent to these quarters for two purposes, th'one for the meaning of a cyvill peas between the French king and the emperor, and the other for the helping to conclude a spirituall peas, as he termeth yt, in the realme of England: perceyving neither of them both to come to such a pass as his good mynde doth desyre, dothe begynne, as me semeth, to be owte of comfort: and being in manner clerely in dispayre of th'one, yf he receyve not shortlye some likeliadde of the other, being very of so much tyme spent wythout frute, begynneth in that case to talk of his return to Italy. If he return without the seing of his cuntrye, lyke as he shall retourne a sorrowful man, so shall the realme have lost the fruition of such a one, as for his wysdome, joynd with learning, vertue, and godlynes, all the world seeketh and adoureth. In whom it is to bee thought, that God hath chosen a speciall place of habitation. Such is his conversation, adorned with infinite godly qualities above the ordinary sorte of men. And whosoever within the realme lyketh him worst, I wold he might have with him the talke of one half howre: it were a right stony harte, that in a small tyme he could not soften. If it be his fortune to depart, without shewing the experience herof in the realme, his going away shall be, in myne opinion, like the storye of the gospell, of such as dwelt in regione Geresenorum, who uppon a fond feare, desyred Christe, offering himself unto them, "ut discedere a finibus illorum."

Thus, most humbly desyring your grace to pardone my bolde and presumptuous meddling in matters passing my capacitye. I commit the same to the tuicion of Almighty Godde.

Your Grace's most humble, faithful, and obedient subject,

JOHN MASONE.

From Bruxells, the vth of Octobre, 1554.

To the Queen's most excellent Majestie.

NUMBER XXX.

A Letter of Cardinal Pole's to Philip the II^d, complaining of the Delays that had been made, and desiring a speedy admittance into England.

SERENISSIME REX,—Jam Annus est, cum istius Regiæ domus fores pulsare cæpi, nedum quisquam eas mihi aperuisset. Tu vero, Rex, si quæras, ut solent qui suas fores pulsare audiunt, quisnam pulset? Atque ego hoc tantum respondeam, me esse qui, ne meo assensu Regia ista domus ei clauderetur, quæ tecum simul eam nunc tenet, passus sum me Domo et Patria expelli, et exilium viginti annorum hac de causa pertuli. An si hoc dicam, non vel uno hoc nomine dignus videar, cui et in Patriam reditus, et ad vos aditus detur? At ego, nec meo nomine, nec privatam Personam gerens pulso, aut quidquam postulo, sed ejus nomine ejusque personam referens, qui Summi Regis et Pastoris Hominum in Terris vicem gerit. Hic est Petri Successor; atque adeo ut non minus verè dicam, ipse Petrus, cujus Autoritas et Potestas, cum antea in isto Regno maximè vigeret ac floreret, postquam non passa est jus Regiæ domus ei adimi, quæ nunc eam possidet, ex eo per summam injuriam

est ejecta. Is Regias per me fores jampridem pulsat, et tamen quæ reliquis omnibus patent ei uni nondum aperiuntur. Quid ita ejus ne pulsantis sonum au vocantis vocem non audierunt, qui intus sunt? Audierunt sane, et quidem non minore cum admiratione Divinæ Potentiæ et Benignitatis erga Ecclesiam, quam olim Maria illa affecta fuerit, cum ut est in Actis Apostolorum, Rhode ancilla ei nunciasset Petrum quem Rex in vincula conjecerat, ut mox necaret, et pro quo Ecclesia assidue precabatur è carcere liberatum ante ostium pulsantem stare. Ut enim hoc ei cæterisque qui cum illa erant magnam attulit admirationem, ita nunc qui norunt eos qui Petri Autoritatem Potestatemque in isto Regno retinendam esse contendebant, in vincula Herodiano Imperio coniectos, et crudelissime interfectos fuisse, quin etiam Successorum Petri nomina è libris omnibus sublata in quibus precesiones Ecclesiæ pro eorum incoluntate ac salute continebantur, qui inquam hæc norunt, facta ad omnem Memoriam Petri Autoritatis à Christo traditæ penitus ex Animis Hominum delendam, qui fieri potest ut non maximè admirentur hoc Divinæ Benignitatis et Potentiæ pignus ac testimonium: Petrum nunc quasi iterum è carcere Herodis liberatum, ad Regiæ domus fores unde hæc omnia iniquissima in eum edicta emanarunt, pulsantem stare, et cum hoc maximè mirandum est, tum illud non minus mirum, Maria Regina domum hanc teneri: Sed cur illa tamdiu foras aperire distulit. De ancilla quidem illud Mariæ Scriptum est, eam Petri Voce audita præ nimio gaudio suæ quasi oblitam, de aperiendo non cogitasse: Remprius, ut Mariæ aliis; qui cum ea erant nunciaret, accurrisse, qui cum primo an ita esset dubitasset, mox cum Petrus pulsare pergeret aperierunt, neque illum domo recipere sunt veriti, etsi maximam timendi causam habebant, Herode ipso vivo et regnante. Hic vero quid dicam de Maria Regina, gaudeo ne eam an timore esse prohibitam quominus aperuerit; presertim cum ipsa Petri Vocem audierit, cum certo sciat eum ad domus suæ januam jamdiu pulsantem stare: Cum admirabilem Dei in hac re potentiam agnoscat, qui non per Angelum, ut tunc Petrum è carcere Herodis, sed sua manu eduxit, dejecta porta ferrea quæ viam ad Regiam ejus domum intercludebat: Scio equidem illam gaudere, scio etiam vero timere; neque enim nisi timeret tam diu distulisset. Verum si Petri liberatione gaudet, si rei miraculum agnoscit, quid impedimento fuit quo minus ei ad januam lætabunda occurrerit, eumque meritis Deo gratias agens introduxerit. Herode presertim mortuo, omni; ejus imperio ad eam delato? An fortassis Divina Providentia quæ te dilectum Petri Filium et ei Virum destinarat, illam timore aliquo tantisper affici permisit, dum venisses, ut utriusque ad rem tam præclaram et salutarem agenda, opera atque officium conjungeretur: Equidem sic antea hunc Mariæ Regiæ conjungis tuæ timorem, quod etiam ad eam Scripsi cum interpretatus: Ac propterea ad te nunc, Virum ejus, Principem Religiosissimum, scribo, et abs te ipsius Petri Christi Vicarii nomine postulo, ut illi omnes timoris causas prorsus excutias: Habes vero expeditissimam excutiendi rationem, si consideres eique proponas, quam indignum sit si dum te illa Corporis sui sponsum accerserit, cum non deessent quæ timenda viderentur, tamen omnem timorem sola vicerit, nunc te tanto Principi illi conjuncto, timore prohiberi quominus aditum ad se aperiat sponsæ animæ suæ, necum una et cum Petro tamdiu ad fores expectanti: qui presertim tot et tam miris modis custodem ejus se, defensoremque esse declaravit. Noli enim, Rex, putare, me aut solum ad vestram Regiam domum, aut uno tantum Petro comitatum venisse; cujus rei hoc quidem tibi certum Argumentum esse potest, quod tamdiu persevero pulsans:

Nam sive ego solus venissem, solus jampridem abiissem, querens et expostulans quæ aliis omnibus pateant, mihi uni oclusas esse fores; sive una mecum solus Petrus, jampridem is quoque discessisset, meque secum abduxisset, pulvere pedum excusso, quod ei preceptum fuit a Domino ut faceret quotiescunque ejus nomine aliquo accedens non admitteretur. Cum vero nihil ego, quod ad me quidem attinet conquerens, perseverem, cum Petrus pulsare non desistat, utrumque scito ab ipso Christo retineri, ut sibi sponso animæ utriusque vestrum auditus ad vos patefiat. Neque enim unquam verebor dicere, Christum in hac Legatione, qua pro ejus Vicario fungor, mecum adesse: Quamdiu quidem mihi conscius ero me nihil meum, me non vestra, sed vos ipsos toto animo omnique studio querere. Tu vero, Princeps Catholicæ, cui nunc Divina Providentia et Benignitas additum est alterum hoc præclarum Fidei Defensoris cognomen, quo Reges Angliæ Apostolica Petri Autoritate sunt aucti atque ornat, tecum nunc considera quam id tuæ Pietati conveniat, cum omnibus omnium Principum ad te Legatis aditus patuerit, ut tibi de hoc ipso cognomine adepto gratularentur, solum Successoris Petri qui hoc dedit, Legatum, qui propterea missus est ut te in solio Regni Divina summi omnium Regis quam affert pace et gratia, confirmet, non admitti? An si quidquam hic ad timorem proponitur, quominus eum admittis non multo magis Christi hac in re metuanda esset offensio, quod ejus Legatus qui omnium primus audiri debuit, tamdiu fores expectet, cum cæteri Homines qui multo post venerunt, nulla interposita mora, introducti auditq; sint et honorifice dimissi. At hic conqueri incipio; conqueror quidem, sed idcirco conqueror, ne justam tuæ Majestati causam de me conquerendi præbeam, quam sane præberem, si cum periculi, quod ex hac cunctatione admittendi Legati à Christi Vicario missi, nobis vestroq; Regno impendat, Reginam sæpe admonuerim, nihil de ea re ad Majestatem tuam scriberem; quod officium cum tibi à me pro eo quo fungor munere maximè debeatur, id me satis persolutorum esse arbitror, si his Literis ostendero quantum periculi ei immineat, cui illud vere dici potest, distulisti Christum tuum. Is autem Christum differt, qui Legatum missum, ab ejus Vicario, ad requirendam Obedientiam Ecclesiæ, ipsi Christo debitam, ex quo nostra omnium pendet salus, non statim admittit. Differs vero, tu Princeps, si cum acceritus fueris, ut pro munere Regio viam ad hanc Divinam Obedientiam in tuo isto Regno restituendam munias, ipse alia agas.

NUMBER XXXI.

The Lord Pagel's and the Lord Hastings's Letter concerning Cardinal Pole.—An Original.

[Paper Office.]

Ir maie please your most excellent majesty to be advertised, that arriving here upon Sunday last in the forenoone, we had audience of the emperor's majestie in the afternoone, notwithstanding that the same had that daie received the blessed Sacrament, wherby we noted a great care in him, for the expedition of us hence again: after dew commendation made unto him by us, on your majestie's behalfe, and the causes of our comyng declared unto him with suche circumstances, as by the tenure of our instructions, we have in charge to open unto him, he rejoyced verely much to here the same; and first giving unto you both most hartly thanks for your commendations, and then inquiring very diligently of your good prosperities and wellfares, and specially (madame) of the state of your majestie's persone, he roused himself with a merry

chere, and said, that among many great benefits, for the which he thought himself most bounden unto God, this was one of the greatest, that it had pleased him to hold his blessed hand over that realme; and so taking occasion to reherse in what good estate, and great reputation, he knew the realme of England had bene in the beginning; and afterward in to what calamities the same fell into, much (he said) to his regret; he gave God thanks, not only for the great miracles which he had shewed upon your majestie to make you his apt minister for the restoring of that kingdome to the auncient dignitie, welth, and renowne, but also for that it hath pleased him to give you so sone, so certaine a hope of succession; wherof like as he hath cause for his parte (he said), to rejoyce and take great comforte, so hath all England greater cause to think themselves most bounden unto God, to please him, and to serve him for the same: these tydings, he said, of the state of your majestie's person (madame) with the reasport that we had made unto him of the great conformite, and hole consent of the noble men, and others in their proceedings before your majesties, touching the receiving of my lord cardinal into England, and their earnest submissions to the obedience, and union of the catholique church, were so pleasant unto him as if he had been half deade, yet they shuld have been ynoughe to have revived him again. These and many other suche like wordes he used to declare the joy, and contentment of his minde, for the good successe of this matter. In the mayning whereof there, if any thing (said he) shuld fortune, wherin his advise might be thought requisite, your majesties shuld not onley find the same ready, but also in any other thing that laie in him, which might serve to your honors, and the benefite of the realme: to this when we for our parts had joined such talk, as to this purpose semed to our poor witts convenient, declaring your godly dispositions in this mater, how much you reposed your self upon his great wisdom and experience; what confidence you had in his fatherly love, and friendly affections towards your majesties, and the benefite of your realms: we toke our leaves of his majestie, and repaired forthwith unto my lord cardinal, whose gladnes of our comyng we shall not need with many words to declare unto your majestie; nor yet what speech he used to set furth, how much he was bounden unto your majesties for your gracious dispositions towards him, and how much both you and he were bounden to Almighty God, for the bending of your harts this waies, for your majesties shall and maie perceive the same more plainly by himself at his comyng unto your presence. This under your majestie's corrections we maie be bold to write unto you, that we believe verely that whensoever he shall be in England, the same shall fare the better for him, for he is the man of God, full of all godlines and vertue, ready to humble himself to all facions that may do good; and therefore he is contented, not only to come into England in such sort as your majesties have appointed, not as a legate, but as a cardinal, and ambassador to your majesties, but in any other sort whatsoever it be, that your majesties will apoint; he assuring your majesties, that touching the matter of possessions, all things shall come to passe, on the pope's behalfe, in such sort as every man there shall have cause to be contented. Yesterday night he toke his leave of the emperor, and so did we also. This daie he repaireth onwards his journey, to an abbaye two miles hence, whether he hath used much to resorte, the tyme of his abode here. To-morrow at night to Dendermount; Thursday to Gawnie; Friday to Bruges; Saturday to Newport; Sunday to Dunkirke; Monday to Calice (for his weake body can make no

great journeyes); and his estate also is to be considered. In this journey we shall not faile to do him all the honour and service we can, aswell for that we take it to be our special charge, as for that also his great vertues have wonne us, and bind us to the same: we have written now, besides our speaking at our passing by, to the lord depute of Calice, for all things to be in a redines for his transportation; so as we trust we shall not have occasion to tarry long there. And thus we beseeche Almighty God to preserve both your majesties long, and long to live together to your own good contentments, and to the great comfort and benefit of us your poor subjects. From Bruxells the 13th of November in the morning, 1554.

Your majesties most humble, faithful, and obedient servants,

WILLIAM PAGET.
EDWARD HASTINGS.

To the king and queen's majesties.

NUMBER XXXII.

An Original Letter of Mason's, of a Preacher that pressed the Restitution of Church-Lands.

[Paper-Office.]

AFTER most hartie commendations, I have sent to my lords at this present the emperor's commissaries answer made at the diet, to a letter lately sent from the French king to the said diet, of the circulls of Germany assembled at Francfort. And forasmuche as yt chanced me, at the closing up of my lettre, to have the sight of an other answer made to the said lettre, by some bearing good will to the emperor's affaires, I thought good to cōpye it, and to send it unto you; albeit by the reading therof, yt may appere yt was made by some man rather to assaye his witte, and to declare his affection, then of intent to answer peticulerly the matier. It was this morning told me by one of the emperor's counsell, who misliked much the matier, that a preacher of ours, whose name he rehersed, betithe the pulpet jolyly in England, for the restitution of abbaye lands. If it be so meant by the prince, and be thought convenient so to be, then doth he his duetie; but yf contrarely, yt be neither meant nor thought convenient, it is a strange thing in a well-ordered commonwelth, that a subject shall be so hardie to crye unto the people openly such learning, as wherby year winter works maye in the somer be attempted with some storme. And wer the thing fitt to be talked of, yet were the princes and the counsell, who might remedy it, meter to be spoken with therein then the multitude, who therby may receyve an yll impression, and an occasion of lewd thinking, and lewde talking, and lewd doing also, if it may lye in their powers; and that is all, that of sowing thies maters amongs them can ensue. These unbridled preachings were so much to be misliked in the yll-governed tyme, as good men trusted, in this good governance, it should have been amended. And so maye it be, when it shall please my lords of the counsell as diligently to cōsider it, as it is more then necessarie to be lokd unto. The partye, me thinketh, might well be put to silence, if he were asked, How, being a monk, and having professed and vowed solemly wilfull poverty, he can with conscience keep a deanery and three or four benefices? I heare, by the report of other ambassadors here, of the return of the realme to the unitie of Christen church, wherof all good men have much cause to rejoyce. I would have been glad to have been able, at the least, to have confirmed the news by some certaine knowledge: but being the ordenarye of ambassadors of England, to

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knowe least of all others of the matiers of the realm, I must content my self; trusting that, as I am enformed, the ambassador ther hath lost his name: for that it is not thought necessarie the father to have an ambassador to the sonne, so shall with tyme, this office on this side being no more needfull then it is, be discharged also. Or if myne abode shall be longer, then wold I att lesure be a suter to you, to be a mean for besure to come over for three weeks, or a month, to see the king's highnes, and to doe his majesty my duty, and so to return. I mean no haste, but as matter and occasion may serve hereafter. Thus I committ you to the keeping of Almighty God. At Brussels, the 12th day of December, 1554.

Your most assuredly

JOHN MASONE.

12th of December, 1554.

To the right honourable sir Wm. Peter, kt., king and queen's principal secretarye.

NUMBER XXXIII.

Cardinal Pole's Commission to the Bishops, to reconcile all in their Diocesses to the Church of Rome.

[Ex Reg. Norwic. F. 58, b.]

REGINALDUS, Miseratione divina, Sanctæ Mariæ in Cosmedin Sanctæ Romanæ Ecclesiæ, Cardinalis Polus, Nuncupatus Sanctissimi Domini nostri Papæ, et Sedis Apostolicæ, ad Serenissimos Philippum et Mariam, Angliæ Reges, et universum Angliæ Regnum, de Latere Legatus. Venerabili, ac Nobis in Christo Dilecto, Episcopo Norwicensi, seu ejus in Spiritualibus [Vicario] Generali, Salutem in Domino sempiternam. Cum Sanctissimus in Christo Pater Dominus noster, Dominus Julius, divina Providentia Papa Tertius, inter alias Facultates, pro hujus Regni, omniumque Personarum in eo existentium, Sanctæ Ecclesiæ Catholicæ Reconciliationem faciendam necessarias, Nobis in nostra hac Legatione concessas, hanc specialiter indulgerit, ut quoscunque in Hæresium et Schismatis errores lapsos, ab iis, et à quibuscunque censuris et poenis propterea incursis, absolvere, et cum eis super irregularitate præmissorum occasione contracta dispensare, et alia multa ad hæc necessaria, seu quomodolibet opportuna facere. Et hoc idem munus Catholicis locorum Ordinariis, et aliis Personis Deum timentibus, fide insignibus, et Literarum scientia præditis, demandare possumus; prout in ejus Literis, tam sub plumbō, quam in forma brevis expeditis plenius continetur. Cumque Dei Benignitate, et Serenissimorum Regum Pietate, Regnum hoc universaliter, et omnes Domini, Spirituales et Temporales, aliæque Personæ communitatum, in eo quod proximè celebratum est, Parlamento congregato singulariter primo: Et deinde universum Corpus Cleri Provinciæ Cantuariensis, et omnes ferè Personæ singulæ dictum Corpus representantes, coram nobis existen', aliæque pleræque fuerint Sanctæ Ecclesiæ Catholicæ, per Nos ipsos reconciliate. Speramusque fore, ut omnes aliæ quæ reconciliate adhuc non sunt, reconciliari debeant; difficileque, et potius impossibile sit, ut tam numerosa Multitudo per Nos ipsos reconcilietur. Ideo vices nostras, in hoc, Locorum Ordinariis, et aliis Personis ut supra qualificatis, delegandas duximus: Circumspectioni igitur vestræ, de cujus Probitate, et Charitatis zelo, plenam in Domino Fiduciam obtinemus, Auctoritate Apostolica, Nobis, per Literas ejusdem Sanctissimi Domini nostri Papæ concessa, et per nos vobis nunc impensa, omnes et singulas utriusque Sexus, tam Laicas quam Ecclesiasticas, Seculares, et quorumvæ Ordinum Regulares vestræ Civitatis et

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Dioces' Personas, in quibusvis etiam Sacris Ordinibus constitutas, cujuscunque Status et Qualitatis existant, Etiam si Capitulum, Collegium, Universitas, seu Communitas fuerit, quarumvis Hæresum aut novarum Sectarum Professores, aut in eis culpabiles vel suspectas, ac credentes, receptatores, aut fautores eorum, suos errores agnoscentes, ac de illis dolentes; et ad orthodoxam Fidem recepi humiliter postulau' cognita in ipsis, vera, et non ficta, aut simulata * Potentia, ab omnibus et singulis Hæresum, Schismatis, et ab orthodoxa Fide, Apostasiarum et Blasphemiarum, et aliorum quorumcunque similium errorum; etiam sub generali Sermone non venientium peccatis, criminibus, excessibus et delictis; de quibus tamen jam inquisiti, vel accusati, seu condemnati non fuerint, et quibusvis Excommunicationis, Suspensionis, et Interdictorum, et aliis Ecclesiasticis et Temporalibus, Censuris et Pœnis, in eas præmissorum et infrascriptorum occasione, à Jure vel ab Homine latis vel promulgatis; etiam si in eis pluribus Annis insorderunt, et eorum Absolutio, dictæ Sedi etiam per Literas in Cœna Domini legi consuetas, reservata existat in utroque Conscientiæ, scilicet et contentioso foro, eos vero qui jam inquisiti, vel accusati, aut condemnati fuerint, ut præfertur, ad cor revertentes in foro Conscientiæ, tantum plenariè absolventur et liberentur. Necnon cum eis super irregularitate, per eos præmissorum occasione contracta, etiam quia sic Ligati, Missas et alia Divina Officia, etiam contra Ritus et Ceremonias hactenus probatas et usitatas celebraverint, aut illis alias se immiscuerint, contracta quoque irregularitate, et aliis præmissis non obstantibus, in suis Ordinibus, etiam ab Hæreticis et Schismaticis Episcopis, etiam minus ritè, dummodo in eorum collatione, Ecclesiæ Forma et Intentio sit servata, per eos susceptis, et in eorum susceptione; etiam si Juramentum contra Papatum Romanum præstiterint; etiam in Altaris Ministerio ministrare, ac quæcunque, quocunque, et qualiacunque; etiam Curata invicem tamen se Compatientia, Beneficia Secularia vel Regularia, Dignitatibus in Collegiatis, Ecclesiis Principalibus, et in Cathedralibus, etiam Metropolitanis post Pontificalem, majoribus exceptis; etiam à Schismaticis Episcopis, seu aliis Collatoribus; etiam Laicalis Pietatis prætextu habita, Auctoritate Apostolica retinere, dummodo alteri Jus quesitum non sit, et non F. 60, a. promotos ad omnes etiam Sacros, et Presbyteratus Ordines, à suis Ordinariis, si digni et idonei reperti fuerint, ritè et legitimè promoveri, ac Beneficia Ecclesiastica etiam curata, si eis alias canonicè conferantur, recipere et retinere valeant, qualitate temporis, Ministrorum defectu, et Ecclesiæ Necessitatibus, Utilitatibusque ita poscen' dispensand' et indulgend' ac omnem inhabilitatis et infamie maculam, sive notam, ac præmiss' quomodolibet insurgen' penitus et omnino abolend'. Necnon in pristinum, et eum in quo ante præmissa quomodolibet erant, Statum ita ut omnibus et singulis Gratis, Privilegiis, Favoribus et Indultis, quibus ceteri Christi Fideles gaudent, et gaudere quomodolibet possunt, uti et gaudere valeant, in omnibus, et per omnia; perinde ac si à Fide Catholica in aliquo nunquam defecissent, restituend' et reponend' et redintegrand', et eis, dummodo Corde contriti, sua errata et excessus, Circumspectioni vestræ, alicui alteri per eos eligend', Catholico Confessori sacramentaliter confituntur; et Peniten' salutare eis præmiss' injungend' omnino adimpleatur: omnem publicam Confessionem, Abjurationem, Renunciationem et Pœnitentiam, jure debiti arbitrio vestro moderan', vel in tot' remitten'. Necnon quoscunque Regulares et Religiosos, extra eorum

regularia loca, absque Sedis Apostolicæ Licentia, errantes ab Apostasiæ reatu et Excommunicationis, aliisque Censuris et Pœnis Ecclesiasticis, per eos propterea, etiam juxta suorum Ordinum instituta incur's, injuncta eis pro modocula, Pœnitentia salutari pariter absolvend': Et super quacuncq; irregularitate propterea, per eos contracta, ac cum eis ut alicui Curato Benefic' de illud obtinen' consensu, etiam in habitu Clerici Secularis, habitur' suum regularem sub honesta toga Presbyteri Secularis deferen', deservire, et extra eadem loca regularia remanere ad beneplacitum nostrum, liberè et licitè possunt, eadem Auctoritate Apostolica, ob defectum Ministrorum, et alias prædictas causas, dispensandi. Ac quoscunque quum in Sacris Ordinibus constituti, Matrimonia etiam cum Viduis et corruptis Mulieribus de fact' contraxerint, postquam Mulieres sic copulat' rejecerint illisque abjuraverint, ab hujusmodi excessibus, et Excommunicationis Sententia imposit', eis pro modo culpæ, Pœnitentia salutari, in forma Ecclesiæ consueta absolvend': Ac cum eis, postquam Pœnitentiam peregerint, et continenter ac laudabiliter vivere cogniti fuerint, super Bigamia propterea per eos contract'; Ita ut ea non obstan', in quibusvis susceptis et suscipiendis Ordinibus; etiam in Altaris Ministerio ministrare, ac alicui Beneficio Ecclesiastico, de illud obtinentis consensu, deservire; et extra tamen Diocesis, in qua fuit copulatus eisdem de caus' dispensand'. Necnon Prochilium Ecclesiarum tuarum Dioces' Rectores sive Curatos, de quorum Fide, Probitate, Circumspection' ac Charitatis zelo, plena Fiducia conspici possit, ad quarumcunque utriusque Sexus suar Parochiæ Personarum Laicarum, tantum Absolutionem, et Ecclesiæ Catholice Reconciliationem, ut præfertur, Auctoritate Apostolica, faciendam. Et si qui ex Curatis prædictis ad id idonei non fuerint, in eorum defectum alias idoneas et sufficientes Personas, qui eorum Vices suppleant nominand' et deputand' quas sic per eos nominat' et deputat' in locum nostrum in remissionibus, absolutionibus, et reconciliationibus substitutimus eisque vices nostras subdelegamus: plenam et liberam Auctoritate Apostolica nobis ut præmittitur concessa, tenore presentium concedimus Facultatem: vosque in præmissis omnibusque in nostrum locum substitutimus præmissis ac regula de insoedecen' et ordinationibus Apostolicis, et omnibus illis, quæ in Literis Prædictis Sanctitas sua voluit, non obstande, contrariis non obstantibus quibuscunque presentibus in præteritis casibus locum habent' et ad beneplacitum nostrum duraturis. Dat' Lambeth' prope Londin' Winton' Dioc' Anno à Nativitate Domini Millesimo Quingentesimo Quinquagesimo Quinto Quarto Calen' Februarii Pontificatus Sanctissimi in Christo Patris et Domini nostri Domini Julii Divina Providentia Papa Tertii Anno Quinto Regni.

CARLIS. POLUS, Leg.
M. ANTONIUS FAITA, Secr.

NUMBER XXXIV.

Articles of such things as be to be put in Execution.

[E Libro Memorandorum temp. Tho. Thirlby, Jo. Hopton, et Jo. Parkhurst, Epp. Norvic. in Reg. Prin. R. P. Dom. Ep. Norvic. F. 56.]

1. THE divorce of married priests according to the canons.
2. The restitution of them by penitence, thereupon to recommende them to other diocesses as penitents.
3. To certifie the exhillite of benefices, which for want of livings have no curats.
4. To certifie the counsaill of as maney as they

* L. Pœnitentia.

know to have taken into their hands the goods of the church.

5. To certifie what chauncells of benefices impropred by some * decaye, as they need present reparation; and to signifie therewith in whome the fault is.

6. Not to confirme aney lease of aneye benefice, to the prejudice of the successor.

7. To cause the churches decay'd with vacant fruits and goods, ministred with what remaineth in the executors' names.

8. To interrupt them that eat flesh by pretence of dispensation granted by the princes.

9. To appoint suche as dwell in scites of monasteries, to repaire to some church for to hear the servyce.

10. To keep the registre for buryeing, christninge, and marriage.

11. A fourme of sute for layemen to receyve their tythe in spiritual courts.

Instructions given by the Cardinal to the Bishops, and their Officials.

SINGULI Domini Episcopi, necnon Officiales Ecclesiarum quæ nunc vacant pro executione eorum quæ à Reverendissimo Domino Legato sunt eis demandata Ordinem quam infrascript est, poterint observare.

Primum vocatum ad se totum singularum civitatum, quibus singuli presunt Clerum, de hiis quæ sequuntur, instituire procurabunt.

De Paterno Amore et Charitate quam Sanctissimus Dominus noster Julius Papa Tertius erga Nationem Anglicam declaravit, qui ut primum cognovit Serenissimam Mariam fuisse Reginam declaratam Reverendissimum Dominum Reginaldum Cardinalem Polum de suo Latere ad has Partes Legatum misit ut Regnum hoc tot jam Annos ab Ecclesia Catholica separatum, ad ejus unionem reducere, et in errorem lapsos Consolari atque in Dei Gratiam restituere studeret.

De ejusdem Domini Legati adventu, quanta lætitia et honore is exceptus fuerit tum à Serenissimis Regibus, tum ab aliis omnibus.

De hiis quæ in Proximo Parlamento Acta et conclusa sunt. Scilicet de omnibus Dominis de Parlamento et Universo Regno à Schismate et Censuris incursis absolutis et Ecclesie Catholice, reconciliatis: de omnibus Legibus quæ contra Autoritatem Sedis Apostolicæ et Romani Pontificis fuerant per Henricum Octavum et Edwardum Sextum latæ et promulgatæ, revocatis et abolitis. De restituta Sanctissimo Domino nostro Papæ et Ecclesie Romanæ eadem Obedientia quæ ante hoc perniciosissimum Schisma prestabatur.

De Auctoritate Episcopis restituta et maxime ut possint contra Hereticos et Schismaticos procedere,

F. 57, a. et eos juxta Canonicas Sanctiones coercere et punire: hiis ita expositis veniant ad Facultates sibi ad eodem Reverendissimo D. Legato concessas, quæ recitentur, et hic omnes qui in Schismata vel alios Errores lapsi sunt invitentur ad Absolutionem et Reconciliationem humiliter et ex toto corde petendam. Necnon dispensationes tam super Ordinibus quam super beneficiis Necessarias et opportunas postulandas; deinde præfigatur dies infra quem dicti de Clero Humiles et Penitentes compareant ad petendum suppliciter Absolutionem, Reconciliationem et Dispensationes Prædictas: secundum vero Dominium Episcopi postquam illi omnibus Erroribus suis renunciaverint et promiserint Sacramentaliter ipsis, aut alteri Sacerdoti Catholico Confessuros esse Errores suos Penitentiam sibi injungendam adimpleturos eos absolvent, et Ecclesie reconciliabunt, et cum ipsis

juxta formam Facultatum perpetendum Necessitatibus prout sibi visum fuerit, dispensabunt: adhibendo semper convenientem distinctionem inter eos, qui solum in schisma et hereses inciderunt, et eos qui ea etiam Publicè docuerunt et alios ad peccandum induxerunt.

Eodem Die constituetur Dies Festus et Solemnis in quo astante in Ecclesia Populi Multitudine Domini Episcopi omnes Curati Ecclesiis suis, omnia eadem quæ Clero jam exposita fuerunt Populo quoque; insinuant et omnes invitabant Paternæ et cum omni affectu, ut agnitis erroribus suis ad Ecclesie Catholice gremium revertantur: promittendo fore, ut omnibus, preterita Crimina omnia condonentur et remittantur modo eos ex animo illorum peniteat, et illis renuncient. Præfigatur autem terminus, ut pote tota paschatis Octava, infra terminum omnes Ecclesie reconciliantur alioquin eo lapso contra ipsos et eos qui post, reconciliationem ad vomitum aversi fuerint severissime procedetur, dicatur etiam de Facultate concessa à Reverendissimo Domino Legato Episcopis, et aliis ut absolvere possint, omnes quicumque ad vos reversi fuerint.

Idem Domini Episcopi et Officiales nominabunt et deputabunt, Ecclesiarum Parochialium Rectores seu alias Personas idoneas, quæ Laicos ab Heresi, Schismate, et quibuscunque Censuris absolvant juxta Facultatum Formam et tenorem. Data per Episcopos formula quæ in Absolutione et Reconciliatione uti debeant.

Eadem poterint cum Clero totius Diocesis observari prout commodius visum fuerit. Domini Episcopi et officiales præfati, necnon omnes Curati seu alii ad id deputati, habeant Librum in quo nomen et cognomen Parochianorum reconciliatorum inscribantur: et postea sciatur qui fuerint reconciliati et qui non.

Idem Domini Episcopi et Officiales Octava Paschatis elapsa poterint facere visitationem Civitatis primo, deinde Diocesis et se qui non fuerint reconciliati, poterint eos ad se vocare, et cognoscere propter quas ab erroribus suis nolint recedere, et si in eis obstinate perseverarint, tum contra eos procedent.

In hac secunda visitatione attendant diligenter quæ in hoc brevi compendio sunt notata, et maxime faciant ut omnes Ecclesiasticæ Personæ ostendant Titulos suorum Ordinum et Beneficiorum, ut si in eis aliquis alius defectus in sit illis, provideant et omni studio procurent ut Errores quibus Dioceses eorum sint infectæ extirpentur, ut veritas fidei tum in concionibus tum in confessionibus doceatur: deputando Personas idoneas ad conciones faciendas, et confessiones audiendas. Id et curent; ut Sacrorum Canonum instituta in omnibus observentur et Nomen Divi Thomæ Martyris necnon Sanctissimi Domini nostri Papæ ex Libris dispunctum in illis restituant et pro eo secundum morem Ecclesie ut ante Schisma fiebat oretur.

In publicationibus hujusmodi erit ante omnia facienda commemoratio miseriarum et in felicitatis preteritorum temporum et Magnæ Gratiæ, quam nunc Deus pro sua Misericordia Populo huic exhibuit, hortando omnes ad hæc grato animo cognoscendum, et infinitas Grantias Divinæ ipsius Bonitatis assidue agendum.

Hortandi et sunt omnes ut devote orent Deum pro Salute et Felici statu horum Serenissimorum et de hoc Regno optimè meritorum et merentium Regum et specialiter pro filici statu Serenissimæ et Piissimæ Reginæ.

Faithfully transcribed from the old book aforementioned, with which collated by

THOM. TANNER.

NUMBER XXXV.

The Process and Condemnation of Bishop Hooper, and the Order given for his Execution.

Condemnatio Johannis Hooper super Articulis Hæreticam pravitatem concernentes.

Acta Die Lunæ xxviii. Die Januarii Anno Domini in sequendo computationem Ecclesiæ Anglicanæ m.ccccc.lmiii. in Ecclesia Parochiali Sancti Salvatoris in Burgo de Southwarke Winton' Dioc' eorum Reverendo Patre Domino Stephano Permissione Divina Winton' Episcopo, &c. Auctoritate sua Ordinaria illic judicialiter seden' assisten' sibi Reverend' in Christi Patribus Episcopis, &c. In Presentia nostra Antonii Husey, Roberti Johnson, et Willielmi Day, Notarii, &c.

Quibus Die et loco Productus fuit in Judicium Joannes Hooper Clericus de et super Hæretica pravitate, Publicè et Notoriè infamatus: cui dictus Reverendus Pater palam proposuit, quod cum ipse Superiori Die eoram eodem

Officium	Consilio Dominorum Regis et Reginæ ad
Dominum	hoc specialiter destinatis evocabatur et
contra	exhortatus fuerat, ut agnoscens transactæ Vitæ suæ

Hooper. et ibidem quod si adhuc se reconciliare vellet, libenter in gremium Sanctæ Matris Ecclesiæ reciperetur. Et ipse Johannes Hooper non solum facere renuit, verum etiam in nonnullas Blasphemias impudenter perripuit. Et deinde Dominus Episcopus, &c. inter cæteros complures Articulos, et Capita, hos sequentes eidem Johanni Hooper specialiter objecit.

In Primis, Quod Tu Johannes Hooper, existens Presbyter et Religiosus, Regula à Jure approbata expressè professus, quandam Mulierem de facto, cum de jure non debuisti, in Uxorem, sive Conjugem accepisti; et cum illa, tanquam Uxore et Conjuge tua cohabitasti in nephariis et illicitis cum ea amplexibus cohabitando, Matrimoniumque pretensa hujusmodi licita, et de jure divino valida fuisse, et esse, tam infra Dioc' Winton', quam alias quamplures Dioc' hujus Regni Angliæ, asseruisti, prædicasti, docuisti, Librisque editis publicasti et defendisti, et sic asseris et credis in præsentia. Et ministramus conjunctim, et de quolibet.

Ad quem quidem Articulum respondet et fatetur, Se Presbyterum et Religiosum professum, quandam Mulierem in Uxorem legitime accepisse, et cum eadem tanquam cum Uxore legitima cohabitasse: Et quod hujusmodi Matrimonia, in locis prædictis, licita, et de Jure divino valida fuisse, et esse, asseruit, prædicavit, docuit, et Libris editis publicavit et defendit; sicque asserit, credit, et defendere paratus est in præsentia, ut dicit.

Secundo, Quod Tu Joannes Hooper, in locis prædictis, asseruisti, prædicasti, docuisti, et Libris editis publicasti et defendisti; sicque credis, tenes, asseris et defendis, Quod propter Culpam Fornicationis, sive Adulterij commissam, Personæ legitime conjugatæ, possunt ex Verbo Dei, ejusque Auctoritate ac Ministerio ab invicem pro Adulterio à Vinculo Matrimonij separari et divorciari: Sicque licebit Viro aliam accipere in Uxorem; et Mulieri similiter, alium accipere in Maritum.

Ad quem quidem Articulum respondit affirmativè, Quodque paratus est defendere contenta in eodem, contra omnes Adversarios, esse vera, de Jure divino et humano.

Tertio, Quod Tu, locis prædictis, asseruisti, tenuisti, publicasti, libris editis docuisti et defendisti; sicque credis, asseris, tenes, et defendis in præsentia, Quod in Eucharistia, sive Sacramento Altaris, verum et naturale Christi Corpus, et verus et naturalis Christi Sanguis, sub speciebus Panis et Vini verè non est: Et quod ibi est materialis Panis, et materiale Vinum tantum, absque veritate et præsentia Corporis et Sanguinis Christi.

Ad quem quidem Articulum, sub hoc contemptu verborum, respondit; viz. "That the very natural body of Christ is not really and substantially in the Sacrament of the Altar: saying also, that the mass is the iniquity of the devil; and that the mass is an idol."

Premissis expeditis, Dominus assignavit eidem Johanni Hooper, ad comperendum in hoc loco crastina die, inter Horas 8m et 9m ante Meridiem, ad vidend' ulteriorem Processum, &c. Quibus Die et Loco, inter Horas assignatas, coram dicto Reverendo Patre, Winton' Episcopo, &c. Assistantibus sibi Reverendis Patribus, &c. in nostra Notariorum prædictorum Præsentia, rursus comperuit dictus Johannes Hooper, quem Dominus Episcopus Wintoniensis, multis rationibus, ad sese reconciliandum, suasit et exhortavit: Dictus tamen Johannes Hooper, in Pertinacia et Malicia sua perseverans, perripuit in Blasphemias, dicendo etiam publicè, "That matrimony is none of the seven sacraments: and that if it be a sacrament, he can prove seven-score sacraments." Deinde Dominus Episcopus, perspecta ejus pertinaci duritia, tandem tulit contra eum Sententiam definitivam, in Scriptis condemnando eum pro Hæretico et Excommunicato: Et consequenter eum tunc ibidem tradidit Curiæ Seculari, atque in manus Davidis Woodroff, et Willielmi Chester, Vicecomit' Civitatis Londini; qui eundem Johannem Hooper tunc secum abduxerunt. Super cujus Sententiæ Prolatione et Lectura, idem Reverendus Pater requisivit nos Notarios, &c. ad conficiendum Instrumentum, Testesque subscript' ad perhibendum Testimonium, &c. Præsentibus tunc ibidem Nobilibus et Egregiis Viris, &c. et aliis quampluribus, in Multitudine copiosa tunc ibidem congregatis, &c.

Faithfully transcribed from a folio book of proceedings in ecclesiastical courts, collected in queen Mary's, or the beginning of queen Elizabeth's time, by Anthony Style, notary publick; now in the hands of

THOM. TANNER.

NUMBER XXXVI.

The Queen's Letter, ordering the Manner of Hooper's Execution.

[Cott. Libr. Cloop. E. 5.]

RIGHT trusty and well-beloved, &c. Whereas John Hooper, who of late was called bushop of Worcester and Gloucester, is, by due order of the lawes ecclesiastique, condemned and judged for a moste obstinate, false, detestable heretique, and committed to our secular power, to be burned according to the holosome and good lawes of our realme in that case provided. Forasmuche as in those ctytes, and the diocesse therof, he hath in tymes paste preached and taught most pestilent heresydes and doctryne to our subjects there: we have therefore geven order, that the said Hooper, who yet persisteth obstinate, and hath refused mercy when it

was graciously offred, shall be put to execution in the sayd cytie of Gloucester, for the example and terror of suche as he hath there seduced and mistaught, and bycause he hath doone moste harme there. And woll that you, calling unto you some of reputation dwelling in the shire, such as ye thinke best, shall repayre unto our said cytye, and be at the said execution, assisting our mayor and shrieves of the same cytie, in this behalf. And forasmuche also as the said Hooper is, as heretiques be, a vain-glorious person, and delyteth in his tongue, and having liberty, may use his sayd tongue to perswade such as he hath seduced, to persist in the miserable opinion that he hath sown among them : our pleasure is therefore, and we require you to take order, that the said Hooper be neither, at the tyme of his execution, nor in goyng to the place therof, suffred to speak at large ; but thither to be ledde quietly, and in sylence, for eschuyng of further infection, and such inconvenience, as may otherwise ensue in this parte. Whereof sayle not, as ye tender our pleasure.

A true copy of an old paper in my custody, which seems to be the first draught of a letter from the queen to the lord Chandois, &c. who went to see execution done on bishop Hooper.

THOM. TANNER.

NUMBER XXXVII.

A Letter of Bishop Hooper's to Bullinger, written out of Prison.

[Paper Office.]

Hooperus Bullingero.

GRATIAM et Pacem à Domino. Literas tuas, Computar Charissime, datas 'Tigur' 10 Octobris, 11 Decembris accepi. Fuere mihi per jucundæ, quia plenæ Consolationis. Ex quibus, Animum, Amorem, et Pietatem tuam erga me pristinam, facili intellexi. Habeo tibi Gratias immortales, quod hisce Temporibus difficillimis, nostri non te caput oblivio: Semper te, ob eximias tuas Virtutes, et præclara Dei in te Dona, præ cæteris amavi. Et quod à me, uti scribis, hactenus per annum integrum nullas acceperis Literas; hoc accedit, non quia non scripserim, sed quas scripseram parum candidis reddendas commisi. Nec omnes quas ad me miseras accepi, sed vel in Curia Tabellarij perire, vel invidia malorum fuerant interceptæ. Idem accidit et Literis et Libello Domini Theodori. Nam de Concione Domini in monte, quam mihi destinavit, nihil intellexi, usque ad aliquot dies post mortem Sanctissimi Regis nostri Edwardi. Et id quidem in Confinibus Valliæ, in bibliotheca pij cujusdam Viri, quem Ecclesiis quibusdam Decanum constitui. Sed quas nunc scripsisti omnibus Concaptivis meis Fratribus, legendas curabo mitti. Incolunitatem et Constantiam vestræ Ecclesiæ, vobis omnibus gratulor: Et Deum precor, propter Filium suum Jesum Christum, illam, contra Tyrannidem Antichristi semper muniat, ac defendat. Apud nos, in integrum, vulnus quod accepit, sanatum est; et pro Capite Ecclesiæ denuò habetur, qui Membrum Ecclesiæ Christi non est. Ab aliis, Res nostras, et Statum Reipublice intelliges. Versamur in maximis periculis, quemadmodum hactenus, jam per sesquiannum fermè. Indies hostes Evangelij magis ac magis negotium facessunt. In carcere seorsim servamur, et omni ignominiarum fastidio afficimur: Mortem quotidie minitantur; quam nihili facimus. Ferrum et flammam, in Christo Jesu, fortiter contemnimus. Scimus cui credimus; et certi sumus, quod animas nostras deposituri sumus bene faciendo. Interim adjuvate nos vestris Precibus, ut qui in nobis bonum opus incepit, perficiat usque in finem. Domini sumus; faciat quod videatur bonum

in oculis suis. Rogo, ut subinde digneris Literis tuis Uxorem meam, modestissimam et piam mulierem consolari; et exhortari, ut studiosè Liberos nostros, Rachelem Filiolam tuam, optimæ indolis adolescentulam, ac Filium Danielem piè educat, in Cognitione et Timore Dei. Præterea, tuæ Pietati jam mitto duos Libellos legendos, judicandos, ac corrigendos, si quæ occurrant, Verbo Dei parum Convenientia: Cui Titulum feci, "Hyperaspinus de vera Doctrina et Usu Cœnæ Domini;" quem Senatui Angliæ dedicavi hoc nomine, ut publicè, in Curia Parlamenti, adversariis nostris respondeamus. Alteri Titulum feci, "Syntagma, de falsa Religione dignoscenda et fugienda." Et rogo, ut quam citissimè fieri possit, imprimantur. Hic, apud omnes pios et doctos, uterque Liber est approbatus. Scripsi præterea multas Literas alias ad Episcopos, ut Libros in Parlamento promoverent, et illos imprimi etiam cupio, ut omnes intelligant, quam iniquè et injustè nobiscum agitur. Non opus est, ut multa hac de re scribas: Ex ipsis Libellis et Literis, faciliè intelligi quod volo. Et si Froscoverus vester aliis gravioribus Libris impediatur imprimendis; rogo, ut Basileam mittat, ad D. Operinum, qui valdè castè imprimit, et omnia nitidè in lucem emittit. Hoc faciet, scio, modò Libelli tuis Literis ad se veniunt commendati: Quod ut facias, vehementer oro. Nihil est quod mihi metuatis, quasi propter Libellos atrocius et severius hostes Evangelij sevient: Habeo Salutis meæ fidelissimum Custodem, et Propugnatorem, Patrem nostrum Cælestem, per Christum Jesum, cui meipsum totum commendavi: Illius Fidei ac Tutelæ meipsum commendo; si dies meos elongaverit, faxit, ut sint ad Gloriam Nominis sui; sin huic brevi et flagitiosæ Vitæ finem voluit, æque duco, Fiat Voluntas illius. Quia furtim scribo, breviores et perturbatores Literas tuæ præstantiæ facio, quas boni consule quæso. Raptim ex Carcere xi Decembris 1554. Saluta officiosè castam tuam Conjugem, cum tota tua Familia, domi et foris, ac alios omnes ut nosti.

Tuæ præstantiæ ut debeo Studiosissimus

J. HOOPERUS.

Inscriptio.—Præstantissimo Viro, Domino Henrico Bullingero, Compatri suo longè Charissimo Tiguri.

NUMBER XXXVIII.

A Letter of Mason's, concerning a Treaty began with France, and of the Affairs of the Empire.

AFTER my hearty commendations. Your last was of the xxiid of the last month, and my last to you wer of the viith of this present. By these you shall understand that the emperor hath appointed Monsieur de L'Allain, governor of Hennalt; Monsieur de Bonningcourt, governor of Arthoys; the bishop of Arras, the president of the counsel here, named Viglius; and the president of the counsel of Malynes; to resort to Gravelyngh, for the trefyng of a peaxe with soch others as may lyke the Frenche kyng to send to Ardres; wherof the connestable, and the cardinal of Lorraine, he hath alredey appointed. But by reason of the death of the pope, I thinke the cardinal of Lorraine goeth an other way. In whose place ys to be thought some other shall be appointed, with the others, to answer to the numbre assigned by the emperor. The cardynal and my lord chawncelor came out of hand to Callais to be mediator on the queen's behalf, to bring these prynces, yf their will be, to some composition. O Lorde, assist them so with his grace, as Christendome may have a treattyng tyme. The ivth of this month the king and queen went to Hampton-Court to keep their Easter; wheather Easter done they retorne to London, or goo to

Wyndesor, the certentye ys not yet knowen. Bolls of Cambridgeshire, and sir Peter Mewtas, remayne still in prison. The first in the Tower, and thother in the Fleete, and lyle words made of them; so yt is thought the suspition was more vehement then founde to be of any grete ground. The dean and prebendaries of Westminster have laidsore lawe to defend th'alteration of the church into an abbay; in which matter Dr. Cole sheweth hymself very stowte, alleging that monks have no institution of Christ, wherein prestis have the advantage of them, &c. What thende will be yt is not known; but yt is feared they shall be put to chose, whether they will depart with their wills, or against their wills.

The emperor hath, by reason of his long unseasonable cold, ben very ill handled of his gowte, wherof he is now indifferently well amended.

The princes of Almayne do moche myslyke the arryving of cardinal Moron at Augusta; for the satisfaction of whom the emperor hath given full auctoryte to the kynge his brother, as so ys the cardinal lyke to retayne, "con la picca in sacco." The duke of Alva ys not yet departed owt of England; neither yet in the way, so far as I can yet here, albeit his baggage and a good number of his company are arrived at Callais. On Tuesday last, the ambassadors, or agents, name them as you will, of Cremona, Novaria, and Lodi, passing between Dover and Callais, hitherword, wer taken by a French shallop; but it is thought they shall shortly be set at liberty, as well for that they were publycke persons, and not subjects to the emperor, as for that they were taken out of an English vessel. Their money and baggage is saved, whatsoever is become of their persons. Thus for lack of other matter I bid you most hartely well to fare. From Bruxells the xivth day of April, 1555.

Your own most assuredly,

JOHN MARONE.

Endorsed—To the honourable Mr. Petre Vannes, the queen's majestie's ambassador at Vennis.

This letter is faithfully transcribed from the original in the hands of

THOM. TANNER.

NUMBER XXXIX.

A Translation of Charles the Vth's Letters, resigning the Crown of Spain to King Philip.

[Paper-Office.]

To our counselours, justyces, the nobilyte, curats, knights, and squiers; all kinde of ministers, and offycers; and all other our learn'd men within that our town of Tolledo, greeting. By such letters as I have from time to tyme taken order to be wrytten unto you, since my departing out of the kingdome of Spain, you have fully bene advertised of the successes of myne affayres; and namely how that for religion's sake I enterprised the warre of Almayne, uppon the great desire I had, as reasone was; and according to my bounden dewty to reduce, and to returne agayne those countreys into the unite of the church, procuring and seeking by all the means I could, to sett peas and quietnes in all the estates of Christendome, and do what might be done for the assembling and assisting of a general counsaile, bothe for the necessarye reformation of many things; and so draw home also therby, with lesse difficultye, such as had separated themselves, and were swerved from the Catholike faith of Christ. Which my great desyre having brought, by God's goodnes, to a very good point; the French kynge suddenly, without all reasone, or any good foundation, alluring to hisayde the Allmaynes,

and making a league with them, agaynst theire othes and fydelties, brake with me, and opened the warre agaynst me, bothe by sea and the land. And not satisfied herewith, he procured the coming of the Turques' armye to the notable damage of Christendome; and namely of our estates and seigneueries; wherby I was forced and dryven to bring an armye to my no little trouble, aswell by my great payns taken in myne own persone in the felde, as by my travell otherwise; which thereuppon I was constrained to endure, in the treating and maynayng of sundry urgent and great matters daylie and continually falling out upon the same, which were the greates and in effect the only occasions of the greates and painefull infirmity and indisposition of my body, which I have since had these yerres passed, and yet have, wherby I find my self so encumbered, and so destitute of healthe, that not onely have I been, or am able by myne own persone, to discharge such a travell, and to use such a diligence in resolutions, as was requysite; but have also, which I do confesse, been a lett and an hindrance to sundry things wherof I have had and now have a greates conseyne. And I wold to God I had sooner taken therein such an order as I now am determyned to take: which nevertheles for many considerations I could not well doe, in the absence of the high and mighty prince the king of England and Naples, and my right dear and right well-beloved sonne: for that it was necessary many things to be first communicated unto him, and to be treated with him. And for this purpose, after the marriage put in dew execution with the high and excellent princesse the queen of England, I lastly took order for his coming hither: and within a short tyme after, I took order to resigne, and to renounce unto him, lyke as I have done all those my estates, kingdomes, and seigneueries, of the crown of Castella and Leon, with all their membes and appertennes, in such sorte as more fully and more amply is conteyned in such instruments as I have signed and agreed unto of the date of these presents; trusting that with his greates wysedome and experience, wherof I have hitherto had a right greates prooffe in all such things as have been passed and handled by him for me, and in my name, he will now for himself, and in his own name, govern, order, defend, and mainteyne the same with peas and justice. And not doubting but that according unto your olde and comendable loyaltye, fayth, love, and obedyence, which you have borne, and do beare, both to him and to me; wherof for my parte I have had always large experyence by your deeds, you will serve him and obey him as apperteyneth to my trust and your duties, for the good-will borne to you so many yeeres. Commanding you, nevertheles, and straightly charging you that displaying and setting upp banners, and doing all other ceremonies and solemnities requysite, and which have been accustomed to have been done in like cases, for the dew execution of the purpose above sayed, in the same manner and sorte as yf God had taken me unto his mercy, you doe obey, serve, and honour, from henceforth the saide king, accomplishing his will and pleasure in all such things as he shall by word and writing command you, as you ought to do to your true and natural lord and king; even as you have, and ought to have, during my reigne passed to you from me: wherin besydes that you shall doe your dueties, and do that as you are bound to doe, you shall doe unto me acceptable pleasure. Given at Brussells the 17th of Januarie, 1556.

Copie of the lettre sent by the emperor to sundry estates in Spaine, upon the resigning of the same unto the king's majestie, turned out of Spanish into English.

NUMBER XL.

A Remembrance of those Things that your Highnes's pleasure was I shold put in writing, as most convenient, in my pore judgment, to be commoned and spoken of by your Majestie, with your counsell, called to your presence thys afternoone.

[Written in the hand of Cardinal Pole.—Titus, B. 2, P. 177.]

FURST of al, that your majestie shold put them yn remembrance of the charge the kyng's highnes gave them at his departure ; which beyng reduced to certain articles, and put in writing, it seemeth wel if some of the lords for ther sudden departure after ther charge had not the same in writing, that it were rehersed and given unto them with exhortation to employ al ther diligence for the due execution therof.

And whereas amongst other charges, thys was one, that those that be named in the first parte counsellours, were al to be present in the courte, thys first your highnes may require them that they do observe : specially beside, for the weight of the matters that be now in hand ; the tyme besyde being so shorte, after the parliament to examyn them. And that the kyng's plesure ys, as the matters be proposed in the counsell, afore the further execution of them, to be ynformed therof, to knoe his pleasure theryn. And amongst other, hys majestie beyng in expectation to know the uttre resolution of the counsell, twichyng those matters that be to be intreatyd in thys parliament. Thys ys that your majestie looketh of them thys day, to send with all spede to the kyng's highnes.

And wheras for the dylation of the kyng's comyng, your majestie thought it well to put in consulte, whether it were better therfor to make a dilation and prorogation of the parliament to Candelmas, beyng thought bey ther opinion, that for necessite of money that is to be demanded in the parliament, and otherwyse can not be provided, the prorogation of that should be much dispendiose. Your majestie not disallowing ther deliberation ; but consydering wyth all the great need of money for to be had, for the discharge of the present necessite, which requyreth present provision of money, as is for the settynge forth of the ships, as wel for the emperor's passage to Spain, as for the kyng's return.—And besyde thys, for the payment of that is dew at Calise, as for your credyte wyth the merchants approchyng the day of payment ; and for the dett of Ireland also, of al these it may please your majestie to know thys day of your counsell what is don.

And bycause the most ordynarie and just way, touching the provision of money to pay your highnes's detts, is to call in your own detts ; which charge hath been specially committed afore, and is principally considered and renewed in the writing the kyng's highnes left tuchyng such affayres, that his counsell shold presently attend into, wher be ther names also that same : the charges speciall therfore, your majestie shall do wel this day to charge them with the same ; that with all diligence they attend to the prosecution therof, givynge them all autoryte that shal be necessary for them, to make the most spedy expedition theryn. Wylling them withall, that they never let pass one week, but in the end of the same, at the least, your majestie may know specially of that is coming yn, and that order is taken for the rest.

Also yf it pleasyd your majestie in generall, for all matters whych be intreated in the counsell, which requyre commission and execution, to give thys order, that those that have had commission to execute any matter, let never passe the weke, but they ynforme

the counsell what execution is made of ther commys-sions : and that the counsell themselves should never begyn entretance of new matters the second week ; but that they have information first, what is done in those which wer commytted to be executyd the week afore ; I think it should help much to the spedy expedition of all causes. Thys ys my poore advyse, remitted al to the godly and prudent judgment of your majestie.

NUMBER XLI.

Some Directions for the Queen's Council ; left by King Philip.

[Cott. Lib. Titus, B. 1.]

IMPRIMIS, pro meliori et magis expedita Deliberatione, in iis quæ in Consilio nostro agenda sunt ex reliquis consiliariis nostris ; eos, quorum Nomina sequuntur, seligendos putavimus ; quibus specialem Curam omnium Causarum Status, Finantiarum, et aliarum Causarum Graviorum Regni, committendam duximus et committimus.

Legatus Cardinalis Polus, in Causis magnis, ubi voluerit, et commodè poterit.

D. Cancellarius, D. Thesaurarius, Comes de Arundell, Comes de Pembroke, Episcopus Eliensis, D. Paget, Mr. Rochester Comptroller, Mr. Petre Secretarius.

Consilij prædicti omnes et singuli erunt presentes in Aula, et intelligent, et considerabunt omnes Causas Status, omnes Causas Financiarum, Statum Possessionum, Debitorum, et quomodo Debita cum honore solvi possint ; et generaliter, omnes alias Causas majoris momenti, tangentes Honorem, Dignitatem, et Statum Coronæ.

Et quo melius Consilium Nobis dare possint, hortamur eos in Domino, quod omnem discordiam, si quæ inter eos sit, mutuo remittentes, concorditer, amicè, et in timore Dei, ea in Consiliis proponant et dicant, quæ Dei Gloriam, Nostrum et Regni nostri Honorem et Utilitatem, promovere possint.

Volumus, quod quoties aliqua erit Ocasio, Nos adeant, vel aliquos ex se mittant, per quos intelligere possimus Deliberationes suas, in omnibus Causis quæ coram eis proponuntur, et ad minus ter qualibet Septimana, referant Nobis quæ fuerint per eos acta et deliberata.

Dicti Consilij deliberabunt de Parlamento, quo tempore habendum sit, et quæ in eodem agi et proponi debeant : Et quæ agenda et proponenda videbuntur in Parlamento, in Scriptis redigi volumus, ante Parliamenti initium.

Quod singulis diebus Dominicis, communicent reliquis Consiliariis presentibus, ea quæ videbuntur eis communicanda.

Quod habeant specialem Curam pro Debitorum solutione, diminutione Sumptuum, et provida gubernatione et collectione Reddituum, Terrarum, Possessionum et Vectigalium, et pro Administratione Justitiæ.

NUMBER XLII.

A Letter to the Ambassadors concerning the Restitution of Calais.

[Paper-Office.]

AFTER our right harty commendations to your good lordships, by our last letters of the 4th of this month, we signified unto you our well lyking of your opinions, to have the matter touching Calleys moved in the parliament : and that we being also of the same mynde our selfs, ment to propose the case there with all the

expedition we might, and to make you answer of that sholde be farther resolved therein, as shortly as we could. Since which tyme, uppon consultation had amongst our selfs, how the matter shold best be opened and used there: and being of opinion, as we have byn from the begynning, that it were not convenient to have the same broken to the hole house, but only to the nobilitie, and some other of the best and gravest sort; we thought it also necessarie, before we proceeded any farther, both to declare our opinions unto the Queen's majestie, and to understande her highness's good pleasure and resolution therein. Whose majestie, uppon the opening thereof unto her, thought mete for good respects, we sholde fyrst write unto the King's highnes to such effect, as by the coppie of our letters presently addressed to his majestie, for that purpose (which you shall receyve herewith), you may at better length perceyve; and then understanding his highnes' answer, sholde either goe forward with our former deliberacion, or otherwyse use the matter, as we sholde see cause. Wherefore, lyke as we have thought good to give your lordships knowledge by these, so when we shall have receyved the King's majesties answer herein, we will not fayle to signify unto you with diligence, what shall be farther resolved touching this matter. And in the mean tyme, we byd your good lordships right hartely well to fare.

The Queen's majestie remaineth yet still both sicke and very weak; and although we hope of her highnesses amendment, for the which we daylye praye, yet are we dryven both to feare and mistrust the worst; which we beseeche Almighty God to remedye, when it shall lyke hym.

After that we had written the letters inclosed to the King's majestie, we receyved yours of the 4th of this instant; by the which we do understande, that the French commissioners contynue still of the same mind that they were at your meeting with them, not to leave the possession of Callais. By your sayd letters appeareth also, that the King's majestie tolde you, that his commissioners were agreed with the French well nere upon all matters; and that his highnes nevertheless wolde not agree to any conclusion, but that the Queen's majestie sholde be fyrst satisfied for the matters of this realme.

After that we had considered the effect of these your letters, considering of what importance the leaving of Callice is for this realm; howe much it wolde touche the honour of their majesties, and of this crowne, that so many restitutions being made on bothe sydes, this sholde be suffred to passe unrestored; and fynally, howe yll the subjects of this realme will digest this matter, if there sholde any suche thing be agreed unto; we neither can of our selfs well consider what to answer, nor think mete to propose it to the parliament, untill we may yet once agayne heare from you. And where policy fayleth, we are compelled to use playnes. You knowe these warres wherein Calice is lost, began at the King's majesties request, and for his sake. We do consider, that other his majesties freends and confederats be restored to things taken many yeres past. And what may be judged in this realme, if this peas be concluded, and Calice left in the French king's hands, so many other restitutions being made, it may be easily considered. On the other syde, his majesties commissioners being so nere an agreement for all other matters, muche were to be indured for the welthe of Christendome.

And it hath byn consideryd here, howe much this realme is travayled and spent allready with these warres.

These things being amongst us consideryd, knowing his majesties gracious disposition and favour towards

this realme, we think good your lordships doe plainly open these considerations to hym, in such good sorte as you may think good. And fyrst to desyre to understande his majesties disposition playnely, if you may for Calice: the remainyng whereof in the French king's hands, doth as much importe for his Lowe Countries as for this realme.

And secondly, that it may please his majesty to gyve us his good advise for our further doings, and manner of proceeding in this matter; wherein albeit our meaning is to use the advise of the rest of our nobilitie and parliament, yet do we stay that to do, untill we have answer again from you, and understande his majesties playne and determinate answer therein. And we doe hartely pray your lordships to use your accustomed good wisdomes in the good opening of the premisses, and to send us answer as soon as you may.

November the 8th, 1558.

Minute from the counsell unto the Earle of Arrundell, and the rest of the commissioners beyonde the sees.

NUMBER XLIII.

A Letter of the Ambassadors concerning Calais.—An Original.

[Paper-Office.]

AFTER our right heartie commendacions to your good lordships, by Francisco Thomas the post, we have receyvid two letters from your lordships. The first of the 29th of the last month; and the later, of the first of this present. With other letters directed to the king's majestie; upon the receipt wherof, we having mette together, and consulted upon the contentes of the same, datermynd to open to the kinge's majestie by our letters, the matters wherof your lordships wrote unto us; for his majestie is not in these parties heere, but is at Bruxelles, or beyond. The copy of our letter to his majestie in that behalfe, we send your lordships heerwith. And where your lordships wryte unto his majestie, that by our letters doth appeare that the French king by no means will leave the possession of Callais: and that he would rather hazard his crown, then to consent to the restitution of it: true it is, that we wrote to your lordships, that the French commissioners yn their conference with us, and with the king's commissioners, have ever refused to consent to the restitution of Callais. And that the French have declared to one of the king's commissioners, that the French king, for to hazard his crowne, will not forgo Callais. And albeit that for because of the good face sett upon that matter by the French commissioners, we somewhat mistrusted, that that which they spoke was the king their maisters detyrminacion: yet indeed did we not affirm it to be so. No, nor did not then utterly despayre, but that the French, yf they wer kept somewhat shorte, would at the length relent; for elles to what purpose had it been agreed and appointed, that both the king's and the French king's commissioners shuld retourne to their maisters, to declare what hath been done allready, and to know what their maisters' further pleasure was theruppon? And forasmuch as we have ever been of opynion, that yf the king's majestie refuse to conclude any thing with them, without the restitution of Callais, that may the sooner induce the French to agree to it. And likewise yf they perceyve the king's majestie, or his mynisters, not so earnest therin, but that by a bragge of the French; they will the sooner gyve over, and stande the more fayntely for the restitution of it; that will make the French the bolder, and to stand the more earnestlye in their refusal. Therefore we have

not thought it meet to use anye kynde of wordes to the king, wherby his majestie might by anye meanes thinke that the queen's highnesse, and the realme of England, coude be contente to conclude a peace without the restitution of Callais. Aswell for because our instructions importe that, as also trustinge that that wold move his majestie and his commissioners to be the more careful for the restitution of it. And seeinge that his majestie, and his commissioners, have ever sayde, that they will conclude nothing without the queen's highnes be first satisfied; yt seemed to us, that if her highness, and your lordshipes, did stande earnestlye in the repetition of Callais, that the French at this time must either forsake Callais, or elles the peace. And in case this occasion to redemaunde Callais be now forsloune, God knoweth when ever England shall have the lyke again. And where your lordshipes wryte, that the king's commissioners beeing so neere to agree with the French upon the hole, much wer to be endured for the wealth of Christendom; it is even so indeede as your lordshipes wryte. Mary that all other shuld have restitution of their owne, and poor England that beganne not the fraye, bear the burthen and the losse for the rest; and specially of such a jewel as Callais is, we feare will seem verye harde and strange to all the realme. And yet yf the losse of Callais might purchase a sure peace to Christendom, that wer yet some colour why somewhat the rather to agree to it. But yf we may be so hold to saye playnely our mindes unto your lordshipes; we not onely thinke not that, that the leaveinge Callais to the French shall purchase Christendom a sure peace; but rather ar perswaded that nothing can more evidentlye shew, that the French entend no peace to contynue, speciallye with England, then the retention of Callais, yf they earnestlye and finallye persist thereon. Your lordships do right well understande what advantage the French have to annoy us by Scotland, which now is much ruled by France. And in case any peace be made, then shall the French have good tyme and leasure to establish and order their matters so yn Scotland, specially considering the mariage of the Dolfyn, and the queen of Scotts, is now done; that Scotland shall be every whittle as much at their commandment as any part of France is. And what the French pretend unto by that mariage, is not unknowne to your lordshipes.

If now Callais shall remain yn their hands too, wherby neither England shall have the commoditie to offende their enemies, nor to succour their friends, nor lykewyse to receyve succour from their friends at their need, but by very uneasy means: yea, and wherby England shall in a manner be excluded from knowledge of all things done both by their enemies and by their frends; or at the least, the knowledge therof shall not come, but so late that it will searve to little purpose. And that Callais lyeth so commodiouslye to be a scourge for England, as it was before king Edward the Third took it: which caused him to adventure himself, and his son the prince, to come but with a meane armye from Normandy into France, and thence through all Picardy, to go to beseege Callais: he beinge contynuallye pursued by his ennemys with greате armyes, with the which he was enclosed and compassed about, and fynallye constrained more than once to fight it out, and specially at Crecy, where his enemye's armye was thyrse as greate as his, and to lye so longe at the seege before Callais, as he did. This scourge of England, so well knowne by experyence then, and therefore so dearly bought by king Edward the III, and now not yet known for lacke of experyence; yf the French shall retayne yn their hands, they having likewise Scotland

on the other side, how dangerous this shall be to England, is easy to be considered. These, and other considerations, make us to be of oppynion, that leaving Callais to the French, they will be content to delyver you a peece of parchemyn sealed with a little wax; but that they meane anye continuance of peax we cannot be perswaded, no more then king Francis did by a nombre of peeces of parchment sealed, which he sent to king Henry the VIIIth: nor the French king that now is, did, by the parchemyn sealed, which he sent to king Edward the VIth. And whereas now the king's majesties contreys ar in warre with France as well as England: if the peace be ones made, the French will soon seek occasion to fall out with England againe; and then may it perhaps chauce so, that Spaine will not think it necessarye for them to venture yn warre againe with France. Whereas now the king's majestie cannot honorablye, nor entendith not (as he himself hath declared and said) to make any peace without us. So that the premisses considered, we cannot for our parts thinke that Christendom shall be restored to a good peace, though we forsake Callais, but that then we shall be more oppressed with war than before. And in case we must needs have war, as good it seemeth to contynue in it yet for a while, being conjoynded to the king's majestie, who beareth the chief burthen and charges of it; then shortely after to begynne a new, and to stand in danger to have all the burthen lye on our neckes. And then should we know what a jewell we had forsaken, when we did agree to forgo Callais; and that by the retention of Callais, the French meant nothing less then the quietnes of Christendom.

We have thought it our dutie to declare to your lordshipes what our oppynion is heerin. Which nevertheless we pray your lordshipes to accept yn good parte.

I the bishop of Ely retourned to Cercamp, according to the king's majesties appointment; where I have contynued till now that I came hither to consult upon these matters with my colleagues. And all this while hath there nothing ben done yn our matters for England; but the other commissioners have been busye contynuallye. And as far as I can learn, they are not yett all agreed upon the matters of Piedmount, nor of Corsica, nor Siena. Yea, and as I heere, the French begyne now to call the matters of Navarre in question; and to ask restitution thereof; yn so much, that some begyne to thinke contrary to that hath ben commonly thought hitherto; that the ende of this matter will be, that all shall departe, "re infecta."

After we had written thus farre, I, the earle of Arundall, receyved a letter from the bishope of Arras, of the 17th of this present; wherein amonge other things he writeth thus: "Monsieur Levesque de Ely vous aura dit en quels termes nous estions à son Parlement en ce Purgatoire. Et hier les François nous declarerent qu'en toutes choses condescendront ils plustot que de venir à ce de Calais: ne qu'il leur eschappe: et nous leur declarasmes derechef au contraire que sans satisfaire à Royaume d'Angleterre nous ne traiterons en façon quelconque avec eux, et fut nostre depart sur ce stil qu'il y a plus d'apparence de rompre que de conclusion."

So that by this lykewyse it may seme that they agree not best: but whether that be for Callais onelye, we doubt much. And thus we bid your good lordshipes most hartely well to fare. From Arras the 18th of November, 1558.

Your good lordshipes' most assuredly,
ARUNDELL. THOMAS ELYE. N. WOTTON.

NUMBER XLIV.

A Letter of Jewel's to Peter Martyr, from Strassburgh, of the State of Affairs in England.

[Scripta (ut videtur) 1558.—Ex MSS. Tigur.]

Juellus ad Martyrem.

S. P.—De prima illa nostra Profectione, et de novis omnibus, quæ tum ferebantur Basileæ, scripsi ad te per D. Simlerum nostrum. Quinto postridie vix pervenimus Argentinam; tantoper miseri coacti sumus hæere in luto. Hic omnes nostros invenimus incolumes, et cupidissimos tui. Quid Sandus, Hornus, alique nostri fecerint in Anglia, nihil adhuc audivimus. Neque id sanè mirum. Profecti enim Argentina ad Vicesimum primum Decembris, vix Vicesimo post die potuerunt pervenire Antuerpiam, quod Rhenus constructus glacie, illorum Navigationem impediret. Hoc tantum audimus, Reditum illorum Reginae esse gratissimum; idque illam non obscure præ se ferre. Si Episcopi pergant porro ut cæperunt, erit brevi magna Vilitas Episcopatum. Certum enim est, Christophersonum, Rabulam illum Cicestrensem, esse mortuum; quod idem de Vatsono quoque; Lincolnensi nunciatur: Quod si ita est, vacant hoc tempore Episcopatus quatuordecim. Whitus tuus, in funere Mariae, quemadmodum ad te scripsi cum essem Basileæ, habuit ad Populum insanam, et turbulentissimam Concionem; Omnia potius tentanda esse, quam ut quicquam de Religione immutaretur. Bonum factum, si quis exules reduces interfecerit. Accusatus est Seditionis à Marchione Vintoniensi Thesaurario, et Hetho Archiepiscopo Eboracensi. Londinensis jussus est, reddere Hæredibus D. Ridlæi, quæcunque illis per vim et injuriam eriperat. Vocabitur brevi ad Causæ dictionem; interim jubetur, se domi continere, tanquam in carcere. Regina edixit, ne quis habeat Concionem ad Populum, neve Papista, neve Minister Evangelij. Id alij factum putant, quod cum unus tantum esset Minister Verbi tum temporis Londini, Benthamus, tantus esset numerus Papistarum. Alij, quod audita una tantum Benthami publica Concione, Populus inter se creperit litigare de Ceremoniis: Et alij Genevenses esse vellent, alij Francofordiani. Quicquid est, utinam ne nostri Homines nimium prudenter et politicè versari velint in Causa Dei. Multi putant D. Coquum fore Magnum Cancellarium; Hominem bonum quidem, et pium, uti nôsti; sed illi muneris, meo judicio, non aptissimum. Eliensis hæret adhuc apud Philippum, dum aliquid de ista præclara Pace, si Deo placeat, transfigitur; quæ qualis, aut quam firma, et diuturna futura sit, Θεὸν ἐν γούνασι κείται. D. Isabella, spero, vocabitur in Angliam. Video enim alios quoque nostros Homines, de ea re seriò cogitare. D. Zanchius etiam scribet ad Reginam: Erat scripturus ad totum Parliamentum, nisi ego dissuasissim; id enim mihi videbatur alienum. Cranmerus Puer relictus est Argentinæ apud Abelum, ut mæe Fidei committeretur: Ego ab Abelo mutuo sumpsi Coronatos pueri nomine. Oro Julium, ut Sarcinam et Pecuniam, quam reliquimus numeratam apud te, ad illum mittat Argentinam. Ille tibi curabit cautionem, eamque vel deponet apud D. Zanchium, vel, si mavis, ad te mittet. Bene vale, mi dulcissime Pater, et plus quam Animi didimium mei. Nolo ad te omnia; oportuit enim me etiam ad D. Bullingerum aliquæ scribere: Cui ego Viro, pro summa ejus erga me Humanitate, debeo omnia. Sed ea, quæcunque sunt, non dubito, tibi cum illo fore communia.

D. Hetonus, D. Abelus, D. Springhamus, D. Parkhurstus, te plurimum salutant, et cum tibi cupiant omnia, nihil tamen magis cupiunt hoc tempore quam Angliam. Saluta D. Muraltum, Hermannum, Julium, Juliam, et omnes tuos meosque, meo nomine.

D. Fr. Beti, et D. Acontius, sunt nunc Argentinæ: Uterque te plurimum salutant. Ego D. Beti reddidi Literas D. Isabellæ: Id obsecro, ut illi significes. Argentinæ, 26. Januar.

JOHANNES JUELLUS
Ex Animo, et semper, Tuus.

Inscriptio.—Ornatissimo Viro, D. Petro Martyri, in Ecclesiâ Tigurinâ Professori S. Theologiæ, Domino suo Colendissimo.

NUMBER XLV.

A Letter of Gualter's to Dr. Masters, advising a thorough Reformation.

[Ex MSS. Tigur.]

Domino Richardo Mastero, Medico Regio, Amico veteri, et Fratri suo dilecto.

GRATULABAR mihi non parim, Annis superioribus, quando regnante Edvardo Sexto Sanctæ Memorix, tu prior scribendi officium, quod multis annis intermissum fuerat, repetere cæpisti. At nunc multo magis et tibi et mihi gratulor, Vir doctissime, et Frater in Christo observande, quod ea Tempora Angliæ vestræ, per Dei Clementiam, reducta esse audimus; quando sub Reginae piissimæ Tutela, piis Hominiibus, Deum verè colendi Libertas restituetur, et Amicorum Literæ tutò hinc inde ferri et referri poterunt. Agnoscimus in his admirabilem Dei Sapientiam et Bonitatem, qui Ecclesiæ suæ Arcummas latis vicibus temperare solet, ne tentationum fluctibus toti obruamur. Faxit idem ille, ut Spei fidelium, quam de Angliæ Regno jam omnes conceperunt, satisfiat. Quod eò magis futurum puto, si quotquot illic in aliquo Dignitatis gradu collocati estis, Ecclesiæ et Religionis Curam ad vos cum primis pertinere memineritis, nec illorum admiseritis Consilia, qui cum Papatum nec honestè defendi, nec totum retineri posse vident, ad artes convertuntur, quibus Religionis Formam mixtam, incertam et dubiam fugunt, et eandem, sub Evangelicæ Reformationis prætextu, Ecclesiæ obtrudunt; ex qua deinde facilis est ad Papisticam Superstitionem et Idolomaniam transitus. Quod non eò scribo, quod tales apud vos esse sciam, sed quod ne tales sint metuo. Jam enim annis aliquot in Germania, magno Ecclesiarum malo experti sumus, quantum ejusmodi Homines valeant. Eò quod illorum Consilia, carnis judicio, Modestix plena, et ad alendam concordiam, cum primis idonea esse videantur, et credibile est, publicum illum humanæ Salutis hostem, apud vos quoque sua fiabella inventurum, quorum opera Papatis semina retinere studeat. Quibus Scripturæ sanctæ, et Verbi Divini armis, constanter resistendum fuerit, ne dum circa prima initia, aliquam mediocrem animorum offensionem declinare studemus; multa ad vos duntaxat duratura admittantur, quæ postea vix ullo studio, et non absque gravissimis tentationibus omnino tolli possint. Exempla hujus mali Germanicæ Ecclesiæ multa viderunt, quorum consideratione edocti, suspecta habemus quæcunque cum syncera Verbi Doctrina, aliqua ex parte pugnant. Nec me alia ratione, ut hæc moneam, adduci credas, quam quod Angliæ vestræ, ob veterem Consuetudinem, cujus vel sera Recordatio mihi etiam hodie jucundissima est, mirificè faveo. De Rebus nostris certiorum te reddet Parkhurstus, noster Frater, et Hospes meus dilectissimus, quem tibi commendatissimum esse velim. Sustinuit ille jam toto quinquennio, graves exilij molestias; inter quas tamen, admirabilem Fidei Constantiam, et Patientiam incredibilem conjunxit. Nunc spe læta plenus, in Patriam contendit, ut Ecclesiæ resurgentis Causam pro suo talento adjuvet. Nec dubito, quin bonam operam præstiturus sit, cum Scripturarum Cognitionem habeat præclaram, et

Veritatis studiosissimus sit, et à Contentionibus abhorreat, quarum studiosi vix aliquem in Ecclesia fructum faciunt. Optimè ergo feceris, si tua Authoritate illum juves, et pro virili provehas. Mihi verò nihil jucundius fuerit, quàm si ex tuis Literis intelligam, nostræ Amicitie memoriam penes te adhuc salvam esse, quæ certè in animo meo nunquam intermori poterit. Vale, Vir præstantissime. Tiguri, 16 Januarij, 1559.

NUMBER XLVI.

A Letter of the Earl of Bedford's to Bullinger, from Venice.

[Ex MSS. Tigur.]

TIT.—Doctissimo Viro Domino Bullingero, Sacræ Theologiæ Professori eximio Tiguri.

CUM meus in Te Amor singularis, et perpetua Observantia, quâ te semper Religionis Causâ sum persecutus, tum tua erga me incredibilis Humanitas, multis modis à me perspecta, cum Tiguri fuero, (Bullingere Doctissime) fecerunt, ut hasce Literas animi erga Te, mei pignus certissimum, et veluti Tabulas obsignatas mei in Te perpetui amoris quas extare volui, huic adolescenti ad Te darem. In quibus ita tibi gratias ago, propter tuam Humanitatem, ut etiam me tibi relaturum pollicear, si quâ in re tibi unquam gratificari queam. Atque hæc ita à me dicta velim accipias, non sicut Homines qui hodie verborum quandam speciem inducunt, et officiosam formam, magis id adeo ut videantur, quàm quod esse velint id quod præ se ferant: sed potius, ut ab animo sincero, et prorsus tibi devinctissimum profecta, certissimum tibi persuadeas. Itaque, si quid tuâ Causâ unquam facere possim, (quod quàm exiguum sit non ignoro) illud tamen, quantulumcunque erit tuum erit totum. Sed de hoc satis, et fortasse superque, præsertim etiam cum adhuc mihi statutum sit, (si alia non intulerint, quæ inceptum iter aliò evadere possint) ut vos obiter in visam in Angliam reversuro. Ubi id vivâ voce confirmare, quod hic nudis verbis solummodò declarare possum. Juvenis, qui has Literas perfert mihi, nunciavit de obitu Conradi Pellicani, (quem Honoris Causâ nomen) quod ut audivi, sanè quam pro eo ac debui, graviter molestique tuli, non tam suâ, quam Ecclesie universæ Causâ. Is enim hujus vitæ Curriculum, in curis, vigiliis, assiduis studiis, literatis Hominibus promovendis, gloriosissimè confecit, ac denique moriendo quemadmodum vivebat ad meliorem vitam in Cælum translatus est. At illa multum desiderabit plurimis nominibus, virum absolutissimum: Itaque, ut illius Causa lætor, ita hujus vicem non possum non magnopere dolere. At hujus mæstitiæ causam tui (ut spero et opto) præsentia faciliè mitigabit, quem Ecclesie, bonisque omnibus, diù incolumem Deus Opt. Max. per suam Misericordiam esse velit. Venet. 6 Calend. Maias.

Tui Nominis Studiosissimus,
F. BEDFORD.

Domino Gesnero, et Domino Gualthero, meis amicissimis diligenter à me, queso, Salutem dicito.

NUMBER XLVII.

A Letter of Jewel's to Peter Martyr, of the State he found Matters in when he came to England.

[Ex MSS. Tigur.]

S. P.—Tandem tamen aliquando, Quinquagesimo, videlicet, Septimo post Die, quam solvissemus Tiguro, parvenimusque in Angliam. Quid enim necesse est multa *πονομένην*, apud te præsertim, qui rem potius ipsam quæras, et longos istos logos non magni facias?

Interea verò, Deum immortalem, quæ illa Vita fuit, cum et Aqua, et Terra, et Cælum ipsum nobis indignaretur, et omnibusque modis reditum nostrum impediret? Quid queris? Omnia nobis toto illo tempore odiosissima, et adversissima acciderunt. Verum hæc antea ad te, et ad D. Bullingerum fusius, cum adhuc hærerem Antwerpæ. Nunc accipe cætera. Quamquam hic, ut verè dicam, arte opus est et myrothecûs: Non tam quidem, quod mihi nunc ornanda, et polienda sint nova, quæ nescio an ulla sint hoc tempore. Scio tamen à te plurima expectari, quàm quòd recantanda sint vetera. Illa enim ferè omnia, quæ ego ad te jam antea scripsi ex itinere, multò tùm erant alia, et longè auditu jucundiora, quàm quæ postea re ipsa inveni domi. Nondum enim ejectus erat Romanus Pontifex: nondum pars ulla religionis restituta: eadem erat ubique missarum proluviæ: eadem pompa, atq; insolentia Episcoporum. Ista tamen omnia nunc tandem mutare incipiunt, et pene ruere. Magno nobis impedimento sunt Episcopi: qui, cum sint, ut scis, in superiori Conclavi inter primores, et proceres, et nemo ibi sit nostrorum Hominum, qui illorum fucos, et mendacia possit, coram dicendo refutare, inter Homines Literarum, et rerum imperitos soli regnant, et paterculos nostros facile vel Numero, vel Opinione Doctrinæ circumscribunt. Regina interea, etsi apertè faveat nostræ Causæ, tamen partim à suis, quorum Consilio omnia geruntur, partim à Legato Philippi Comite *Ferio* Homine Hispano, ne quid patiatur innovari mirificè deterretur. Illa tamen quamvis lentius aliquantò, quàm nos velimus, tamen et prudenter, et fortiter, et piè persequitur institutum. Et quamvis hactenus Principia, paulo visa sunt duriora, tamen spes, est aliquando rectè fore. Interea, ne Episcopi nostri queri possint se potentia tantum, et lege esse victos, res revocata est ad Disputationem, ut novem ex nostris, Scoraes, Coxus, Withedus, Sandus, Grindallus, Hornus, Elmer, Ghestus quidam Cantabrigiensis, ex ego, cum quinque Episcopis, Abbate Westmonasteriensi, Colo, Chadsæo, Harpessfeldo, de his rebus coram Senatu colloquar. Prima nostra assertio est: in publicis precibusq; et Administratione Sacramentorum alia uti Lingua, quàm quæ à Populo intelligatur, alienum esse à verbo Dei, et à consuetudine Primitivæ Ecclesie. Altera est; quamvis Ecclesiam Provinciale, etiam injussu Generalis Concilii, posse vel instituere, vel mutare, vel abrogare Ceremonias, et Ritus Ecclesiasticos, sic ubi id videatur facere ad Edificationem. Tertia sacrificium illud propitiatorium, quod Papista fingunt esse in Missa, non posse probari ex Sacris Literis. Prædie Calendarum Aprilis instituitur Prima conflictatio. Episcopi interim, quasi partâ Victoriâ, jamdudum Magnificè Triumphant. Ubi Froshoverus ad nos venit, scribam de his rebus omnia disertius. Regina te gerit in oculis. Literas tuas tanti fecit, ut eas iterum, tertiosq; cupidissimè relegerit. Librum tuum, ubi advenit, non dubito, fore multò gratiorem. Oxonii à tuo discessu duæ præclaræ virtutes incredibiliter auctæ sunt, inscitia, et contumacia: Religio, et spes omnis Literarum, atq; ingeniorum funditus perit. Brochas Episcopus Gloucestriensis bestia impurissimæ Vitæ, ex multò impioris Conscientiæ, paulò antequam moreretur, miserabilem in modum exclamavit, sese jam se ipso judice esse damnatum. Faber tuus præclarus, scilicet, Patronus castitatis deprehensus est in adulterio: Ex ea Causa, quod aliqui vix solet fieri, cum Maria adhuc viveret, novò more, nullo exemplo jussus est cedere Lectione Theologica. Bruernus similis, sed longè flagitiosior de scelere coactus est relinquere Professionem Lingue Hebraicæ. De Martiali nihil Scribo, ne Chartas contamirem. De Westono audisti antea. Sed quid istos, iniques, Commemores? Ut intelligas, quibus judici-

bus oportuerit B. Cranmerum, P. Ridleum, P. Latimerum condemnari. De Scotis, de Pace, de Bello nihil. Ternas ad te dedi Literas ex itinere : quæ utrumq; ad te pervenerint, nescio. Sed quoniam longè absutus, longius, ô Deum Immortalem, et diutius multò, quàm vellem, Literæ nostræ interdum ventis et fortunæ committendæ sunt. Vale, mi Pater, et Domine in Christo Colendissime, Saluta D. Bullingerum, D. Gualterum, D. Simlerum, D. Gesnerum, D. Lavaterum, Julium, Juliam, Martyrillum, D. Hermannum, et convictores tuos Trevicensis. Omnes nostri te salutant. Londini 20 Martii, 1559.

Jo. JUELLUS.

Istæ sunt Primæ, quas ad te scribo, ex quo redii in Angliam. Ita posthac subscribam omnes, ut scire possis, si quæ forte interciderint.

Inscriptio.—Doctissimo Viro D. Petro Martyri Vermilio, Professori Sacræ Theologiæ in Ecclesia Tigurina Domino suo Colendissimo—*Tiguri.*

NUMBER XLVIII.

A Letter of Jewel's to Bullinger, concerning the State of Things in the beginning of this Reign.

[Ex MSS. Tigur.]

S. P.—GRATISSIMÆ erant mihi Parkurstoque meo literæ tuæ, ornatissimè vir, vel quòd à te sint, cui quantum debeamus, nunquam possumus oblivisci, vel quo suavitatis, et humanitatis erga nos tuæ, quam toto nos tempore exilii nostri experti sumus maximam, altissima vertigia retinerent. Atque utinam possumus aliquando pietatis tuæ partem aliquam compensare. Quicquid erit, animus certe nobis nunquam deerit ; quod nos hortaris, ut strenuè ac fortiter nos geramus, erat ille aculeus non tantum non ingratus nobis sed etiam penè necessarius. Nobis enim in hoc tempore non tantum cum adversariis, sed etiam cum amicis nostris, qui proximis istis annis à nobis defecerunt et cum hostibus conjurarunt, jamque acrius multò, et contumacius resistunt, quàm ulli hostes, quodque molestissimum est, cum reliquiis Hispanorum, hoc est cum teterrimis vitiis, superbia, luxu, libidine luctandum est. Facimus quidem nos, fecimusque quod potuimus. Deus bene fortunet, et det Incrementum. Sed ita hactenus vivimus, ut vix videamur restituti ab exilio. Ne dicam aliud : ne suum quidem adhuc restitutum est cuiquam nostrum. Quanquam, et si molestia nobis est ista tam diuturna expectatio, tamen non dubitamus, brevi rectè fore. Habemus enim Reginam et prudentem, et piam, et nobis faventem et propitiam. Religio restituta est in eum locum, quo sub Edwardo rege fuerat, ad eam rem non dubito, tuas, reipublicæque vestræ literas et exhortationes multum ponderis attulisse. Regina non vult appellari aut scribi, Caput Ecclesiæ Anglicanæ : graviter enim respondit, illam dignitatem soli esse attributam Christo : nemini autem mortalium convenire. Deinde illos titulos tam foedè contaminatos esse ab Anti-christo ut jam non possint amplius satis piè à quoquam usurpari. Academice nostræ ita afflicte sunt, et perditæ, ut Oxonii vix duo sint, qui nobiscum sentiant, et illi ipsi ita abjecti et fracti, ut nihil possint. Ita Soto fraterculus, et alius, nescio quis, Hispanus Monachus, omnia ea, quæ D. Petrus Martyr pulcherrimè plan-taverat, everterunt à radicibus, et vineam Domini redegerunt in solitudinem. Vix credas tantam vastitatem afferri potuisse tam parvo tempore. Quare et si magnam aliqui voluptatem capturus sim, si vel canem Tigurinum videre possem in Anglia, tamen non possum esse Author hoc tempore, ut juvenes vestros aut literarum aut religionis causâ ad nos mittatis, nisi eosdem remitti velitis ad vos, impios et

barbaros. Rogavit me nuper D. Russelius quâ maxime re tibi, aliisque tuis fratribus, et Symmistic gratum facere. Hoc videlicet, sensit, vellè se Humanitatis vestræ, quam semper prædicat et hospitii causa aliquid ad vos dono mittere. Ego verò nihil tibi tuisque fore gratius, quàm si religionem Christi studiosè ac fortiter propagaret et papistarum insolentiam imminueret. Quod ille et recepit se facturum, et certè facit, quantum potest. Venerunt hodie Londinum Legati Regis Galliæ, qui gratulantur de pace ; Princeps legationis est juvenis Momorancius. De nuptiis Reginæ adhuc nihil. Ambit quidem filius Johannis Frederici, et frater secundus natu Maximiliani. Vulgi tamen suspicio inclinat in Pikerimum hominem Anglum, virum et prudentem et pium, et regia corporis dignitate præditum. Deus bene vertat, quicquid erit. Istæ primæ sunt, quas ad te seorsim scripsi, ex quo redii in Angliam : sed quoniam, quæ scripsi ad D. Martyrem, scio illum propter summam inter vos conjunctionem tecum habuisse communia non dubito, quæcunque ad illum scripsi, eadem ad te quoque scripta dicere. Bene vale mi pater, et Domine in Christo colendissime. Saluta optimam illam mulierem uxorem tuam : D. Gualterum, D. Simlerum D. Zuinglium, D. Lavaterum. Si quid unquam erit, in quo possim, aut tibi aut tuis esse voluptati, aut usui, polliceor tibi non tantum operam, studium, diligentiam, sed etiam animum et corpus meum. 22 Maij, Londini, 1559.

Tui Studiosis.

Jo. JUELLO.

Inscriptio.—Viro longè Doctissimo D. Henricho Bullingero Pastori Ecclesiæ Tigurinæ Dignissimo et Domino suo Colendissimo—*Tiguri.*

NUMBER XLIX.

A Letter of Jewel's to Peter Martyr, concerning the Disputation with the Papists at Westminster.

[Ex MS. Tigur.]

Idem ad P. Martyrem.

S. P.—DE illis disputationibus inter nos, et Episcopos, quas proximis Literis Scripsi indictis fuisse in ante Calendas Aprilis quid factum sit, paucis accipe. Sic enim visum est continuare Orationem sine proemio. Primum ergo, ut omnis causa jurgiorum et otiosæ contentionis tolleretur, Senatus decrevit, ut omnia utrinque de scripto legerentur, et ita describerentur tempora, ut primo die assertiones tantum utrinque nudæ proponerentur : Proximò autem conventa, ut nos illis responderemus, et illi vicissim nobis. Pridiè ergò Kal. April. cum magna expectatione, majori credo frequentia convenissimus Westmonasterii, Episcopi, pro sua fide, nec scripti, nec pecti quicquam attulerunt, quod dicerent, se non satis temporis habuisse ad res tantas cogitandas : Cum tamen habuissent plus minùs decem dies, et interea copias auxiliares Oxoniò et Cantabrigiâ, et undiq; ex omnibus angulis contraxissent. Tamen me tot Viri viderentur frustra convenisse, D. Colus subornatus ab aliis venit in medium, qui de prima questione, hoc est, de peregrina Lingua, unus omnium nomine peroraret. Ille verò cum omnibus nos contumeliis et convitiis indignissimè excepisset, et omnium seditionum auctores et facies appellasset, et suppositione pedum, projectione brachiorum, inflexione laterum, crepitu digitorum, modò dejectione modò sublatione superciliorum, (nòsti enim hominis vultum et modestiam) sese omnes in partes et formas convertisset, huc postremò evasit, ut diceret, Angliam ante mille trecentos Annos recepisse Evangelium. Et quibus, inquit, Literis, quibus annalibus, quibus monumentis constare potest, Preces tum

publicas in Anglia habitas, fuisse Anglicè. Postea cum in illo Circulo sese satis jamdiu jactavisset, adiecit seriò, et vero vultu, atq; etiam admonuit, ut omnes hoc tanquam quiddam de dictis melioribus diligenter attenderent, atque annotarent, Apostolos ab initio ita inter sese distribuisse operas, ut alij Orientis Ecclesias instituerent, alij Occidentis. Itaque Petrum et Paulum, in Romana Ecclesia, quæ totam propè Europam contineret, omnia Romano sermone, hoc est, Latinè docuisse. Reliquos Apostolos in Oriente, nullo unquam alio Sermone usus fuisse, nisi Græco. Tu fortasse ista rides: Atqui ego neminem audiui unquam, qui solenniùs et magistratùs insaniret. Si adfuisset Julius noster, centies exclamasset, "Poh! Horson Knave." Verùm ille, inter alia, nihil veritas est, mysteria ipsa et penetralia, atq; adyta prodere Religionis suæ. Non enim dubitavit graviter et seriò monere, etiãsi alia omnia maximè conveniunt, tamen non expedire, ut Populus, quid in sacris ageretur, intelligat. Ignorantia enim, inquit, Mater est veræ Pietatis, quam ille appellavit Devotionem. O Mystica sacra, atque Opertanea Bonæ Dæ! Quid tu me putas interim de Cotta Pontifice cogitasse? Hoc videlicet illud est, In Spiritu et Veritate adorare. Mitto alia. Cum ille jam calumniando, convitiando, mentiundo magnam partem illius temporis, quod nobis ad disputandum datum erat, exemisset; nos postremò nostra pronuntiavimus de scripto, ita modestè, ut rem tantum ipsam diceremus, nihil autem laceremus adversarium, postremò ita dimissa est Disputatio, ut vix quicquam esset in toto illo Conventu, ne Comes quidem Salopiensis, quin Victoriæ illius diei adjudicaret nobis. Postea iuta est Ratio, ut proximo die Lunæ, de secunda Quæstione eodem modo diceremus; utque die Mercurij, nos illorum primi Diei Argumentis responderemus, et illi vicissim nostris.

Die Lunæ, cum frequens Multitudo, ex omni Nobilitate cupidissima, audiendi convenisset, Episcopi, nescio pudoreve superioris diei, an desperatione victoriæ, primùm tergiversari, habere se quod dicerent de prima Quæstione, nec oportere rem sic abire. Responsum est à Senatu, Si quid haberent, id tertio post die, prout ab initio convenerat, audiri posse: nunc hoc potius agerent, neve turbarent Ordinem. Dejecti de hoc gradu tamen huc evaserunt, si dicendum omnino sit, nolle se priores dicere; se enim in Possessione constitisse: nos, si quid vellemus, priori loco experimur. Magnam enim se facturos injuriam causæ suæ, si paterentur, nos posteriores discedere cum applausu Populi, et aculeos Orationis nostræ recentes in auditorum animis relinquere. Senatus contra, Hanc ab initio institutam fuisse Rationem, ut illi, quodd dignitate priores essent, priori etiam loco dicerent; nec eam nunc mutari posse. Mirari verò se, quid hoc sit Mysterij, cum omnino necesse sit, alterutros priores dicere; alioqui enim nihil posse dici: Et præsertim, cum Colus in primis Disputationibus etiam injussus, ultrò prior ad dicendum prosiluerit. Postremò, Cum altercationibus magna pars temporis extracta esset, nec Episcopi ullo pacto concedere vellent de secundo loco, ad extremum sine Disputatione discessum est. Ea verò res incredibile dictu est, quantum imminuerit Opinione Populi de Episcopis: Omnes enim cæperunt jam suspicari, quod nihil dicere voluissent, ne potuissent quidem illos quicquam dicere. Postero die, Vitus Vintoniensis, amicus tuus, et Watsonus Lincolnienſis, de tam aperto contemptu et contumacia, damnaſti sunt ad Turrim: Ibi nunc castrametantur, et ex infirmis præmissis concludunt fortiter. Reliqui jubentur quotidie, præstò esse in Aula, et expectare quid de illis Senatus velit decernere. Habes *ἐντεύξις ἀρετῆς*, et pene quam tamen, quò melius rem omnem intelligeres,

descripsi pluribus, fortasse, quam oportuit. Benè vale, mi pater, Decus meum, atque etiam Animi dimidium mei. Si quid est apud vos novarum rerum, hoc tempore, id malo esse proximarum Literarum Argumentum. Saluta plurimum, meo nomine, venerandum illum Virum, et mihi in Christo Dominum colendissimùm, D. Bullingerum, D. Gualterum, D. Simlerum, D. Lavaterum, D. Wolphium, D. Gesnerum, D. Hallerum, D. Frisium, D. Hermannum, et Julium tuum meumque. Nostri omnes te salutant, et tibi omnia cupiunt. Londini, 6 April. 1559.

JO. JUELLUS TUUS.

Post-script!—Istæ sunt secunde, quas ad te scribo, ex quo redij in Angliam.

Inscriptio.—D. Petro Martyri, Professore Sacræ Theologiæ in Ecclesia Tigurina, Viro Doctissimo, et Domino suo in Christo Colendissimo—*Tiguri.*

NUMBER L.

A Letter of Jewel's to Peter Martyr, of the Debates in the House of Lords; and of the State of the Universities; and concerning the Inclinations to the Smalcaldick League.

[Ex MSS. Tiguri.]

S. P.—ACCEPTIERNAS à te Literas, omnes eodem ferme tempore: Quæ cum multis de causis mihi essent, ut certe debebant, jucundissimæ, vel quòd essent à te, vel quòd Rerum tuarum Statum significarent, et amore erga me tuum: Tamen nullà alià causà mihi visæ sunt jucundiores, quàm quòd officium meum requirerent, neq; vel oblivioni vel tarditatis, blande ac tacitè accusarent; quorum alterum magnitudo tuorum erga me meritorum, alterum negotia mea non sinunt. Scripsi quidem ego ad te ternas Literas, ex quo redij in Angliam; quas tamen video, cum tu illas tuas scriberes, nondum ad te pervenisse. Et fieri potest, ut sæpe sit, ut at hæreant uspiam, et ignave atq; otiosè imitentur Religionem nostram, aut etiam perierint in itinere. Sed quicquid est, nulla potest in ea re magna jactura fieri. Erant enim pene inanes, quòd non multum adhuc esset, quod aut tu audire libenter velles, aut ego scribere. Nunc agitur Causa Pontificis, et agitur utrique fortiter. Episcopi enim sudant, ne quid errasse videantur: atq; ea Causa moratur, et impedit Religionem. Difficile est enim Cursum incitare. Fecnamus, Abbas Westmonasteriensis, opinor, ut auctoritatem addent Professioni suæ, cum peroraret in Senatu, Nazareos, Prophetas, Christum ipsum, et Apostolos coniecit in Numerum Monachorum. Nemo Causam nostram acrius oppugnat, quam Eliensis. Is et locum suum in Senatu, et ingenium retinet. Episcoporum prædia redacta sunt in fiscum: illis ex permutatione dabuntur Sacerdotia, quæ antea attributa erant Monasteriis. Interim de Scholis, et cura Literarum magnam ubique Silentium. Regina de te honorificè et loquitur, et sentit. Dixit nuper D. Russellio, se velle te accersere in Angliam; id enim ille, alique urgent, quantum possunt. Sed nisi et seriò, et cupidè, et honorificè petaris, nunquam ero author, ut venias. Nihil equidem magis, aut miserius cupio, quam te videre, et dulcissimis illis Sermonibus tuis frui, sive (quod ò utinam aliquando contingat) in Anglia, sive etiam Tiguri. Verùm quantum video obstat desiderio nostro, inauspicata illa ex Saxia ac Saxonibus damnata *παραβία*. Nostra enim nunc cogitat Foedus Smalcaldicum. Scribit autem ad illam quidam è Germania, illud Foedus non posse ullo pacto coire, si tu ad nos venias. Illum autem quandam, si addo aliquando fuisse Episcopum, si nunc esse exulem, si hominem statum, si vetera-

torem, si aulicum, si Petrum, si Paulum, magis eum fortasse nôris, quam ego. Sed quicquid est, nos Articulos omnes Religionis, et Doctrinæ nostræ exhibuimus Reginæ, et ne minimo quidem apice discessimus à Confessione Tigurinâ. Quanquam Amicus tuus Inventum illud, nescio quod, suum tuetur mordicus, et nobis omnibus mirifice succenset. Adhuc nemini nostrum ne de obulo quidem prospectum est. Itaque ego nondum abicio insignia illa, quæ mihi fixi Tiguri, Librum et crucem. Goodmannum audio esse apud nos; sed ita, ut non ausit venire in publicum. Sed quanto satius fuisset sapuisse in tempore? Si velit agnoscere errorem, nihil erit periculi. Verum, ut homo est satis acer, et in eo, quod semel suscepit, nimium pertinax, non nihil vereor, ne nolit cedere. Libri tui nondum venerunt: id ego tanto magis miror, quod tot Angli jam pridem redierint Francofordiâ. Munus tuum ubi advenit, non dubito Reginæ fore gratissimum. Illud ego, quoniam tu ita jubes, quamvis alioquin sit per se ornatissimum, tamen si dabitur facultas, verbis ornabo meis. De illo autem Libro, quem tu seorsim ad me misisti, equidem non invenio, quibus verbis tibi agam gratias. Itaque malo, et huic humanitati tuæ, et superiorum tuorum erga me meritum magnitudini ultrò succumbere. Certè etsi te nunquam ex animo eram dimissurus, tamen hæc commonefactione, et mncemosyno excitatus, tanto acrius et reverentius colam, quoad vixero, Nomen tuum. Alij tui Libri jam pridem allati sunt à Bibliopolis, et emuntur cupidissimè. Omnes enim libenter videre capiunt, quibus Venabulis illa Bestia confossa sit.

Benè vale mi Pater, et Domine in Christo Colendissime. Saluta D. Bullingerum, D. Bernardinum, D. Gualterum, D. Simlerum: Dicerem et Frenchamum, nisi illum putarem jamdudum aut in Balneo esse, aut in via. Hoc enim Anni tempore, cum auditur Cuculus, vix solet esse apud se. Londini, 28 Apr. 1559.

Tui Cupidissimus, Tuoq; Nomini Deditissimus,
JOHANNES JUELLUS.

Istæ sunt Quartæ.

Inscriptio.—Doctissimo Viro, D. Petro Martyri, in Ecclesiâ Tigurinâ Professori S. Theologiæ, Domino suo Colendissimo—*Tiguri.*

NUMBER LI.

A Letter of Jewel's to Peter Martyr of the State of Affairs both in England and Scotland.

[Ex MSS. Tigur.]

Ejusdem ad Eundem.

HACTENUS minus frequenter ad te scripsi, mi Pater, quod multa me negotia publica, privataq; impedirent. Nunc scribo, non quod plus nunc otii sit, quam antea, sed quod minus posthac futurum sit multò, quam nunc est. Alterum enim jam pedem in terra habeo, alterum penè sublatum in equum. Mox enim ingreditur longinquam et difficilem legationem constituendæ religionis ergò per Redingum, Abindonam, Glocestriam, Bristollum, Thermae, Welliam, Exonium, Cornubiam, Dorcestriam, Sarisburiam. Ambitus itineris nostri erit plus minus septingentorum milliarium: vix ut quarto demum mense putem nos esse redituros. Quare ne me interea putares esse mortuum, etsi ante duodecim dies, nescio quid, ad te scripserim de rebus communibus, tamen non alienum fore duxi, si nunc quoque paucis te quasi in degressu salutarem. Res nostræ satis nunc sunt in proclivi: Regina optimè animata: Populus ubique sitiens religionis. Episcopi, quàm ut relinquunt papam, quem toties jam

antea abjurarunt, malunt cedere rebus omnibus. Nec tamen id religionis causa faciunt, quam nullum habent, sed constantiæ, quam miseri nebulones vocari jam volunt conscientiam. Sacrifici jam tandem mutata religione passim abstinent à cætu sacro, quasi piaculum summum sit, cum populo, Dei quicquam habere commune. Est autem tanta illorum nebulonum rabies, ut nihil suprâ. Omnino sperant, et prædicant, est enim, ut scis, genus hominum prædictiosum, et valdè deditum futuritionibus ista non fore diuturna. Sed, quicquid futurum est, nos agimus Deo Optimo Maximo gratias, quod res nostræ eò jam tandem loco sint, quo sunt. In Scotia fervent omnia. Knoxus cinctus mille satellibus agit conventus per totum regnum. Regina vetula coacta est sese includere in præsidium. Nobilitas conjunctis animis, et viribus restituit ubique religionem invitis omnibus. Monasteria passim omnia æquantur solo, vestes scenicæ calices sacrilegi, idola, altaria comburuntur: ne vestigia quidem priscae superstitionis et idolatriæ relinquantur. Quid quæris? Audisti sæpè, *σκοβιστὶ πεινῶν*: hoc verò est *σκοβιστὴ ἐκκλησιάστιν*. Rex Galliæ, qui nunc est, scribit se Regem Scotiæ, et heredem Angliæ, si quid Reginæ nostræ, quod Deus avertat, contingat humanitus. Sed mirari non debes, si nostri homines molestè ferant: et quo res eruptura tandem sit, *Θεοῦ ἐν γούνατι κείται*. Fortassè, ut sit, communis hostis conciliabit nobis vicinum Scotum. Quod si sit, etsi accedant etiam nuptiæ, sed desino divinæ. D. Hetonus te salutatur, idque non minus amice, quàm si illi pater esses. Aliquot nostrum designamur Episcopi. Coxus Eliensis, Scoreus Erfordiensis, Alanus Roffensis, Griudalus Londinensis, Barlovus Chichestrensis, et ego minimus Apostolorum Sarisburiensis. Quod ego onus prorsus decevi excutere. Interea in Academiis mere est ubique solitudo. Juvenes diffugiunt potius, quàm ut velint in religionem consentire. Sed comites jamdudum expectant, et clamant, ut veniam. Vale ergo, vale, mi Pater, et dulcissimum decus meum; saluta venerandum virum et mihi mille nominibus in Christo Colendissimum. D. Bullingerum, ad quem etiam seorsim scriberim, si esset otium. Saluta D. Gualterum, D. Simlerum, D. Lavaterum, D. Hallerum, D. Gesnerum, D. Trisium, D. Hermanum. Habeo quinque pistolettos aureos à D. Barth. Compagno ad venerandum senem D. Bernardinum, et ab eodem ad eum literas. Scriberim ad eum de rebus omnibus, nisi excluderetur angustia temporis. Quanquam hoc, quæso te, ut illi significes, præter istos aureos, nihil adhuc confectum esse. Res aulicæ, quantum video, ita sunt difficiles, ut nesciam, an quicquam possit exprimi. Regina jam abest procul gentium in Cantio, ut agi nihil possit. Vale, mi Pater, vale. Quantum ego tibi optare possum, tantum vale. Et Julium tuum, Annaque et Martyrillum meo nomine. Londini, Calendis Augusti, 1559.

JO. JUELLUS TUUS,

Tibi omnibus modis deditissimus.

Inscriptio.—Viro longè Doctissimo D. Petro Martyri Vermilio, Proflenti Sacram Theologiam in Ecclesia Tigurina—*Tiguri.*

NUMBER LII.

A Letter of Jewel's to Peter Martyr, before he went his Progress into the Western Parts of England.

[Ex MSS. Tigur.]

Ejusdem ad Eundem.

S.P.—Et quid tandem ego ad te Scribam? Nos enim adhuc omnes peregrini sumus domi nostræ. Redi ergo, inquires, Tigurini. Utinam, utinam, mi

Pater, id mihi aliquando liceat. Te enim, quantum video, nulla spes est venturum unquam in Angliam. O Tigurum, Tigurum, quanto ego nunc sæpius de te cogito, quàm unquam de Anglia, cum essem Tiguri. Quamvis autem, ut dixi, in Patria nostra simus hostes, excipimus tamen interdum quedam ἀγάτὰ καὶ

z. Verùm πολλὰ καὶ τὸ κακὸν κατακείμενον ἔνδον

De religione transactum est, utinam bonis auspiciis, ut esset eo loco, quo fuit ultimis tuis temporibus sub Edouardo. Sed, quantum quidem ego adhuc videre possum, non est ea alacritas in nostris hominibus, quæ nuper in Papistis fuit. Ita miserè comparatum est, ut mendacium armatum sit, veritas autem non tantum inermis, verum etiam sæpe odiosa. Agitur nunc de sacro et scenico apparatu, quæque ego tecum aliquando ridens, ea nunc, à nescio, quibus, nos enim non advocamus in consilium, seriò, et graviter cogitantur, quasi religio Christiana constare non possit sine pannis. Nos quidem non ita otiosi sumus ab animo, ut tanti possumus facere istas ineptias. Alii sectantur auream quandam, quæ nihil plumbea potius videtur, mediocritatem: et clamant, dimidium plus toto. Quidam ex nostris designati sunt Episcopi, Parkerus Cantuariensis, Coxus Norwicensis, Barlowus Cicestrensis, Scoreus Herfordensis, Grindallus Londinensis. Nam Bonerus jussus est cedere: qui quando adituri sint possessionem, nescio. Ego ex isto flore, quod tu devino soles, facile divino, quæ sit futura vindemia. Adversarii interii mnostri καταφύλακτοι, et pollicentur sibi, ista non fore perpetua. In Scotia, nescio quid, audimus tumultuatum de religione: Nobiles ejectis Monachis occupasse Monasteria: et aliquot milites præsidarios Gallos in tumultu occidisse: Reginam iratam edixisse, ut Knoox concionator inflato cornu, est enim ille in Scotia mos solennis, si quem volunt extorrem facere, ex omnibus finibus ejiceretur. Quid de illo factum sit, nescio. Nunc instituitur legatio in totam Angliam de formanda religione. Sandus ibit in Lancastriam: ego in Devoniam: Alii aliò. Regina non vult appellari Caput Ecclesie, quod mihi certè non displicet. Interim, quid il caveto de la Chiesa cogitet, aut murmuret, aut quas turbas daturus sit, tu quoniam propius abes, facilius audire potes. Papiste nostri odiosissime pugnant, neque alii ulli contumacius, quam qui à nobis discesserunt. Tanti est semel gustasse de Missa. Qui bibit inde, furit: Procul hinc discedite, queis est Mentis cura bonæ: qui bibit inde, furit: vident exceptò illò palladio omnia ventura in periculum. Pax inter nos et Gallum ita convenit, ut Caletum, octo post annus redeat in potestatem Anglorum. Quod ut Julius noster credat, opus est incredibili, et robustà fide. Quicquid erit tamen nos eo nomine expectamus pignora è Gallia. De nuptiis Regine adhuc nihil. Tamen ambit hac tempore Suecus, Saxo, Carolus Ferdinandi, mitto Pikerinum Hominem Anglum. Tamen, quid malim, scio. Et ista sunt ut scio μυστικότερα: Et apud nos proverbii loco dici solet matrimonia esse fatalia. Bene vale, mi Pater, et Domine in Christo Colendissime. Saluta quæso optimum senem D. Barnardinum, D. Muralum, D. Wolpium meo nomine. Liber tuus, quem Regine misisti dono, redditus est à D. Cæcilio: Ad meas manus, nescio quo casu, non pervenit. Ego tamen, quoties sum in aula, diligenter exquiro, numquid illa velit: et adhuc nihil audio. Sed quicquid erit, faciam ut intelligas. Londini.

Istæ sunt quintæ, tu vide an aliquæ perierint.

Inscriptio.—Doctissimo Viro D. Petro Martyri, Professori Sacræ Theologiæ in Ecclesia Tigurina, Domino suo Colendissimo—Tiguri.

NUMBER LIII.

A Declaration made by the Confederate Lords of Scotland, to the Queen of England; of their taking arms against the Queen Dowager of Scotland, and the French.

[Cott. Lib. Calig. b. 10. fol. 24.]

It may be, that on the French parte it wyll be saide, that it behoveth them to subdue the rebellion in Scotland; and to that end only bringe all this power thither: first it may be, and that truly saide, the begynning and ground, yea, and the proceeding hitherto being truly considered, is no rebellion. For true it is, that when the French kyng had long sought to compass the yonge queene of Scotland, and to have her caryed owt of Scotland into Fraunce, there was great difficultie made yn it by the Scots, and att length brought to passe only by the continuall travayle of the mother, being dowager queene; partly by corruption with money, partly by authoritie, partly by fayre promises; and yet was the matter thus ended, that before her person coulde be transported thence, assurance was made by treaty, by othe, by parlement, by the great seal of Fraunce, by the seal of the dolphyn, that Scotland should not be otherwyse governed but by the lawes, by the nobilitie, by the people of the land; that the offices of the land shuld remayne in the nation of Scotland; that no garrisons should be kepte by the French. After that tyme much labour and practise was made by the queene dowager to procure the favour of the nobilitie of Scotland, to accorde to the mariadge of the queene with the dolphyn; and fynally that obtayned in a parlement in Scotland, and was the crowne assigned to the queen, and the heirs of her body; and for default therof, to the duke of Chastellerault, and his hires, and so he declared the seconde person. Then also was on the parte of Fraunce othes taken, chartres delyvered under the greate seale of Fraunce, and confirmed by the yong queene under her seal, and by the dolphin under his seale, that Scotland shuld be governed by the counsaile of the land; that no liberties shuld be violated; that Edinburg Castell shuld be delivered to the lord Arskin to be kept, for the preservation of the rights of the realme; and Dunbritton Castell shuld be delyvered to the duke for his interest as heyre apparent. These things were done, and duplicates made of the grants of Fraunce. One parte delyvered to be kept in Edenburgh Castell in the treasury; the other delyvered to the duke: hereupon an ambassade was sent in Anno 1558, of 8 persons, 2 bishops, 2 earles, 4 lords of Scotland, and the mariadge then concluded in Fraunce; which done thur, was attempted that the ambassade shuld return home, and in parlement obtayne, at the yong queene's request, that the crown of Scotland might be given to the dolphin her husband; which matter, the ambassade so much misliked, and utterly refused; alledging that it could never be obtayned; that in the end they were thus abused, yt was devised they should retourne, and procure that a matrimoniall crowne shuld be granted to the kyng: by which words they weare made believe there was a great difference; and yet they could not lyke the matter, but required leave to retourne home, and they would doo that they might. In their departure at Deepe, theyr nombre was made in one night sodenly lesse by one bishope, 2 erles, and 2 barons, and so departed home the other three, much amased at the matter. At theyr return, the dowager queene practised all the ways she could in parlement to obtayne this purpose; which she sought by two ways: one by rewarding those who had not received favour of the duke in the time of his gover-

naunce, partly for the favour they bare at that time to England, parte for other respects; and so sett an enmitie betwixt the duke and them. One other way, she offered to certayne of the lords a permission to lyve freely accordyng to their conscience in religion; and at length she became very stronge, and in parliament obtained this matrimoniall crowne, with these conditions, that the duke's right shuld not be empayred thereby. Thus proceeded she towards her purpose, and daily usurped against the liberties and promises made. She spared not to begin with the greatest. She committed to prison the chancellor of the realme, the erle Huntley, being one of the principal frends to the duke. She took a great fyne of him, and took the seale from hym; committed that to one Rubay, a Frenchman, an advocate of Paris. Not content therewith, she committed the sayd erle to prison, untill she had put hym to a great ransome, which she took of hym: and to flatter hym, gave hym the name of chancelor, and put the office in Rubaye's handes. Nexte to this, she hath taken the office of the comptroller of the hole realme, to whom belonged the charge of the whole revenues of the crowne; and hath also committed it to another Frenchman, a servant of her owne, named Vulemore. She hath also sequestered all matters of counsaill of the governaunce of the land, from the Scottissh men borne, and retayned all the secreties to French men. But these weare but small thynges, yff greater had not followed. Having peace with England, she kepte all the garrisons of French men still in the countrey, who lyved upon discretion, which was a new offence to Scotland. Wages they had none out of France at all: the revenue of the crowne, which was not greate, was sent into Fraunce; and to paye the French band a new device was made. She procured out of Fraunce a certayne nombre of franks, being altogether in a certayne coyne of sowces, which had bene, for their emtiness, decried and barred in Fraunce two yeres before, and were but bullion: these she made currant in Scotland, to paye the soldiars. She also erected a mynte, and therin abassed a grete quantite of the Scottissh money, and therewith allose payed her soldiars. In that mynte also, she permytted certayne of the principalls of the French to coyne their owne plate, to their owne most advantage: which matter both did notable great hurt in all Scotland, and much offended the realme.

Now follows the practises of the queene with diverse noblemen, to becom parties agaynst the duke: meanes was made, fyrst to have wonne the lord Arskin, to deliver the castell of Edinburgh; next, to have stolen it: but this prevailed not. In this season, and before also, which had much exasperated the people of the land, the queene gave away abbeyes, that fell voyd, to French men: som to her brother, the cardinal Guyse, som to other. And generally, she hath kept in her hands these three hole yeres almost all the ecclesiastical dignities that have fallen voyde; saving such as were of any value, which she gave to French men. Generally she governed all things so, as she never would in any matter followe the counsell of the lordes and nobilitie, which, at her first coming to the regiment, were appoynted to be of counsell. Agaynst these her doynge, many intercessions were made by the nobilitie, both joyntly together in good companies, and advices also gyven aparte, by such as were sory to see that this governaunce wold be so dangerous, as it could not be borne: but nothing avayled. And then followed a practise, of all other most dangerous and strange, and, for a personage of honor, a great indignity. The principall matter that was coveted by the queene, was to have cutt away the

duke and his house, and to make a party agaynst hym; by persuasion, this was devised. The lord James, being a bastard, son of the last kynge, a man of greate courage and wysdom; and certayne erles and barons of the realme; in whom were considered these two thynges—no greate love towards the duke, nor certayne ceremonies of the churche; and yet being men of courage, were borne in hand by the queene, that she her selfe wold beare with theyr devotion in religion, and upon condition that they would joyne with her governaunce agaynst the duke, for the favour of Fraunce, they shuld lyve freely accordyng to their conscience in religion, without any impedymment. Herupon they were somewhat boldned, and thereby incurred the censures of the churche, and were also, by a private lawe of the land, ignorantly in danger of treason: wherupon processe was made, they endangered. And then was it tyme for the queene to tempt them to forget theyr country, and become French. But when no inticement could prevayle, then began she to threaten them with the lawe, and would nedes declare them traytors. This matter the queene pursued, taking it for a great advantage. But, for their defence, the nobilitie of the realme made much labour. Nothyng wold stave the queene; but forthwith she produced her garrisons to the feld, proclaimed them traytors, gave away their lands, entred with men of war into a principal towne, called St. John's Towne, changing the provost of the towne agaynst the wyll of the burgesses; and left there four bands of men of warre, to fortefie her new provost. And she fynding the whole realme much offended herwith, and charging her dayly with misgovernance, and violating the liberties of the realm, and her power there not sufficient to procede, as she ment, to conquer the land; she sent for the duke, and the erle Huntley, and pretended in this necessitie a new good will to them, who travayled for her, and stayed all the adverse part in quietness: and then she promised all matters to be stayed and redressed at parlement the next spring: and promised also diverse other thyngs, for the benefite of the land. And then the duke and the erle Huntley tooke upon them to make a quiet with the adverse part. And whiles this was in doying, the duke's sonne and heyre was sought and sent for, to the courte in Fraunce; from whence he was certainly advertised by diverse of most secret knowledge, that his ruine shuld follow, and that he should be accused, and executed for matters of religion. At the length he abode, untill certayne of good authoritie were depeched from the court, to bryng hym eyther quick or dead. Before their coming, he escaped, without daunger: and they toke his yonger brother, a child, about fifteen yeres of age, and commytted him to prison. In this tyme, thyngs being well appeared in Scotland, and every noble man returned to theyre countrees, by the duke's meanes principally, who shewed most favour to the quene, and had gaged his fayth to the nobilitie of Scotland, for keeping of all thynges in quiet, untill the parlement; there arrived certayne bands of souldiours out of Fraunce into Leethe, whose coming made such a chaunge in the queene, as she newly caused the towne of Leeth to be fortified, being the principall porte of the realme, and placed twenty-two enseignes of souldiours, with one band of horsemen, therein. Herupon the nobilitie challenged the duke, who had nothing to saye, but entreated the queen, by his most humble letters, to forbear these mannor of doinges, wherin he could not prevayle. The force of the French was then encreased, Leeth fortified, all ammunition carried into the towne, nothyng left to the Scotts, whereby either well to defend themselves, or to annoye the towne. Beside this, out of

Fraunce there came dayly French powre by sea; yea, ther went allso, not denyed by the queen's majestie of England, captayns by land through England. Well, at the length, the duke, and all the nobilitie made new intercession by theyr letters, that she would forebare this fortificacion; for otherwyse her purpose of conquest would appeare to the whole realm; wherupon would grow great disquiet. But her comforth grew so greate owt of France, that she despised all requestes. And thus came the matter to the termes which the French courted; for now thought they it would be but 3 or 4 dayes' work to subdue Scotland: wherunto nevertheless besydes theyre owne powre, she entretayned two or three meane lords, such as lay betwyxt Leeth and Barwick, which was the erle Bothwell and lord Setan, who be the only two, of all the nobilitie of Scotland, that keepeth company with the queen; and yet, as they do notify themselves by their doynge, have their harts with their countrymen. And nowe the duke and the rest of the nobilitie, with the barons and burgeses of the realme, fyndyng no hope of remedy at her hands, but perceyvynge an eminent danger to the realme, which could not be avoyded by any entreaty, assembled themselves, as regrating the afflicted realme. They began depely to consyder, on the one part, the right of their sovereign lady, being married to a strange prince, and out of her realme, in the hands of Frenchmen only, without counsell of her own natural people; and therewith the mortalitie of her husband, or of her self, before she cold have issue: and on the other side, what the dowager, being a French woman, systar to the house which ruleth all in France, had done, attempted, and dayly persisted in ruinating unnaturally the liberties of her daughter, the queen's subjects, for ambition, to knitte that realme perpetually to France, whatsoever becam of her daughter; and so to execute their old malace upon England, the stile and title wherof they had already usurped; were in the end constrained to constitute a counsayle, for the governaunce of the realme, to the use of their soverayn lady: and therewith humbly to signifie to her the reasonable suspension of the dowager's authoritie; which to mayntayn, they have of themselves, as naturall subjects, convenient strength, being sore oppressed with the French powre; which untill this presant day they do, as they povers can endure, being very mean and unable that to do, compared to the meaneest force of France: so as although they have been of long tyme occasioned thus to doe; and now for safety, as well of their sovereign's right as of the ancient right of the crowne, have been forced to spend all ther substance, to hazard theyr lives, theyr wives and children, and country: yet can they not longer preserve themselves and the realm from conquest, by this power that is now arrived in Scotland, and is in readiness to be sent thither before next spring. And therefore they have communicated their hole cause to certayn of the queen's majestie's ministers upon the borders, and seek all the ways they can, how they might, without offence of hir majesty, committ theyr just and honorable cause to the protection of hir majesty; onely requiring this, that theyr realme may be saved from the conquest by France, and the right of theyr sovereign lady preserved, with all other rights of their nation of Scotland depending thereupon.

August, 1559.

The Petition of the Lords of Scotland, signed with there own hands.

We desire yat he hall nommeris of Frenchmen of weir being presentlie within yis realme, may be removed with speed; that we may in tymes coming leif quyettie without feir of thair troubill.

VOL. II.

Item. That we may haif place to sute of the king and queen our soveraignis sik articlis as ar necessarie for us, for pacification and perfect government of the realm, without alteration of our anteant liberties.

James Hamilton*. Ard Argyll. Glencarn.
James Stewart†. Alex. Gordon‡. John§.
R. Boyd. Uchiltre. John Maxwell.
Ruthuen. James Stewart||.

NUMBER LIV.

A short Discussion of the Weighty Matters of Scotland, Aug. 1559.—In Sir W. Cecil's Hand.

[Cott. Lib. Calig., B. 10.]

QUESTION, Whether it be mete that England should helpe the nobilitie, and Protestants of Scotland, to expell the French: or no?

That No.

- I. It is against God's law to ayd any subjects against their naturall prince, or their ministers.
- II. It is dangerouse to doo it; for if the ayd shal be no other than maye be kept in secretie, it cannot be great; and so consequently it shall not suffice. If it shall be open, it will procure warres, and the end therof is uncertain.
- III. It maye be dowted that when money spent is, and aide shall be given, the French maye compownd with the Scottes, and pardon that error, to joyne both in force ageynst England; which is more easy to be beleved, because they had rather make a shamefull composition with Scotland, than suffer it to be rejoyned, and united to the crown of England.
- IV. It may be dowbted, that to staye the progress of religion, ageynst the see of Rome, the emperor, the king catholicke, the pope, and the potentates in Italy, the duke of Savoye, will rather conspyre with the French king, than to suffer theis two monarchies to be joyned in one manner of religion. And in this part may be doubted that many, aswell Scottes as English, that can lyke very well to have these two kingdomes perfectly knitt in Amyttee, will not allowe them to be knitt in a lyke religion.

That Yea.

- I. First, It is agreeable, both to the law of God and nature, that every prynce, and publyck state, shuld defend it self; not only from perills presently sene, but from dangers that be probably sene to come shortly after.
- II. Secondly, Nature and reason teacheth every person, politick, or other, to use the same manner of defence, that the adversary useth in offence.

Upon theis two prynciplees agreed will evidently follow, that England both maye, and ought to ayde Scotland to kepe owt the Frenche.

1. First, The crowne of England hath a good title to the superioryte of Scotland; and ought to defend the libertyes thereof, as themporer is bound to defend the state of Millane, or of Boheme, being held of the empyre. And to prove this superioryte, remaine undowted proofes under seale, of sondry homages done to this crowne by the kings of Scotland successively. Of their accessses to the parlements of England. Of the episcopall jurisdiction of the see of York over Scotland: In consideration wherof, if it may appere that the French meane to subdue Scotland,

* The earl of Aran always signs thus, for the title of Aran was in his father at that time.

† This seems to be the lord James, afterwards made earl of Murray.

‡ The earl of Huntley's son.

§ Cannot be read.

Probably the earl of Atholl's son.

and so to exempt that realme from the amytye of England, it semeth that England is of duety, and in honour bound to preserve the realme of Scotland from such an absolute dominion of the French.

2. *Item.* Beside this interest that England hath in the crowne of Scotland, for the quiet possession, wheras France hath onely by there warres kept the realme of England*. It is most manifest that France cannot any wise so redely, so puissantly, so easely, offend, yea, invade, and put the crown of England in daunger, as if they may recover an absolute authorite over Scotland: And before that be proved, it semeth not out of order, though not very nedefull to make manifest that the French ar to be taken as enemyes in will, though not in manifest words.

How long time they have bene enemyes to England, how bricke, how false, how double their pacts of peace have bene, the storyes be witnesses, theis seven hundred yeres. Was there ever king of England, with whom they have not made warres? And now of late, upon what occasion they made peace with England, is too manifest. It was by reason of wearyness and povertie, which was such, as the late French king forbore not to expresse in his letters to the queen of England, mentioning the invasions made in Bryttaine by sea. And indede this is to be received as a principle, that France cannot be poor above one or two yeres, nether can so long be out of wars. The revenues of the French crown are thyngs unknown: the insolency of the French nation, being in hope of victory, is not unknown. The long old hatred of the House of Guise, which now occupyeth the king's authorite, agaynst England, hath been often well understood.

And, to come nerer to the matter; it is manifest many wayes what manner a platt that House hath made, to bereave the queen's majesty of hir crowne. In Queen Mary's tyme, the French did not let to divulge ther opinions agaynst this lawfull title of the queen's majesty; and, as it was well known, had not Almighty God favored the Queen's Majesty to come to the Crowne with such universall joy of hir people, the French had proclaimed ther title both in France and Scotland.

And likewise in the treaty of the peace at Chasteau in Cambresis, it appeared what they would have compassed, when they pressed the Burgundians to conclude with them, and over-pass the treaty with England —allegding, that they could not tell how to treat with England, but to the prejudice of ther right: the dauphiness, his daughter, then having right to the crown of England. How bold they wold have been, if at that tyme she had been queen of France and her husband king, as he now is? For then the wisdom of the constable governed the rashness of the Guisians.

Since the peace concluded, whilst the French king lived, what means they made at Rome to have made the queen's majesty to be declared illegitimate, is manifest; and so as it is known that the same sentence is brought into France, under the Pope's bulls. Likewise, at the confirmation of the peace betwixt Spain and France, at the solemnities even when the French king was slayne, it appereth, what manifest injurie and dishonour they did to the Queen's Majesty, to assign the arms of England and Ireland to the French queen, and that in all their pageants: And being admonished thereof by the ambassador, wold nether make collorable excuse nor leave it, but both continued therein, and also to despise the queen's majesty's ambassador, and ratification of the peace with the stile. M. Meulas served them with silver

vessell stamped with the same usurped armes. How lightly they have esteemed the queen's majesty in all this tyme appereth: for here they be bound by treaty to deliver 4 hostages; notwithstanding that they have been pressed therto, they have sent but three,— wherof one or two be such as if they had not been here; but, whether the queen's majestie had not suffered the dishonour, to have one of her subjects murdered, and no redress therof, but, as it appered, when they had committed the murder, they disdained, and quarrelled against such as did but seke to understand the offenders.

Now the very cause why they stay the prosecution hereof is this, their interruption and parboylls unlooked for in Scotland, which doth so occupy them as they nether can ne dare to utter ther former malicious purpose untill that be ended.

But surely, besid there old cankered malyce to this realm, this matter so inflameth the house of Guise, that they will not forbear one day longer than of mere necessity they shall be constreyned, to bord this realm with that fayned tytyle, and to avance the same. It is known that they have sent a great seale into Scotland with the armes, and very stile and title of England and Ireland, and what more manefest arguments can be to shew what they mean and intend then these. In princes practices it is mere childshness to tarry untill the practices be set abrode, for then were it as good to tarry till the trumpet sound wars. All thyngs have there causes preceeding before, but nothing hath his causes preceeding more secretly than the practices of princes; and of all other none is so cunning as the French.

It followeth to be considered, that now the French have no convenient way to invade England but by Scotland; by Carlisle they were accustomed, by sea is not so convenient for them, the same being too chargeable for them to assayle: wherefore if it be sene that they will persue their purpose, and that by Scotland, then reason must force England, to confess that to avoyd this danger so apparant, can no way be devised, but to help that the French have not such rule and overhand in Scotland as that they may by that realm invade England.

Lastly, It is to be considered how dangerouse it is for England to be invaded by the way of Scotland.

First, If the French shall present to England a battle, either they will do it with strangers, or French and strangers. If they win, which God forbid, they put in hazard this crown; and though they lese, yet do they not put there own kingdom of France in danger. And therefore it is double the danger for England, to venter battle upon the frontiers of England, to a battle upon the marches of Calais, or Bulloyness.

A Conclusion.

It seemeth the weightiest matter to be considered, that either hath, or can chance to England, what is presently to be done for the aid of Scotland; for if it shuld be nedefull the delay will adventure the whole: and if loss come it is unrecoverable. Wherefore it were good that the cause were well and secretly weighted: first, by discreet and wise men, that have experience, affected to the English nation, special love to the queens majesties person; and that done, to send by some colour for the nobilitie, and to consult with them, or ells to send some trusty persons with credit to understand their minds.

* A word seems wanting; probably "in danger."

NUMBER LV.

The Bond of Association with this Title, And Contraction of the Lords and Barons, to defend the Liberty of the Evangell of Christ.

[Copied from the original at Hamilton.]

AT Edinburgh, the twintie seventh of Apryll, the year of God ane thousand fyve hundred threescore years: we whaes names are underwritten, haif promittit and obliedged our selves faithfully, in the presence of our God, and be thir presents promitts, that we altogether in general, and every one of us in special, be himself, with our bodices, goods, friends, and all that we may do, sall set forwart the reformation of religion, according to Goddes worde; and procure, be all means possible, that the true preaching of Goddes word, may haif free passage within this realme, with dew administration of the sacraments, and all thinges depending upon the said worde. And sicklyke deiply weighing with our selves the misbehaviour of the Franche ministers heir, the intolerable oppressions committed be the Franchmen of weir upon the puir subjects of this realme, be meynenance of the queen dowriare, under collour and pretence of authority; the tyranny of their captains and leaders, and manifest danger of conquest, in whilk this countrie presently stands; be reason of diverse fortifications on the sea-coast, and other novelties of late attemptat be them; promitts that we sall als weell every one with others, as altogether with the queen of England's armie, presently come in for our deliverance, effectually concurr and joyn together, taking one fold and plain part of the expulsion of the said strayngars, oppressors of our liberty, furth of this realme, and recovery of our ancient freedoms and liberties; to the end in tyme coming we may, under the obedience of our king and queen our sovereigns, be only reulyt be the laws and customes of the countrie, and by the men of the land: and that never any of us all haiff pryvy intelligence, be writing, or message, or communication, with any of our said enemys or adversars in this cause, bot be the advyce of the rest, at leist of fyve of our numbers: attour, that we sall tender this present cause, as if it were the cause of every one of us in particular; and that the cause of every one of us now joyred together, being leifull and honest, shall be all our causes in general. And he that is enemy to the cause forsaid sall be enemy to us all: in so far, that whatsomever person will plainly resist thir our godly interprysis, and will not concurr as ane guid member of this common weill, we sall fortify the authority of the counsell, to reduce them to their duty: like as we sall fortify the said authority of the counsale in all thinges tending to the furtherance of the said cause. And giff any particular debate, quarrell, or contraversee sall aryse, for whatsomever cause, by-gain, present, or to come, betwixt any of us, (as God forbid,) in that case we sall submit our selves and our said questions to the decision of the counsale, or to arbitrators to be named be them. Providing allwayes, that this be not prejudicial to the ordinar jurisdiction of judges: but that men may persue their actions by ordour of law, civilly or criminally, befor the judges ordinars, gif they please.

NUMBER LVI.

A Letter of Jewel's to Peter Martyr, setting forth the Progress that Superstition had made in Queen Mary's Reign.

[Ex MSS. Tigur.]

Juellus ad Martyrem.

S.P.—TANDEM tamen aliquando Londinum redij, confecto molestissimo itinere, confecto corpore. Tu fortasse me, quod nihil scriberem, putabas esse mortuum. Ego verò interea tres totos menses longinqua, et perdifficili Legatione distinebar. Cum essem Bristolij, redditæ mihi sunt Literæ tuæ, quas secum Randolphus noster adduxerat; ita amicè scriptæ, itaq; suaves, ut mihi omnem illam molestiam itinerum, atque occupationum prorsus exciperent ex Animo. Tanquam enim si præsens adfuisses, ita tum mihi videbar tecum colloqui. Randolphus, antequam ego redirem, abierat in Gallias: Itaque ego miser, privatus sum bona parte suavitatis tuæ, quam tu illi præsens præsentī verbis commendaveras. Literas meas in itinere intercidisse, video: Quas enim ego octavas dederem, eas video ad te vix quintas pervenisse. Sed de Legatione, iniquica, illa vestra quid tandem factum est? Accipe ergo uno verbo, quod mihi exploratu perlongum fuit. Invenimus ubique animos multitudinis satis propensos ad religionem; ibi etiam, ubi omnia putabantur fore difficillima. Incredible tamen dictu est, in illis tenebris Mariani temporis, quanta ubique proruperit Seges, et Sylva Superstitionum. Invenimus passim votivas Reliquias supersticiosas Divorum, clavos, quibus fatui Christum confixum fuisse somniabant; et, nescio quas, Portiunculas Sacre Crucis. Magarum et veneficarum numerus ubique in immensum excreverat. Ecclesiæ Cathedrales nihil aliud erant, quam speluncæ latronum, aut si quid nequius, aut foedius dici potest. Si quid erat obstinate militie, id totum erat in Presbyteris, illis præsertim, qui aliquando stetissent à nostra Sententia. Illi nunc, credo, ne parum considerate videantur mutasse voluntatem, turbant omnia: Sed turbant, quantum velint. Nos tamen interim, illos de gradu, et de Sacerdotiis exturbavimus. Hardingus, Homo constans, locum mutare maluit, quam sententiam. Sidallus subscripsit quidem, sed constanter; hoc est, per invitum. Smithæus autem tuus; quid ille? inquires. An potest à Nazareth quicquam proficisci boni? Mihi crede, ut veterem illam suam Constantiam retineret, nunc tandem etiam quinto recantavit. Fatuus, cum videret Religionem esse immutatam, mutata veste, statim fugam ornaverat in Scotiam. Sed cum hæreret in finibus, captus est, et retractus ex itinere. Ibi statim Homo gravis, et Columen atque Antistes Religionis, accessit ad nos, reliquit omnes suos, et repente factus est Adversarius infestissimus Papistarum. I nunc, et nega Transubstantiationem. Papistarum acies penè sua sponte ceciderunt. O, nisi nobis deesset operæ, non male de Religione sperari posset. Difficile enim est curram agere sine jumento, præsertim adverso monte. Heri, ubi primum Londinium redij, audiui ex Episcopo Cantuariensi, te invitari ad nos, et tibi Lectionem illam tuam veterem asservari. Quid sit, nescio: Hoc tantum possum affirmare, neminem adhuc delectum esse, qui Oxonij doceat sacras Literas. Equidem te, mi Pater, videre percipio, et præsertim in Anglia. Quid enim ni cupiam, quem toties cupio etiam nunc videre Tiguri? Sed novi tuam Prudentiam: Nosti Genium, et Ingenium Insularum. Ea, quæ nunc videmus, esse inchoata, utinam sint boni Principia. Nihil est hodie illà Scholà desperatius. Putabis te, cum ibi esses, penè luisse operam: Ita in lætissima

aliquando Segete, nunc infelix Lolium, et steriles dominantur avenæ. Liber tuus de Votis, ut alia tua omnia, avidissimè distrahitur. Omnes nunc expectamus, quàm mox editurus sis alias Commentationes in Librum Judicum, et in duos Libros Samuelis. Omnes enim nunc nostri sciunt, te illos Libros habere præ manibus, et velle edere. Suecus, et Carolus Ferdinandi F. mirrificissimè ambiunt. Sed Suecus impensè : Ille enim, modo impetret, montes argenteos pollicetur. Sed illa fortasse Thalamos propiores cogitat. Alanus noster obiit diem suum, postquam designatus esset Episcopus Roffensis. Ex Scotiâ hoc tempore nihil audimus, quod tibi possit videre novum. Docetur Evangelium, Ecclesiæ assiduè colliguntur, et omnia prisce Superstitionis Monumenta convelluntur. Galli tamen sperant, se posse et Regnum, et Religionem retinere. Quicquid futurum est, scribam ad te aliàs pluribus. Instat nunc Annus sexagesimus, de quò mihi tu solebas aliquando ex Torquato quodam Stato, nescio quæ, mirifica predicare. Faxit Deus, ut verum et solidum Gaudium gaudeamus, ut aliquando Orbi terrarum patefiat *ὁ ἄνθρωπος τῆς ἀπολείας*, et in omnium oculos incurrat Evangelij Jesu Christi Veritas. Vale, mi Pater, et Uxorem tuam meis verbis resaluta, Mulierem mihi quidem ignotam, sed nunc ex tuis Literis, et Abeli nostri Prædicatione, notissimam. Gratulor et te illi, et illam tibi.

Saluta D. Bullingerum, D. Gualterum, D. Bernardinum, D. Hermannum, Julium, Juliam, Martyrillum. Frenshamum meum longum valere jubeo. Puto enim illum jam solvisse à vobis, et esse cum Christo. Omnes nostri te salutant, tibi quæ omnia precantur. Londini, 2 Novembr. 1559.

Tuus ex Animo, Jo. JUELLUS.

D. Etonus instantissimè rogavit, ut te suo Nomine salutarem. Si posset ipse Latine scribere, non uteretur manu mea. Crede mihi, Nemo de te aut sæpius, aut honorificentius loquitur. Uxor etiam ejus Salutem, et tibi dicit, et Uxori tue.

Inscriptio.—Doctissimo atque Ornatissimo Viro, D. Petro Martyri, profitenti Sacras Scripturas in Ecclesia Tigurina.

NUMBER LVII.

A Letter of Jewel's to Peter Martyr, concerning the Earnestness of some about Vestments and Rituals.

[Ex MSS. Tigur.]

Idem ad Eundem.

BIDVO, postquam ex longo et perdifficili itinere rediissem, et lassus de via, atq; anhelans, nescio quid, ad te scripsissem, redditæ mihi sunt à te literæ ternæ eodem tempore : Quarum suavissimâ lectione ita sum exhilaratus, ut omnem illam superiorum dierum molestiam prorsus abjecerim ex animo. Etsi enim quoties de te cogito, quod certò assiduè, et in singulas Horas facio, et nisi facerem, ingratus essem, ipsa cogitatione, et memoriâ tui nominis perfundor gaudio, tamen cum literas tuas ad me scriptas lego videor mihi esse Tiguri, et te videre coram, et tecum amœnissimè colloqui : Quod equidem, mihi crede, pluris æstimo, quam omnes opes Episcoporum. De Religione quod scribis, et veste scenica, ô utinam id impetrari potuisset. Nos quidem tam bonæ causæ non defuimus. Sed illi, quibus ista tantoperè placuerunt, credo, sequuti sunt inscitiam presbyterorum : Quos, quoniam nihil aliud videbant esse, quam stipites, sine ingenio, sine doctrina, sine moribus, veste saltem comica volabant populo commendari. Nam ut alantur bonæ literæ, et surrogetur seges aliqua doctorum hominum, nulla, ô Deus bone, nulla hoc tempore cura suscipitur.

Itaque quoniam vera via non possunt, istis ludicris ineptiis teneri volunt oculos multitudinis. Sunt quidem istæ, ut tu optimè scribis reliquæ Amorehæorum. Quis enim id neget ? Atque utinam aliquando ab imis radicibus auferri, et extirpari possint, nostræ quidem nec vices ad eam rem, nec voces deerunt. Quod scribis esse quosdam, qui nullam adhuc significationem dederint suæ erga te voluntatis, subolfacio equidem quos dicas. Sed, mihi crede, non sunt eo numero, aut loco, quò tu fortasse putas, quoque omnis Israel illos sperabat fore. Nam si essent. Non scriperunt hactenus ad te, non quòd nolnerint, aut tui obliti fuerint, sed quòd puduerit scribere, nunc uterque laborat gravissimè, è quartana, sed

quoniam est naturâ tristori, multò gravius. Inge-nuisti, pro tua erga communem causam pietate, cum audires nihil prospectum esse cuiquam nostrum. Nunc ergo rursus ingeme. Nam ne adhuc quidem quicquam. Tantum circumferimus inanes titulos Episcoporum, et à Scoto, et Thoma defecimus ad Occamistas et Nominales. Sed, ut scis, magna sunt momenta regnorum. Regina ipsa et causæ favet, et nobis cupit. Quamobrem, etsi satis dura sunt ista initia, tamen non abjicimus animos, nec desinimus sperare lætiora. Facile intereunt, quæ facili maturitatem assequuntur. De Libro tuo, memini me, antequam discederem Londino, ad te scripsisse pluribus. Sed illæ literæ fortasse, ut fit, perierint itinere. Hoc etiam adscripsi, Reginam ultro et cupidè legisse, Epistolam, et apud ipsam, atq; in universam doctrinam, atque ingenium tuum mirificè predicasse : Librumque illum tuum ab omnibus bonis tanti fieri, quanti haud scio an aliud quicquam in hoc genere. Nihil autem tibi hactenus donatum esse, hei mihi, quod ego dicam ? Pudet me, nec scio, quid respondeam. Tamen Regina sedulò sciscitata est nuntium, quid ageres, ubi viveres, quâ valetudine, quâ conditione esses, an posses per ætatem iter facerè. Omnino velle se omnibus modis te invitari in Angliam, ut, qui tua voce coluisses Academiam, eandem nunc dissipatam, et miserè habitam eadem voce irrigares. Postea tamen, nescio quo pacto, Deliberationes Saxonicae, et Legationes Segulianæ ista Consilia peremerunt. Tamen quicquid est, nihil est hoc tempore celebrius, quam Petrum Martyrem invitari, et propediem venturum esse in Angliam. O utinam res nostræ aliquando stabilitatem aliquam, et robur assequantur. Cupio enim, mi Pater, te videre, et suavissimis Sermonibus, et amicissimis Consiliis tuis frui. Quem ego diem si videro, vel potius, uti spero, mihi videro quas Samara-brinas, aut Sarisburias non contemnâ ? Vale dulce decus meum, atque animi plusquam dimidium mei. Saluta uxorem tuam optimam mulierem meo nomine. Deus faxit, ut felicitate pariat, et pulchra faciat te prole Parentem. Saluta D. Bullingerum, D. Gualterum, D. Lavaterum, D. Simlerum, D. Gesnerum, D. Frisium, Julium, Juliam, et Martyrillum, D. Hermannum tuum, meumque. Nostri omnes te salutant. Londini, 5 Novemb. 1559.

Tuus ex animo quantus quantus,

Jo. JUELLUS.

Inscriptio.—Doctissimo atque Ornatissimo Viro, D. Petro Martyri, profitenti sacras literas in Schola Tigurinâ Domino suo Colendissimo—

NUMBER LVIII.

A Letter of Jewel's to Peter Martyr, full of Apprehensions.

Ejusdem ad Eundem.

S. P.—ETSI ante non ita multos dies ad te scripserim, et hoc tempore nihil hic sit, quod tu magnopere

scire velis, tamen, quoniam te ita velle non dubito, illud ipsum, nihil malo scribere, quam istum nuntium, quem fortè audieram velle Coloniam proficisci, inanem à me dimittere. Religio apud nos eo loco est, quo jam antea ad te scripsi sæpius. Omnia docentur ubique purissimè. In ceremoniis et larvis passim plusculum ineptitur. Crucula illa argenteola malè nata, malè auspicata, adhuc stat in larario Principis. Me miserum: Res ea facile trahetur in exemplum. Spes erat aliquando tandem ereptum iri. Idque ut fieret, nos omnes dedimus diligenter, et adhuc damus operam. Sed jam quantum video conclamatum est. Ita prorsus obfirmati sunt animi. Nimis prudenter ista mihi videntur geri, nimisq; mysticè. Et quo tandem res nostræ casuræ sint, Deus viderit. *Ἰπποὶ βαδύποδες* morantur currum. Cæcilius causæ nostræ impensè favit. Episcopi adhuc designati tantum sunt: Interim prædia pulchrè augment fiscum. Academia utraque, et ea præsertim, quam tu non ita pridem doctissimè atq; optime coluisti, miserrimè nunc disjecta jacet, sine Pietate, sine Religione, sine Doctore, sine spe ulla Literarum. Multi de te cogitant primarii, et tibi non ignoti viri, et te primo quoque tempore, vel invitis omnibus Seguleiis, accersitum cupiunt. Ego vero, qui tibi, si quis alius mortalium, et animo, atq; unicè cupio, author sum, ut si voceris, quod tamen inter ista arma futurum vix puto, tamen ne quid præcipites. Novi ego Prudentiam tuam: Et tu vicissim, spero, Observantiam erga te meum. Equidem hoc possum verè affirmare, neminem esse Hominem, cui conspectus tuus jucundior futurus sit; quam mihi. Tamen ut sunt res nostræ fluxæ, incertæ, instabiles, utque uno verbo dicam, insulares, magis te salvum audire absentem cupio, quam præsentem videre cum periculo. Sed ista parùm opportunè. Literas enim silere æquum est inter arma. Nos terra mariq; juvenum vicinum Scotum. Nosti enim, Tum tua res agitur paries cum proximus ardet. Gallum adventurum aiunt cum omnibus copiis. Et fortassè non minoribus excipietur. Londini, 16 Novemb. 1559.

JO. JUELLUS,
Totus tuus.

Istæ sunt Nonæ.

Inscriptio.—Ornatissimo et longè Doctissimo Viro, D. Petro Martyri, proficenti Sacras Scripturas in Schola Tigurina, Domino suo Colendissimo—
Tiguri.

NUMBER LIX.

The Queen's Letter to the Emperor, concerning her Aversion to Marriage.—An Original.

[Paper Office.]

Nos, in ipsius animi nostri sensus diligenter inquirendo, non Invenimus in nobis Voluntatem ullam deserendi hanc Solitariam Vitam, sed potiùs, juvante Deo, libentem animi Inductionem in eadem diutius porro vita perseverandi: nos certe necessario ob eam ipsam causam eo in his literis uterem sermone, qui cum corde nostro omnino consentiat, quem ut amanter accipiet, et benevole interpretetur vestra Majestas, admodum rogamus. In quo nostro sermone, si novum aliquid inesse videatur, quod facile potest accidere, si ætas nostra cum reliquis conditionis nostræ rationibus consideretur. Nullum tamen nos novum hoc tempore, aut subitum Consilium suscipere, sed vetus potius retinere videri jure debemus; cum tempus quidem fuit, quo tempore censuissè ad præclara sane et honorata Connubia eripere nos potuisset, è certis quibusdam magnis mœroribus et periculis: De quibus rebus non amplius dicemus; nos tamen nec discriminis mala, nec libertatis cupiditate moveri potuimus, ut animi nostri Voluntatem ullo modo ad eam rem adduceremus. Itaque haud volumus,

vel aperte recusando videri, Vestram Majestatem offendere, vel contra, occasionem dando id verbis concedere, quod mente et voluntate non instituimus.
5 Januarii, 1559.

Vestras Majestatis bona Soror et Consanguinea,
ELISABETHA R.
R. Ascamus.

NUMBER LX.

A Letter of Bishop Jewel's to Peter Martyr, concerning the Cross in the Queen's Chapel.

Ejusdem ad Eundem.

O MI Pater, quid ego ad te scribam? Rei non multum est, temporis quidè multò minùs; sed quoniam te scio delectari brevitate, te auctore scribam brevis. Nunc ardet Lis illa Crucularia. Vix credas in re fatua quantum homines, qui sapere aliquid videbantur, insaniant. Ex illis, quos quidem tu noris, præter Coxum, nullus est. Crastino die instituetur de ea re Disputatio. Arbitri erunt è Senatu selecti quidam viri. Actores inde Cantuariensis et Coxus; hinc Grindallus Londinensis Episcopus, et ego. *Eventus ἐν κριτῶν γούρασι κριταί.* Rideo tamen, cum cogito, quibus illi, et quàm gravibus, ac solidis rationibus defensuri sint suam Cruculam. Sed quicquid erit, scribam posthac pluribus. Nunc enim sub iudice lis est; tamen quantum auguror, non scribam posthac ad te Episcopus. Eò enim jam res pervenit, ut aut Cruces argenteæ et stannæ, quas nos ubique confregimus, restituendæ sint, aut Episcopatus relinquendi.

Sed quid ago? destitutor tempore, et obruor negotiis, et invitus cogor finem facere. Tamen hoc scire debes, Vitum, amicum tuum summum, et popularem Episcopum Vintoniensem, et Oglethorpum Carliolensem, et Bainum Litchfieldensem, et Tonstallum Saturnum Dunelmensem, ante aliquot dies esse mortuos. Samsonus ruri agit longè gentium; Parkhurstus in Regno suo. Itaque mirum videri non debet, si ad vos scribant infrequentius.

Saluta, quæso, Reverendissimum Patrem D. Bullingerum, D. Bernardinum, D. Wolphium, D. Hermannum, et Julium: Ad quos ego omnes libenter scriberem hoc tempore, si esset otium. Saluta optimam illam Mulierem, Uxorem tuam, et Annam, et Martyrillum tuum. Etonus, Etona, Abelus, Abela, Grindallus, Sandus, Scoræus, Falconerus, Elmenus, te salutant, et cum tibi omnia cupiant, nihil magis cupiunt, quàm Angliam. Quamquam, ut adhuc sunt Res nostræ, crede mihi, pulchrum est esse Tiguri. Benè vale, mi Pater, benè vale. Londini, 4 Februarii, 1560.

Tibi Deditissimus,

JO. JUELLUS TUUS.

Inscriptio.—Doctissimo Viro D. Petro Martyri, Vermilio, proficenti Sacras Literas in Schola Tigurina, Domino suo Colendissimo—*Tiguri.*

NUMBER LXI.

A Letter of Bishop Sands, expressing the Uneasiness he was in, by reason of the Idol in the Queen's Chapel.

[Ex MSS. Tiguri.]

Edwinus Wigornensis ad Martyrem.

Salutem in Christo.

Quod nullas tam diu, Vir Reverende, Literas ad te dederim, non officij quidem erga te mei oblitus, aut quid tua de me mereatur Humanitas leviter perpendens, id feci, sed negotiorum multitudine obrutus, scribendi munus pro tempore invitus intermisi, quod

cum Tabellarij jam sese offert opportunitas, diutius differendum non censeo. Sub Augusti initium, cum Literas ad te dedissem, in partes Angliæ boreales, ad abusus Ecclesiæ tollendas, et Ritus Pietati et veræ Religioni consonantes, eidem restituendos, tanquam Inspector et Visitator, ut vocant, cum Principis Mandato dimissus; et illic ad Novembri usque initium, assidue in obeundo quod mihi creditum erat munere, non sine maximis cum Corporis tum Animi Laboribus versatus, Londinum tandem redij. Ubi novæ rursus Curæ advenientem acceperunt, majorque negotiorum moles humeros premebat: Opera enim mea in Episcopatu Wigornienſi administrando à Principe requirebatur, tandemque reluctanti, Episcopi munus imponitur. Volui quidem ut antea Carliolensem, ad quem nominatus eram, hunc etiam Episcopatum omnino recusare; at id non licuit, nisi et Principis Indignationem mihi procurare, et Christi Ecclesiam quodammodo deserere voluissem. Sub hac, Literas tuas, omni humanitate plenissimas, Burcherus mihi tradidit; quibus, per eundem, quum hinc discederet, respondere distuli; partim, quod Res Angliæ tum temporis non ita mutatae, sed in eodem quasi gradu consistentes, exiguum scribendi materiam suppedabant; partim verò, quod novum illud Onus (sic enim verius quam Honos dici potest) novis Curis et Negotiis me mirum in modum distrahebat. En diuturni Silentij mei causam habes, Vir plurimum observande. Eucharistiæ Doctrina hactenus Dei Beneficio non impugnata, nobis salva et incolumis manet, mansuramque speramus. Pro viribus enim et ipse, et alij Fratres Co-episcopi, illam quoad vixerimus, Deo juvante tuebimur. De Imaginibus, jampridem nonnihil erat Controversiæ. R. Majestas, non alienum esse à Verbo Dei, immò in commodum Ecclesiæ fore putabat, si Imago Christi crucifixi, unà cum Maria et Joanne, ut tales, in celebriori Ecclesiæ loco poneretur, ubi ab omni Populo facillimè conspiceretur. Quidem ex nobis longè aliter judicabant; præsertim cum omnes omnis generis Imagines, in proxima nostra Visitatione, idque publica Autoritate, non solum sublatae, verum etiam combustae erant: Cumque huic Idolo, præ cæteris, ab ignara et superstitionosa plebe Adoratio solet adhiberi. Ego, quia vehementer eram in ista res, nec ullo modo consentire poteram, ut lapsus Occasio Ecclesiæ Christi daretur; non multum aberat, quin et ab Officio amoveret, et Principis Indignationem incurrerem. At Deus, in cujus manu Corda sunt Regum, pro Tempestate Tranquillitatem dedit, et Ecclesiam Anglicanam ab hujusmodi offendiculis liberavit: tantum manent in Ecclesia nostra Vestimenta illa Papistica, Capas intellige, quas diu non duraturas speramus. Quantum, ex eo quod te tuaque præsentia jam destituitur, Anglia detrimenti capiat, hic Ecclesiæ et Religionis negotium, diligenter et sepius apud eos, quibus Reipublicæ Cura imminet, commemorare soleo. Nescio tamen quomodo animis eorum, in alias res gravissimas intentis, nihil hactenus de te accersendo statutum video. Semel sat scio Reginæ in animo fuit, ut te vocaret: Quid verò impedit, puto te facillè ex te colligere posse. Causa Christi multos semper habet adversarios; et qui optimi sunt, pessimè semper audiunt. Sacramentum illud Unitatis, magnas facit hodie divisiones. Novum tibi Conjugium gratulor: Precor ut felix faustumque sit; quemadmodum et mihi ipsi opto, qui eam Conjugij Legem nuper subij. Mirus hic belli apparatus est, partim ad propulsandam Gallorum vim, si fortè dum Scotiam sibi subjugare conentur, nostras fines invaserint, partim ad auxilium Scotis contra Gallos ferendum, sicubi Pacie fœdus nobiscum initum violaverint Galli. Det Deus, ut omnia in Nominis sui Gloriam, et Evangelij Propagationem cedant. Hæc priusquam me Wigorniam recipiam, quo brevi profecturum me

spero, Literis tibi significanda duxi. Fasius verò scripsissem, nisi quod sciam Fratrem nostrum Juellum, Episcopum Sarisburiensem, sæpe et diligenter de rebus nostris omnibus te certiore facturum. Si qua in re tibi gratificari queam, crede mihi, mi Honorande Petre, me semper ulterius quoad vixero; immò etiam post Vitam, si fieri potest, pro arbitratu tuo.

Saluta quæso plurimum meo nomine, Clarissimum Virum D. Bullingerum. Debeo ipsi Literas, imò omnia ipsi debeo; et tantum solvam quantum possim, si quando offerat sese Occasio. Saluta Uxorem tuam, Julium cum Julia, D. Hermannum, Paulum et Martyrillum meum; quibus omnibus omnia felicia precor. Vale, Humanissime, Doctissime, ac Colendissime D. Petre. Londini, festinanter, Aprilis primo 1560.

Tuus ex Animo,

EDWINUS WIGORNENSIS.

Inscriptio.—Clarissimo ac Doctissimo Viro, D. Doctori Petro Martyri, Domino suo plurimum Colendo—*Figuri.*

NUMBER LXII.

A Letter of Dr. Sampson's to Peter Martyr, setting forth his Reasons of not accepting a Bishoprick.

[Ex MSS. Tiguri.]

Idem ad Eundem.

Argent. Dec. 17.

Ego te per Christum rogo, mi Pater optime, ne graveris mihi quàm citissime respondere ad hæc pauca. Quomodo nobis agendum sit in Titulo illo, vel concedendo, vel denegando. Supremum Caput post Christum Ecclesiæ Anglicanæ, &c. Universa Scriptura videtur hoc soli Christo tribuere, ut Caput Ecclesiæ vocetur. Secundò, Si Regina me ad aliquod Munus Ecclesiasticum, dico, ad Ecclesiam aliquam regendam vocaret; an salva Conscientia recipere possum, quum, hæc mihi videantur sufficere excusationis loco, ne in id consentirem. 1. Quod propter Disciplinæ Ecclesiasticæ defectum, Episcopus, vel Pastor, non possit suo fungi Officio. 2. Quod tot sint civilia Gravamina, Episcopatu, vel Pastori imposita, ut puta, primorum (ut dicimus) Frugum, i. e. Redituum primi Anni, tum Decimarum, ad hæc in Episcopatibus tot et tanta, insumenda sunt in equis alendis, in armis, in aulis, quæ semper præstò debent esse; et ut tu nosti, ut quam minima pars Episcopatum relinquatur, ad necessaria Episcopo munia obeunda, nempe ad Doctos alendos, ad Pauperes pascendos, aliaque facienda quæ illius Ministerium reddant gratum. 3. Ut hoc ad Episcopos præcipuè referatur, quod nunc scribo, tanta est in eorum electione degeneratio à primâ Institutione, neque Cleri enim, neque Populi consensus habetur, tanta superstitioni ornatus Episcopalis vanitas, ne dicam indignitas, quanta vix puto bene ferri possit, si modo omnia nobis facienda ad id quod expedit. Quod ad me attinet, non hæc scribo quasi talia sperarem; immò Deum precor ex animo, ne unquam talia mihi contingant onera; sed à te fidissimo meo Parente consilium peto, quo possim Instructor esse, si talia mihi obtingant. Ego sic responderem, Me quidem paratum esse in aliquo quocunque velit illa, inservire Concionandi munere, cæterum Ecclesiam Regendam me non posse suscipere, nisi ipsa prius justa Reformatione Ecclesiasticorum munerum, facta, Ministris Jus concedat omnia secundum Verbum Dei administrandi, et quantum ad Doctrinam, et quantum ad Disciplinam, et quantum ad bona Ecclesiastica. Si autem quæ sit illa Reformatio, quam peto, interrogetur; ex prioribus tribus Articulis, poteris tu conjicere, quæ ego petenda putem. Simpliciter, mi Pater, apud te solum depono Cordis mei secreta; teque per Christum rogo, ut mea

secretò apud te solum teneas, et mihi quam citissime rescribas, quid mihi hic faciendum putes: Adde etiam quæ addenda putas, ut urgeatur illa Reformatio, et aliqd de ipsa Reformatione. Literas tuas ad Hætonum mitte: Ille curabit ad me transferri. Cæterum, te per Christum rogo, ut quanta poteris festinantia scribas. Ego brevi iturus sum versus Angliam. Habemus Papistas, Anabaptistas, et plurimos Evangelicos Adversarios, et Doctrinæ et piæ Reformationi: Contra hos, ut tueatur, Gloriam Christi, promoveatque Vexillum Christi, quis idoneus? O mi Pater, pro me roga Deum incessanter.

Tuus tutos,

TH. SAMPSON.

Inscriptio.—Clarissimo Viro, D. D. Petro Martyri—*Tiguri.*

NUMBER LXIII.

A Second Letter of Sampson's, expressing great uneasiness that matters were not carried on as he wished.

[Ex MSS. Tiguri.]

Idem ad Eundem.

QUAS scripsisti Literas quarto Novembris, accepi tertio Januarij. Jam unum Annum egi in Anglia, non ita quietum; vereor autem, ne sequens Annus plus molestiarum mihi pariat. Non tamen solus timco mihi, sed omnes nobis timemus. Nec tamen audeo scriptis mandare, quæ imminere nobis videntur mala. Vos ergo Sanctissimi Patres, Teque imprimis, D. Petro, Pater et Præceptor Clarissime, per Jesum Christum obtestor ut strenuè Deum deprecari velitis: Hoc, hoc, inquam, contendite, ne Veritas Evangelij vel obfuscetur, vel evertatur apud Anglos. Gratias tibi ago, suavissime Pater, quod tam sis diligens in scribendo. Satisfecisti tu, satisfacit et D. Bullingerus mihi, in Quæstionibus; utrisque immortalis Deus noster rependat. Consecratio Episcoporum aliorum jara habita est: D. Parkerus Cantuariensis, D. Cox Eliensis, D. Grindall Londinensis, D. Sands Vigorniensis, notos tibi nomino: Unus alius, Wallus, etiam est Episcopus, sed tibi ignotus. Sequitur brevi, D. Pylyktonus Vintoniensis, D. Benthamus Coventrensis, et tuus Juellus Sarisburiensis, brevi, inquam, ut audio, sunt isti consecrandi (ut nostro utar vocabulo). Ego in limine hæreo, neque enim vel egressus, vel ingressus datur. O quam vellem egredi. Deus ipse novit, quam hoc aveam. Episcopi sint alij; ego vellem aut Concionatoris solius, aut nullius munus subire: Domini fiat Voluntas. O mi Pater, quid ego sperem, cum exulet ex Aula Verbi Ministerium; admittatur autem Crucifixi Imago, cum accensis Luminaribus. Altaria quidem sunt diruta, et Imagines per totum Regnum. In sola Aula, Crucifixi Imago cum Candelis retinetur. Et miser Popellus id non solum libenter audit, sed et sponte imitabitur. Quid ego sperem, ubi tres ex Novitiis nostris Episcopis, unus veluti sacer Minister, secundus loco Diaconi, tertius Subdiaconi loco, Mensæ Domini astabunt, coram Imagine Crucifixi, vel certè non procul sito Idolo, cum Candelis, ornati aureis Vestibus Papisticis, sicque sacram Domini Cænam porrigebant, sine ulla Concione? Quæ spes boni, cum à multis istis Idololatriæ Reliquiis Religionem nostri petere volunt, et non à viva Dei Voce sonante? Quid sperem ego, cum concionaturi sinijungi debeat, ne Vitia asperè tangantur; cum Concionatores, si quid dicant quod displicat, non ferendi putantur. Sed quo me capit æstus iste animi, silendum est: Vix capita nostræ imminentes Miseriæ tetigi. Deus æternæ, nostri misere, per Christum Deum et Salvatorem nostrum. Unicam hanc à vobis Quæstionem pro-

ponam solvendam: Mi Pater, te volo uti Mediatore apud D. Bullingerum, et D. Bernardinum. Hæc est: Num Imago Crucifixi, cum accensis Candelis, in Mensa Domini posita, num, inquam, sit inter Adiaphora ponenda. Si non sit, sed pro re illicita et nefaria ducenda, tum hoc quæro, si Princeps ita injungat omnibus Episcopis et Pastoribus, ut vel admittant in suas Ecclesias imaginem cum Candelis, vel Ministerio Verbi cedant, quid hic faciendum sit? Annon potius deferendum Ministerium Verbi et Sacramentorum sit, quam ut hæ Reliquiæ Amorem admittantur? Certè vident nonnulli ex nostris aliquo modo huc inclinare, ut hæc pro Adiaphoris accipi vellent. Ego omnino puto, potius abdicandum Ministerium, si modo id injungatur. Jam te rogo, mi Pater, tuas hic partes unica vice age; hoc est, ut quàm diligentissimè et citissimè me certior facias, quid vestra pietas hic censet, quæque sit omnium vestrum sententia tui inquam D. Bullingeri, et D. Bernardini. Hujus Autoritas, ut audio, maxima est apud Reginam. Quod vellet aliquando scribere, hortatum illam, ut strenuè agat in Christi negotio: Testor ex animo, quod certè sciam (Fidenter dico) quod verè Filia Dei sit. Opus tamen habet ejusmodi Consiliariis qualis ille est: nam quod Augustinus Bonifacio dixit, id ferè in omnibus Principibus verum est; nempe, quòd plures habeant qui Corpori, paucos qui Animæ consulunt. Quod autem ab illo contendo vellem, et à vobis petere si auderem. Ego tamen hæc in re vestræ me subijcio prudentiæ. Callet ut nō. ti Linguam Italicam, Latine et Græcè etiam bene docta est. In his linguis si aliud scribatur à vobis, vel à Domino Bernardino, omnino puto rem gratissimam vos facturos Regiæ Majestati, et operam navaturos Anglicanæ utilissimam. Deus vos spiritu suo ducat in perpetuum. Bene vale; Et rescribe unica hac vice quàm poteris festinanter. Saluta meo nomine officiosissimè D. Bullingerum, tuamq; uxorem. Saluta Julium. Quæ jam scripsi, tantum apud D. Bullingerum et D. Bernardinum promas. Nollem enim ego rumores spargi meo nomine. Imò nec hoc vobis scriberem, nisi sperarem aliquid inde boni evenitum. Forsan vel scribetis (ut dixi) vel saltem bonum mihi dabitis consilium in proposita Quæstione. Agite vos pro vestra pia prudentia. Iterum vale. Raptim. 6 Januar.

Tuus ex Animo,

THO. SAMPSON.

Si quid scribatur Regi Majestati, vel à te vel à Domino Bernardino, vel D. Bullingero, non quasi vos ab alio incitati fueritis scribendum, ut vos melius nostis, &c. Salutat te ex animo noster Chamberus. Mea Uxor quartana vexatur. Giana bene valet. Puto etiam Hætonum cum sua bene valere. Rure ago inter Rusticos, Christum pro meo modulo tractans. Tu pro me Deum roga. Literas tuas Sprengiamus, vel Abelus ad me perferri curabit.

Inscriptio.—Clarissimo Theologo D. Petro Martyri, Sacrarum Literarum Professori Fidelissimo—*Tiguri.*

NUMBER LXIV.

Archbishop Parker's Letter to Secretary Cecil, pressing the filling the Sees of York and Durham, then vacant.—An Original.

[Paper Office.]

AFTER salutations in Christ to your honore, this shal be instantly to desire you to make request to the queen's majestie, that some bishops myght be appoynted in the north: you wold not beleve me to tell howe often it is requyred at dyverse men's hands, an howe the peple there is offended that thei be nothing caryd for: alas the peple rude of ther owne nature,

and the more had nede to be loked to, for retheyning those in quyet and cvylitie. I feare that whatsoever is nowe to husbondly saved, wil be an occasion of furdur expence in keeping them down, yf (as God forfend) ther shuld be to much Iryshe and savage. Paradventur, Terence councelleth not amyssse,—“pecuniam in loco negligare summum interdum lucrum.” I know the queen's highnes' disposition to be graciously bent to have her peple to know and fear God; why shuld other hynder her good zeale for mony sake as yt is most commonly judged? If such as have ben named to Yorke and Duresme be not acceptable, or of themselves not inclyned to be bestowed ther, I wold wishe that some such as be placed already, wer translated thither. And in myn opinion, yf you wold have a lawyer at Yorke, the bishop of St. David's, Dr. Yonge, is both wytty, prudent, and temperate, and man-like.

The bishop of Rochester were well bestowed at Durisme nye to his own contrye, wher tho ther ij bishopryks might be more easily provided for, and lesse inconvenience, though they for a tyme stood voyde: and if to the deanry of Durisme, to joyne with him wer Mr. Skyenner apoynted, whom I esteem learned, wise, and expert. I think you coud not better place them; nowe yf eyther of them, or any of us all shall be feared to hurt the state of our churches, by exercising any extraordinarye practising, for packing and purchasing; this feare myght sure be prevented. We have olde presidents in lawe practised in tymes past, for such parties suspected to be bownd at their entrie to leave ther churches in no worse case by ther defaults then thei fownd them, and then what wold you have more of us? I have afortyme weryed you in this sute, and yet I see these strange delays determyned. I shal not cease to trouble you therin: if ye here me not for justyce sake, for the zeale ye must beare to Christes deare soulys, importunyte shall wyne one day I dout not: for I see yt hath obtained even a “Judicibus iniquis quarto magis a misericordibus:” thus concluding, I shall offer my prayer to God that ye may fynd grace in your sollicitations to the queen's majestie for the comfort of her peple, and discharge of her owne soule. At Lambeth this 16th of October.

Your to my uttermost power,

MATHEW CANTUAR.

NUMBER LXV.

A Letter of Bishop Jewel's to Peter Martyr, concerning the Council of Trent, the Lord Darnly's going to Scotland, with an account of his Mother.

[Ex MSS. Tigur.]

Idem ad Eundem.

SALUTEM plur. in Christo. Gratissimæ mihi fuerunt Literæ tuæ, mi Pater, non solum quod essent à te, cujus omnia mihi debent esse, ut sunt gratissima, verum etiam quod omnem statum renascentis in Gallia Religionis luculentissimè describerent: Quodq; ego me, cum eas legerem, et te ita propè abesse scirem, propius etiam aliquantò te audire, et propius tecum colloqui arbitrarer. Nam quamvis res Gallicæ ad nos rumoribus, ut fit, et nuntiis adferebantur, tamen et certiores, et multò etiam jucundiores visæ sunt, quod à te scriberentur, ab illo præsertim, quem ego scirem partem illarum fuisse maximam. Quòd scribis, illos, qui rerum potiuntur, omnino velle Mutationem in Religione aliquam fieri, non tam studiò et amore pietatis, quàm quòd Papistarum ineptias videant nimis esse ridiculas, quodq; non putent populum aliter posse in officio contineri; quicquid est, quancunq; causa ista fiant, modò prædicatur Christus,

εἴτε προφάσει, εἴτε ἀληθείᾳ, καὶ ἐν τούτῳ καίρῳ, καὶ καταβῆναι. Tamen fieri non potest, quin disputatio illa vestra multum et Evangelium promoverit, et adversarios adfixerit. Quod autem scribis, Interim quoddam à quibusdam, et Farraginem Religionis quæri, Deus id avertat: Scio omnes in Republ. magnas mutationes odiosas et graves esse: Et multa sæpè à Principibus, temporis causâ, tolerari. Atq; illud fortasse ab initio non fuit incommodum. Nunc verò, postquam erupit Lux omnis Evangelii, quantum quidem fieri potest, vestigia ipsa erroris una cum ruderibus, atq; aiunt, cum pulvisculo auferenda sunt. Quod utinam nos in ista λυστολογία, obtinere potuissemus: Nam in dogmatis prorsus omnia ad vivum rescavimus, et ne unguem quidem latum absumus à doctrina vestra. De ubiuitate enim nihil est periculi. Ibi tantum audiri ista possunt, ubi saxa sapiunt.

Apud nos, de Religione omnia sunt pacata. Episcopi Mariani servant Turrim, et antiquum obtinent. Quod si Leges æquè nunc vigerent, atq; olim, sub Henrico, facillè succumberent. Est Genus Hominum contumax et indomitum: Ferro tamen et metu vincitur. Edidimus nuper Apologiam de mutata Religione, et Dissensione ab Ecclesia Romana. Eum ego Librum, etsi dignus non est qui mittatur tam procul, tamen ad te mitto. Est multis in locis vitiosus, qualia sunt ea ferè omnia, quæ apud nos excuduntur; tanta est Typographorum nostrorum Negligentia. Regina nostra prorsus decrevit, nolle mittere ad Consilium: quod, an ullum, aut uspiam sit, nos nescimus. Certè si uspiam, aut ullum est, perarcanum, et valdè obscurum est. Nos nunc cogitamus publicare Causas, quibus inducti ad Concilium non veniamus. Ego quidem sic statuo et sentio, istis Congressionibus et Colloquiis, nihil posse promoveri hoc tempore, nec Deum velle uti istis mediis, ad propagandum Evangelium. Regina nostra, magno nostro cum dolore, innupta manet; neq; adhuc quid velit sciri potest. Tametsi, quò Suspicionis nostræ inclinent, satis te jamdudum scire arbitror. Sæcæ diuturnus proci, et valdè assiduus, nuper admodum dimissus est. Ille, acceptâ repulsâ, minatur, quantum audio, in Scotiam: Ut, cum apud nos hæere non possit, saltem possit in Vicinia. Est Mulier quedam Nobilis, Domina Margareta, Neptis Henrici Octavi, Mulier supra modum infensa Religioni, supra etiam Rabiem Marianam. Ad ejus filium, juvenem, plus minùs octodecim annos natum, summa rerum judicatorum spectare, si quid Elisabethæ, quod nolimus, quodque Deus avertat, accidat. Ejus Mulieris Maritus, Leonesius Scotus, proximis istis diebus conjectus est in Turrim. Filium, aiunt, vel ablegatum esse à Matre, vel profugisse in Scotiam. De eo, ut solet fieri, Sermo est multiplex. Regina Scotiæ, ut scis, innupta est: Potest inter illos convenire aliquid de Nuptiis. Quicquid est, credibile est, Papistas aliquid moliri: Sperant enim adhuc nescio quid non minùs quàm Judæi Messiam suum. Nuntius Pontificis hæret adhuc in Flandria: Nondum enim impenetrare potest fidem publicam, ut tutò veniat in Angliam. Episcopus Aquitanus, Legatus Philippi, astutus, et callidus Veterator, et factus ad Insidias, satagit quantum potest, ejus Causa; saltem, ut audiat; ne tam procul frustrâ venerit. Sperat enim uno Colloquio aliquid, nescio quid, posse fieri. Est Puella quedam Nobilis, Domina Catherina, Ducis Suffolchiensis Filia, ex Sanguine Regio, eoq; nominatim scripta ab Henrico Octavo in Testamento, ut si quid accideret, quarto loco succederet. Ex eo, Comes Herfordiensis, Juvenis, Ducis Somersetensis Filius, suscepit Filium, et multi putant ex Stupro, sed ut ipsi dicunt, ex legitimis Nuptiis. Se enim clam inter se contraxisse, et advocato Sacrificatore, et paucis quibusdam arbitris, junxisse Nuptias. Ea Res turbavit animos multorum.

Nam si sunt veræ Nuptiæ, Puer, qui susceptus est, alitur ad Spem Regni. O nos miseros, qui non possumus scire, sub quo Domino victuri simus. Deus nobis Elizabetham, spero, diu vivam et incolumem conservabit. Id nobis erit satis. Tu, mi Pater, ora Deum, ut Rempublicam nostram, et Ecclesiam conservet. Vale, mi Pater, vale. Vale, dulce Decus meum.

Saluta meo Nomine Uxorem tuam, D. Bullingerum, D. Gualterum, D. Lavaterum, D. Zwinglium, D. Hallenum, D. Wikium, D. Gesnerum, D. Frisium, D. Wolphium, Julium, Juliam, et Martyrillum.

Tui Nominis Studiosissimus,

JO. JUELLUS, Anglus.

Salisberie, 7 Febr. 1562. Ex Anglia.

Inscriptio.—Viro longè Doctissimo, D. Petro Martiri, Vermilio, Professori Sacræ Theologiæ in Schola Tigurina, Domino suo Colendissimo—
Tiguri.

P. S.—Regina Elisabetha, omnem nostram Monetam auream, argenteamque ad pristinam Probritatem restituit, et puram, putamq; reddidit : Opus planè Regium, quodq; tui mireris tam brevi Tempore potuisse fieri.

NUMBER LXVI.

TWO INSTRUMENTS.

The FIRST is,

The Promise under the Great Seal of Francis the 11d. to maintain the Succession to the Crown of Scotland in the Family of Hamilton, in case Queen Mary should die without Children.—An Original.

FRANÇOIS, fils aîné du Roy et Dauphin de Viennois, à tous ceux qui ces presentes Lettres verront, Salut. Nous ayant de la Part de notre tres cher et tres honoré Seigneur et Pere le Roy de France, entendu que dès le dix-septieme Jour de Juin, il fit expedier ses Lettres Patentes, à notre tres cher et tres amé Cousin, Jaques Duc de Chateaufort, Comte de Aran, et Seigneur D'ammilton, Chevalier de son Ordre cy Devant, Gouverneur du Royaume d'Ecosse ; par les quelles Lettres lui auroit accordé que en cas que notre tres chere et tres amée Cousine, Marie Reine d'Ecosse, decedat sans Hoirs de son Corps, que Dieu ne veuille, il succede à la Couronne d'Ecosse, et pour y parvenir lui aider et subvenir, desirant notre dit Seigneur et Pere, que nous veuillions ratifier et approuver la dite promesse par luy faite à notre dit Cousin, sçavoir faisons que nous voulans singulièrement entretenir et observer la Foy et Parole de nostre dit Seigneur et Pere, et lui obeir en tout ce que lui est affecté et recommandé, et aussi pour l'amour particuliere que avons porté et portons à icelui notre dit Cousin, et à sa maison, pour l'Affection qu'il a toujours démontrée envers notre dit Seigneur et Pere, et la bien de la Couronne de France—Nous à ces Causes, et autres à ce nous mouvant, avons entant que besoin seroit tant pour nous, que pour nos Successeurs confirmé et ratifié, confirmons et ratifions par ces Presentes, le contenu des dites Lettres de notre dit Seigneur et Pere, du dix-septieme Juin, Mille Cinq cent Quarante neuf : Promettant en bonne Foy, avenant que notre dite Cousine, la Reine d'Ecosse, decedat sans Hoirs de son Corps, le laisser jouir du dit Royaume, et pour cet effet le secourir et aider selon le contenu des dites Lettres. En temoin de ce nous avons signé les Presentes de notre propre Main, et à Icelles fait mettre, et apposer notre Scel. Donnè à Paris, le dix-neuvieme Jour d'Avril, l'An de Grace, Mille Cinq cent Cinquante huit.

FRANÇOIS.

Par Monseigneur le Dauphin,

CLAUSSÉ.

The SECOND is,

The Promise made to the same Effect, by Henry the 11d. King of France, before Queen Mary was sent out of Scotland.—An Original.

HENRY, par la Grace de Dieu, Roy de France ; à tous ceux qui ces presentes Lettres verront, Salut. Sçavoir faisons, que ayant egard aux bons, grands, vertueux, agreable, et tres recommandable Services, fait par notre tres cher et tres amé Cousin, le Comte de Aran, Chevalier de nostre Ordre, Gouverneur du Royaume d'Ecosse, à feu notre tres honoré Seigneur et Pere, que Dieu absolve, depuis le trepas du feu Roy d'Ecosse, dernier decédé, à nous et à la Couronne de France Consecutivement, et Specialement pour avoir moyenné l'accord du Mariage de ma tres cher et tres amée Fille et Cousine la Reine d'Ecosse, avec notre tres cher et tres amé Fils le Dauphin de Viennois—Pour de nostre Part donner à connoître à Icelui notre dit Cousin, l'Affection que lui portons, et le grand desir que nous avons de le favoriser en toutes raisonnables Choses qui le pourront toucher : Lui avons par ces Presentes en Parole de Roy, promis et promettons, advenant qu'il plust à Dieu appeller à sa part la dite Reine d'Ecosse, sans Hoirs Issus de son Corps, et que par Voye de fait avenu que ses Ennemis voulussent entreprendre l'empêcher, lui ou les Siens descendans, de lui par droite Ligne, qu'ils ne vinssent à la paisible Jouissance de la Couronne du Royaume d'Ecosse ; Comme plus proche d'Icelle apres le Trepas de la dite Reine, que nous lui tendrons la Main à lui, et aux Siens à l'encontre de leurs Ennemis quelconque ; et les aiderons et supporterons en toutes sortes, selon que requierent les anciennes Alliances et Considerations, qui ont de tout tems été et sont encore entre nous, notre Royaume et Pais, et Celui d'Ecosse. Et quant à l'Article du Traité, que nous avons fait avecques le dit Gouverneur, par lequel sommes tenus de le faire tenir quite et decharger de l'Administration, qu'il a eue et aura du dit Royaume durant la Minorité d'Icelle notre dite Fille et Cousine, sans qu'il en soit autrement comptable, et du tout lui en faire bailler, et de livrer Lettres de decharges de la dite Dame, par le Consentement de notre dit Fils son Mary, quand elle sera d'age—Nous derechef ratifions et approuvons le dit Article par ces Presentes, et nous obligeons ainsi le faire ensemble de l'en decharger envers la dite Dame et son futur Mary. En temoin de ce nous avons signé ces Presentes, et à notre Main, Icelle fait mettre, et apposer notre Scel. Donnè à Paris, le dix-septieme Jour de Juin, l'An de Grace, Mille Cinq cent Quarante neuf ; et de nostre Regne le troisieme.

HENRY.

Par le Roy,
De

NUMBER LXVII.

Instructions to the Queen's Commissioners treating in Scotland.—An Original.

[Paper Office.]

AFTER our right harty commendations, we have receyved your letters of the 11th of this month, and by the same do understande at good length your proceedings with the French commissioners hitherto, and in the ende of the death of the dowager of Scotland : for your advertisement whereof we give unto you, on the queen's majesties behalf, most harty thanks : and like as her highnes doth well allowe your opinion for the signifying unto king Phillippe's ambassadors, that we be entred into treaty with the French, and are in very good way towards accorde, and finde not things

altogether so harde to be brought to composition as was supposed; so hath her majestie taken order, that one shall be out of hande sent to declare the same unto them, with signification also what her highnes hath harde of the dowager's death. As touching the other points of your letter wherin you require her highnes' resolution: we have considered the same, and uppon reporte of our opinions to the queen's majestie, her highnes hath resolved as followeth: fyrst, in caise the French commissioners uppon the understanding of the dowager's death will nedes presse to returne back againe without following their commission; her highnes in that case is pleased, that after you shall have provoked them by such good meanes as you can best devise, to continue; if in the ende they will nedes breake of, and returne, you shall agree they may so do, and thereuppon consulting with our very good lorde the duke of Norfolk, and imparting the state of the case unto the lords of Scotland, to take order by their good advice, howe the purpose intendyd for expelling of the French, and assuring of that realme, according to that hath byn heretofore determined, may best and most spedely be brought to passe, which in case the French breake of from treatte, her majestie wolde sholde be gon thorough withall without any longer delay, or loss of time; the rather for that it appeareth by all advertisementes, that the French seeke nothing so much as to wyn tyme, and draw forth matters in length to serve theyr purpose wythall; which must not be endured: And where your desire to know what you shall doe if the French commissioners that be with you will require the presence of some of theyr colleagues in the town; her highnes thinketh, as you doe, that the same is in no wise to be grauntyd, nor the said commissioners that be in Lyth to be suffered to issue, or treatte of this matter otherwise then is prescribed by your instructions. As touching the last point, where ye desire to know what shall be done, in case the said French commissioners shall require assistance of such Scottysshemen as were of the French faction: her highnes thinks fyt, yf the same shall be demanded, that the lords of Scotland be made privie thereunto; and in case they and you shall not see some reasonable cause of the contrary, her majestie thinketh, and so do we also, that it may without daunger be grantyd, wherin nevertheless you may use your good discretions as you shall see may best stand with the advancement of his highnes' service. And forasmuche as one Parrys, an Iresheman, who hath (as we think you doe well enough remember) byn a fugitive out of this realme now a long time together, is as we understande come from the French, and hath now yelded himself into the lorde Greye's hands: we hartely pray you, in case you may conveniently, to talk with the said Parrys, and understand of him what he can say touching the practises that hath byn attemptyd in Ireland, or any other thing concerning the state of the queen's majestie, or her realme; and to lett us know what he is able to say therein, to the intent if his meaning and doing shall appere unto you to deserve the same, we may be sutors unto her highnes for his pardon, and for suche farther consideration of hym, as his doing shall deserve. And thus we wish you most hartely well to fare. From Grenewich the 15th of June, 1560.

Your assured loving friends,

Winchester. W. North, &c.
E. Clynton. Willm. Petre Se.
Tho. Parrys.

NUMBER LXVIII.

*The Commission of the Estates to move Queen
beth to take the Earl of Arran to her Husband.—
Taken from the Original now at Hamilton.*

THE lords of parliament, and others under-written, havand consideration how the kingdom of England is joynt with this, Be an dray marche, how puisent it is; what incommodity we and our forefathers have felt, be the continual weirs betwixt the two nations; and be the contrar, how profitable there amytie may be to us, what welth and commodity we may obtain therthrow; hes thought good divysed and ordained, that the occasion presently opened up to us shal be followed, that is, sute made to the queen of England in the best manner, that it may please her majesty, for establishing of one perpetual friendship, to joine in marriage with the carll of Arran; being of the lawfull blood of this realme, and failzieing of succession of the queen, our soverain ladies body, next his father, the duke's grace of Chastellerault declared be act of parliament, second person of the realme, air apparent to the crown; and for that purpose that honourable persons be sent in ambassate, fra them yn behalf of the estates. And to the effect, the sute may be made in the most honourable manner, and to her majesty's best contentation, they have devised that presently in plane parliament it shal be devised, that certain ambassadours be sent to her majesty, fre the estates, to give her hieness thanks for the guid will she has ever born to this realme, sen she came to her crown, and desire she hes that it may continue an free kingdom in thantiant liberty, sufficiently of late declared, be her support liberally granted for the relief therof; and for the guid quietnes we presently enjoy, purchast to us be her majesty's means and labours; and they are withall to desire of her heeness to give strait commandments to her wardains, and officers upon the borders, to continue with ours, for suppressing of broken men, and stanching of thift, with sic other things as are necessar for the common weel of this realme: and that the states give power to the lords of articles, and others underwritten, to devise sic commission and instructions as are necessar, for that purpose, to be sealed, and subscribed be six of the principals of every estate, whilk shal be as sufficient, as gif it were subscribed and sealed be the hail estates; and thereafter the lords of articles, and ours under specified, to devise the instructione and commission tuching the heid of the marriage.

NUMBER LXIX.

*The Queenes Majesties Answer declared to her
Counsell concerning the Requests of the Lords
of Scotland.—In Sir W. Cecil's Hand.*

[Cott. Lib. Calig. B. 10. fo. 133.]

Her Majestie reduced the answers into three points.

1. THE first was, That where the three estats had sent the lords of Scotland to present their hartly thanks to her majestie for the benefits received this last yere by her majestie's ayde given to them. Her majestie is very glad to perceave her good will and chardgs so well bestowed as to see the same thankfully accepted and acknowledged; and findeth the same to have been seasonable planted that produceth so plentifull fruct, with the which her majestie doeth so satisfie herself, as if at any time the like cause shall happen wherin her friendship, or ayde, shall, or may profit them for their just defence, the same shal not be wantinge. And although in former times it appeared that sondry

The 8th of
December,
1560.

benefits bestowed upon divers of the nobility here by her majesty's most noble father, had not such success, nor was answered with like thankfulness: yet her majesty doth now evidently see the cause thereof to be for that the meaning of her father's benefits were interpreted, and supposed to be to the discomodity of the land, and these her majesties be evidently seen to bend directly to the safety of that realm. And so the diversity of the bestowing hath made the diversity in the operation and acceptance of them.

2. The second point is, where the same estates have by their parliament accorded, that suit should be made for the marriage with her majesty of the earl of Arrayne; her majesty cannot interpret that motion to come but both of a good meaning of the same estates, pretending thereby to knit both their kingdoms presently in amity, and hereafter to remain in a perpetual amity; and of a great good will of the same estates towards her majesty, offering to her the best and choicest person that they have, and that not without some danger of the displeasure of the French king in so doing: for answer hereunto, her majesty finding herself not disposed presently to marry, (although it may be that the necessity and respect of her realm shall hereafter constrain her,) wished that the earl of Arrayne should not forbear to accept such marriage as may be made to him for his own will and surety; and that all other means be used to the continuance of amity firmly betwixt these kingdoms; whereunto her majesty thinketh many good reasons ought to induce the people of both realms, and in a manner to continue as good amity thereby, as by marriage: for it appeareth, that if every nobleman of Scotland will well consider how necessary the friendship of this realm is to that, for the preservation of their liberties; they shall chiefly for safeguard of themselves joyne together in concord with this realm, and so every one particularly minding his own surety, of consequence the love and amity shall be universal; by which means her majesty thinketh the amity may be well assured, though no marriage be obtained. And as to the person of the earl of Arrayne, her majesty surely hath heard a verie good report of him, and thinketh him to be a noble gentleman of great goodnesse, and so thinketh surely that he shall prove hereafter.

3. Thirdly and lastly, her majesty thanketh the said lords for their pains and travell; and although she doubteth neither of their wisdom, nor of the providence of the estates at home in Scotland, yet for demonstration of her hearty good will, her majesty cannot forbear to require them not to forget the practises that be past, by such as before tyme sought the subversion of them; and now much more will do it, if there may be left any entry for corruption, be reward, or other scope of practise. And therefore her majesty wisheth, that they all do persist, first in a good concord, making their causes come amongst themselves; and not to disserve themselves in any factions, but to foresee well things before they chance: for that her majesty thinketh this prove verie true, that darts foreseen, hurt verie little, or not at all. And for her majesty's parte, there shall no reasonable thing be neglected, that may further this common action of defence of both the realms, against any common enemy.

NUMBER LXX.

A Letter of the English Ambassador, to Queen Mary of Scotland, for her Ratifying the Treaty of Leith.

[Paper-Office.]

PLEASETH it your majesty. The same may remember, that at my lord of Bedford's being in this

court, he and I demanded of you, on the behalfe of the queen's majesty, our mistress, your good sister and cousyne, your ratification of thacord lately made at Edingborough in Scotland. Whereunto you made answer, amonge other things, that your counsell being not about you; namely your uncle, my lord cardinall of Lorraine, by whom you are advised in your affaires, and also for that your majesty had not heard from your counsell in Scotland, from whom you looked to hear them verie shortly; you could make us no direct answer therein. But that heering from them, and having consulted with your counsell here; you would satisfie her majesty in the same. Sins whiche tyme, her majesty having knowledge of the coming to you of the lord James, your brother, who passed lately through England hitherwards, by whom (her majesty judgeth) you will be advised, bothe in respect of his ranke and estimation in your realm of Scotland, and also for that he hath the honour to be your majesty's brother, and of good credite with you: and nothing doubting of your consultation with my said lord cardinall, and others of your counsell here sines that tyme; her majesty hath presentlie commanded, and authorized me to put your majesty in remembrance thereof againe; and to renew the demande of your confirmation of the said late accord. Therefore I have presently depechid to you this gentleman, bearer heerof, her majesty's servant: by whom, I beseeche you, to let me understand your resolute answer in that behalfe. And upon knowledge of your pleasure, to deliver me the said ratification; and of the tyme and place, I will not faile (God willing) to resort, whither your majesty will appoint me to come for that purpose.

By demanding of this ratification, as the queen's majesty, my mistress, your good sister, dothe shew the great desyre she hath, to lyve from hence forth in all assured good love, peas and amity with you, and your realm; so, in her opynion, there is nothing that can argue your reciproke good will, to answer to the lyke for your parte agayne, so much as the stablishing the same by this knot of frendship which God hath appointed, and hath been chief worker therein, for both your quietnesses and comforts; being now the onlie refuge of you both. And so I pray Almighty God, long to preserve your majesty in perfect healtie, honour and felicitie. From Paris, the 13th of Aprill, 1561.

NUMBER LXXI.

A Letter of Mary, Queen of Scotland, delaying to ratify the Treaty of Leith.—An Original.

[Paper-Office.]

MONSIEUR AMBASSADEUR, — J'ay leu la Lettre que vous m'avez escripte par le Gentilhomme present Porteur, et pour ce j'écrit sur mon Parlement de ce Lieu, je ne puis vous faire reponce plustot qu'à Reims, où j'espere d'estre au Sacré de Roy: Je ne feray cette plus long que pour vous dire, quant à lord James, qui est devers moy, il y est venue pour son devoir, comme devers sa Souveraine Dame, que je suis, sans Charge ou Commission, qui concerne autre Chose que son droit. Je prie Dieu, Monsieur Ambassadeur, vous avoir en sa Garde. Escrit à Nanci, ce 22 d'Avril, 1562.

Vostre bien bon Amy,
MARIE.

altogether so harde to be brought to composition as was supposed; so hath her majestie taken order, that one shall be out of hande sent to declare the same unto them, with signification also what her highnes hath harde of the dowager's death. As touching the other points of your letter wherin you require her highnes' resolution; we have considered the same, and uppon reporte of our opinions to the queen's majestie, her highnes hath resolved as followeth: fyrst, in caise the Frenche commissioners uppon the understanding of the dowager's death will nedes presse to returne back againe without following their commission; her highnes in that case is pleased, that after you shall have provoked them by such good meanes as you can best devise, to contynue; if in the ende they will nedes breake of, and returne, you shall agree they may so do, and thereuppon consulting with our very good lorde the duke of Norfolk, and imparting the state of the case unto the lords of Scotland, to take order by their good advice, howe the purpose intendyd for expelling of the French, and assuring of that realme, according to that hath byn heretofore determined, may best and most spedely be brought to passe, which in case the French breake of from treatte, her majestie wolde sholde be gon thorough withall without any longer delay, or loss of time; the rather for that it appeareth by all advertisements, that the French seeke nothing so much as to wyn tyme, and draw forth matters in length to serve theyr purpose wythall; which must not be endured: And where your desire to know what you shall doe if the French commissioners that be with you will require the presence of some of theyr colleagues in the town; her highnes thinketh, as you doe, that the same is in no wise to be grauntyd, nor the said commissioners that be in Lyth to be suffered to issue, or treatte of this matter otherwise then is prescribed by your instructions. As touching the last point, where ye desire to know what shall be done, in case the said French commissioners shall require assistance of such Scottysshemen as were of the French faction: her highnes thinks fyt, yf the same shall be demanded, that the lords of Scotland be made privie thereunto; and in case they and you shall not see some reasonable cause of the contrary, her majestie thinketh, and so do we also, that it may without daunger be grantyd, wherin nevertheless you may use your good discretions as you shall see may best stand with the advancement of his highnes' service. And forasmuche as one Parrys, an Iresheman, who hath (as we think you doe well enough remember) byn a fugitive out of this realme nowe a long time together, is as we understande come from the French, and hath now yelded himself into the lorde Greye's hands: we hartely pray you, in case you may conveniently, to talk with the said Parrys, and understand of him what he can say touching the practises that hath byn attemptyd in Ireland, or any other thing concerning the state of the queen's majestie, or her realme; and to lett us know what he is able to say therin, to the intent if his meaning and doing shall appere unto you to deserve the same, we may be sutors unto her highnes for his pardonne, and for suche farther consideration of hym, as his doing shall deserve. And thus we wish you most hartely well to fare. From Grenewich the 15th of June, 1560.

Your assured loving friends,

Winchester. W. North, &c.
E. Clynton. Willm. Petre Se.
Tho. Parrys.

NUMBER LXVIII.

The Commission of the Estates to move Queen Elizabeth to take the Earl of Arran to her Husband.—Taken from the Original now at Hamilton.

THE lords of parliament, and others under-written, havand consideration how the kingdome of England is joynt with this, Be an dray march, how puissant it is; what incommodity we and our forefathers have felt, be the continual weirs betwixt the tuo nations; and be the contrar, how profitable there amytye may be to us, what welth and commodity we may obtain therthrow; hes thought good divysed and ordained, that the occasion presently opened up to us shal be followed, that is, sute made to the queen of England in the best manner, that it may please her majesty, for establishing of one perpetual friendship, to joine in marriage with the earl of Arran; being of the lawfull blood of this realme, and failzieing of succession of the queen, our soverain ladies body, next his father, the duke's grace of Chastellerault declared be act of parliament, second person of the realme, air apparant to the crown; and for that purpose that honourable persons be sent in ambassate, fra them yn behalf of the estates. And to the effect, the sute may be made in the most honourable manner, and to her majesty's best contentation, they have devised that presently in plane parliament it shal be devised, that certain ambassadours be sent to her majesty, fre the estates, to give her hieness thanks for the guid will she has ever born to this realme, sen she came to her crown, and desire she hes that it may continue an free kingdom in thautiant liberty, sufficiently of late declared, be her support liberally granted for the relief therof; and for the guid quietnes we presently enjoy, purchast to us be her majesty's means and labours; and they are withall to desire of her heeness to give strait commandments to her wardains, and officers upon the borders, to continue with ours, for suppressing of broken men, and stanching of thift, with sic other things as are necessar for the common weel of this realme: and that the states give power to the lords of articles, and others underwritten, to devise sic commission and instructions as are necessar, for that purpose, to be sealed, and subscribed be six of the principals of every estate, whilk shal be as sufficient, as gif it were subscribed and sealed be the hail estates; and thereafter the lords of articles, and ours under specified, to devise the instructione and commission tuching the heid of the marriage.

NUMBER LXIX.

The Queenes Majesties Answer declared to her Counsell concerning the Requests of the Lords of Scotland.—In Sir W. Cecil's Hand.

[Cott. Lib. Calig. B. 10. fo. 133.]

Her Majestie reduced the answers into three points.

1. THE first was, That where the three estats had sent the lords of Scotland to present their hartly thanks to her majestie for the benefits received this last yere by her majestie's ayde given to them. Her majestie is very glad to perceave her good will and chardgs so well bestowed as to see the same thankfullie accepted and acknowledged; and findeth the same to have been seasonable planted that produceth so plentifull fruct, with the which her majestie doeth so satisfie herself, as if at any time the like cause shall happen wherin her friendship, or ayde, shall, or may profit them for their just defence, the same shall not be wanting. And although in former times it appeared that sondry

benefits bestowed upon divers of the nobility here by her majesty's most noble father, had not such success, nor was answered with like thankfulness: yet her majesty doth now evidently see the cause thereof to be for that the meaning of her father's benefits were interpreted, and supposed to be to the discomodity of the land, and these her majesties be evidently seen to bend directly to the safety of that realm. And so the diversity of the bestowing hath made the diversity in the operation and acceptation of them.

2. The second point is, where the same estates have by their parliament accorded, that suit should be made for the marriage with her majesty of the earl of Arrayne; her majesty cannot interpret that motion to come but both of a good meaning of the same estates, pretending thereby to knit both their kingdoms presently in amity, and hereafter to remain in a perpetual amity; and of a great good will of the same estates towards her majesty, offering to her the best and choicest person that they have, and that not without some danger of the displeasure of the French king in so doing: for answer hereunto, her majesty finding herself not disposed presently to marry, (although it may be that the necessity and respect of her realm shall hereafter constrain her,) wished that the earl of Arrayne should not forbear to accept such marriage as may be made to him for his own will and surety; and that all other means be used to the continuance of amity firmly betwixt these kingdoms; whereunto her majesty thinketh many good reasons ought to induce the people of both realms, and in a manner to continue as good amity thereby, as by marriage: for it appeareth, that if every nobleman of Scotland will well consider how necessary the friendship of this realm is to that, for the preservation of their liberties; they shall chiefly for safeguard of themselves joyne together in concord with this realm, and so every one particularly minding his own surety, of consequence the love and amity shall be universal; by which means her majesty thinketh the amity may be well assured, though no marriage be obtained. And as to the person of the earl of Arrayne, her majesty surely hath heard a very good report of him, and thinketh him to be a noble gentleman of great woodness, and so thinketh surely that he shall prove hereafter.

3. Thirdly and lastly, her majesty thanketh the said lords for their pains and travell; and although she doubteth neither of their wisdom, nor of the providence of the estates at home in Scotland, yet for demonstration of her hearty good will, her majesty cannot forbear to require them not to forget the practises that be past, by such as before tyme sought the subversion of them; and now much more will do it, if there may be left any entry for corruption, be reward, or other scope of practise. And therefore her majesty wisheth, that they all do persist, first in a good concord, making their causes come amongst themselves; and not to disserve themselves in any factions, but to foresee well things before they chance: for that her majesty thinketh this prove very true, that darts foreseen, hurt very little, or not at all. And for her majesty's parte, there shall no reasonable thing be neglected, that may further this common action of defence of both the realms, against any common enemy.

NUMBER LXX.

A Letter of the English Ambassador, to Queen Mary of Scotland, for her Ratifying the Treaty of Leith.

[Paper-Office.]

PLEASETH it your majesty. The same may remember, that at my lord of Bedford's being in this

court, he and I demanded of you, on the behalfe of the queen's majesty, our mistress, your good sister and cousyn, your ratification of thacord lately made at Edingborough in Scotland. Wherunto you made answer, amonge other things, that your counsell being not about you; namely your uncle, my lord cardinal of Lorraine, by whom you are advised in your affaires, and also for that your majesty had not heard from your counsell in Scotland, from whom you looked to hear them verie shortly; you could make us no direct answer therein. But that heering from them, and having consulted with your counsell here; you would satisfie her majesty in the same. Sins whiche tyme, her majesty having knowledge of the coming to you of the lord James, your brother, who passed lately through England hitherwards, by whom (her majesty judgeth) you will be advised, bothe in respect of his ranke and estimation in your realm of Scotland, and also for that he hath the honour to be your majesty's brother, and of good credite with you: and nothing doubting of your consultation with my said lord cardinal, and others of your counsell here sines that tyme; her majesty hath presentlie commanded, and authorized me to put your majesty in remembrance thereof againe; and to renew the demande of your confirmation of the said late accord. Therefore I have presently depechid to you this gentleman, bearer hereof, her majesty's servant: by whom, I beseeche you, to let me understand your resolute answer in that behalfe. And upon knowledge of your pleasure, to deliver me the said ratification; and of the tyme and place, I will not faile (God willing) to resort, whither your majesty will appoint me to come for that purpose.

By demanding of this ratification, as the queen's majesty, my mistress, your good sister, dothe shew the great desyre she hath, to lyve from hence forth in all assured good love, peas and amity with you, and your realm; so, in her opynion, there is nothing that can argue your reciproke good will, to answer to the lyke for your parte agayne, so much as the establishing the same by this knot of friendship which God hath appointed, and hath been cheif worker therein, for both your quietnesses and comforts; being now the onlie refuge of you both. And so I pray Almighty God, long to preserve your majesty in perfect healt, honour and filicitie. From Paris, the 13th of Aprill, 1561.

NUMBER LXXI.

A Letter of Mary, Queen of Scotland, delaying to ratify the Treaty of Leith.—An Original.

[Paper-Office.]

MONSIEUR AMBASSADEUR,—J'ay leu la Lettre que vous m'avez escripte par le Gentilhomme present Porteur, et pour ce j'çant sur mon Parlement de ce Lieu, je ne puis vous faire reponce plustot qu'à Reims, où j'espere d'estre au Sacré de Roy: Je ne feray cette plus long que pour vous dire, quant à lord James, qui est devers moy, il y est venue pour son devoir, comme devers sa Souveraine Dame, que je suis, sans Charge ou Commission, qui concerne autre Chose que son droit. Je prie Dieu, Monsieur Ambassadeur, vous avoir en sa Garde. Escrit à Nanci, ce 22 d'Avril, 1562.

Vostre bien bon Amy,
MARIE.

NUMBER LXXII.

An Original Letter of the Ambassador's to the Queen, upon that Affair.

[Paper-Office.]

It maye please your majestie to be advertised, that haveing written this other Lettre, and being ready to have depeched it to your majestie; Mr. Somer, your highnesses servant, arryved heere from Nanci in Lorraine, from the queene of Scotland, with answer to my lettre, which (by your majesties commandment) I wrote to her, in such sorte, as I have advertised by my former, and therewith sent to your majestie the coppies of my lettres to the saide queen and cardinall of Lorraine. Which her answer being by lettre (having also said as much by mouth to Mr. Somer), together with the said cardinall's answer; I send your majestie herewith. And though your majesties said servant used the best speech as he coude, to get some direct answer of her, accordinge to her late promesses, putting her in remembrance of her words to my lord of Bedford, and to me at Fontainebleau: yet other answer nor direction, then is contayned in her lettre, coude he not gette of her. And seinge she hath defferrid to make me further answer, till my next meetinge with her, which she rekenith shall be at Reims, at the French king's sacre, as appeareth by her said lettre; where, she and the cardinall told Mr. Somer, she mynded to be the 8th of Maye; for that it is said the sacre shall be the 15th; and for that your majestie hath commanded me, for some respects, not to be at it; I know not when I shall have the oportunitie and meanes to speake with the said queen for her answer. Therefore seing I cannot be at Reims (as indeede, besydes your majesties commandment, myne indisposition of my bodye will not suffer me to come there) and also for that (as I heere) the said queen myndeth not to come into these partes this good while; if it wold please your majestie, to send hither your lettres of credit directed unto her, therby to authorize Mr. Somer, your majesties said servant, to demande and receyve her answer therin, in myne absence, by reason of my sicknesse; I take it, your majestie shall the sooner have her direct answer. If your majestie finde this good, it may please the same, to send such your lettres hither, with good speed, that the answer may be had, before she departe agayne from Reims.

And though I thinke verily, that her answer will be such as I have already advertised your majestie she made to my lord James (which is means to draw the tyme still into greater length), yet the same, or anye other, being made to your majestie by her self; you shall the better know how to proceede with her in the matter afterwards.

The said queen of Scotland was accompaigned at Nancy with the dowager of Lorraine (whom they call there Son Altezze) the duke and duchesse of Lorraine, monsieur de Vaudemont, the cardinales of Lorraine and Guyse, and the duke d'Aumalle. One of the chiefeest causes of her going thither from Joinville (being 18 Lorraine leagues of) as I heere, was to christen monsieur de Vaudemont's yong sonne, borne lately at Mallegrange, a quarter of a league from Nancy.

I wrote to your majestie, by my letters of the 23d of this present, that the queen of Scotland wold authorize my said lord James, (as she had told him her self) to have the speciall charge of the government of the affaires in Scotland, till her comminge thither; and woude, for that purpose, give him commission under her seale. For which comission, and other

letters, he left a gentleman of his with the said queen, to bring it after him to this towne. The gentleman is returned from the queen with her letters, but hath brought no commission: and I understande, that she hath now changed her mynd in that point; and will appoint none to have authorite there, till she come her self. And as to such sutes and requestes, as are made to her for benefices, and such other things as are to be bestowed; she will not dispose of any of them, nor make other answer therin, till her comminge thither. Which (it is thought) she dothe, to bestowe the same upon some such as she shall see worthy of her favour and preferment, and upon others, to winne them the sooner to her devotion. The speciall cause why she hath changed her opinion for my lord James (as I heere) is; for that she coude by no means dis-swade him from his devotion and good opinion towards your majestie, and the observation of the league between your majestie and the realme of Scotland. And also for that she, nor the cardinall of Lorraine, coude not winne nor divert him from his religion; wherein they used verie great meanes, and perswasions. For which respects, the said lord James deserveth to be the more estymid of your majestie. And seeing he hath dealt so plainly with the queen his soveraine, on your majesties behalf, and shewed himself so constant in religion, that neither the feare of his soveraine's indignacion coude waver him, nor great promesses winne him; your majestie may (in myne opinion) make good accompt of his constancy towards you: and so deserveth to be well entertained and made of, by your majestie, as one that may stand you in no small steade, for the advancement of your majesties desire. Sins his being heere, he hath dealt so frankly and liberally with me, that I must beleve he will so contynue after his return home. And in case your majestie wold now in tyme, liberally and honorably consider him with some good means, to make him to be the more beholding to your majesty; it wold, in my simple judgment, serve your majestie to great purpose. He departeth hence homeward about the 4th of Maye, by the way of Diepe, and myndith to land at Rye: wherof I thought good to advertise your majestie, that it may please the same to give order, for him and his company to be receyved and accommodated as apertenith: which will be well bestowed upon him, for the good reporte he made of his late reception there, and of the great favour your majestie shewed him at his coming hitherwards.

I understand that the queen of Scotland maketh accompt to fynd a good partie in her realme, of such as are of her religion. And amongst other, the earle of Huntley hath promysed, that having the duke on his side, he, with such other as he holdeth assured, will be able enough to make head to the contrary parte. And so hath he promised to bring greates things to passe there, for the queen's purpose and affection.

I understand (and so gather partly by my said lord James' own words) that soone after his retourne home into Scotland, he shall marye the earle marshall's daughter.

As I have written heertofore to your majestie, that this realm was in danger of great unquietnes amonge themselves for religion; so the 28th of April, the same beganne to appeare in this towne. Certain gentlemen, and others, about a hundred, assembled together in a private house in the suburbs, where they had a sermon, and psalmes singing, as is used in all assemblies. Wherewith the people offended, assembled to great numbers, forced the walles of a garden joining to the house; made a great breach with such tooles as they coude gett, and would have entred with violence to have wrought their cruaulty uppon the gentlemen.

The other seing none other remedye, their perswasions serving to litle effect with such an unruly sorte, defended themselves with such weapons and largue-bouzes, as they had provided against all events, and so slew 7 or 8 of the assaillants, and defended the house till the justice and court of parliament of this town appeased and retrayed the people. And the night following, the defendants shifted themselves away thence, without farther harme; hitherto nothing elles is done heerupon. What will ensue, it is to be feared. In the mean time, the people murmure greatly at the slaughter. And the other parte are not a litle moved generally, to be so assaulted and molested, contrary to the king's edicts, which permitte all men to live according to their consciences, so they give none occasion of slander or offence to the people, or publique preaching, and that command all men not to reproach or injury the one, the other, for their living in that sorte. Between these two parties the justice is so litle feared, and pollycy hath now so litle place, that greater things are to be feared, unlesse better and speedyer order be provided to appease all, then I can see towards.

I understand that the queen of Scotland hath hitherto no great devotion to Ledington, Grange, and Balnaves, wherof I am nothing sorry. But she mindeth to use all the best meanes she can to wyunne them to her, which she trusteth well to compasse.

And wheras I have advertised your majestie that the baron de la Garde shulde cary this king's order to the king of Sweden: I understand now, that it is to the king of Denmarke, and not to the other.

Having written thus farre, I understand, that wheras it was determined that the king shuld have departed the 28th of Aprill from Fontainbleau towards Reims to his sacre: the same is retarded, by reason that the queen mother is fallen sicke of a catarre. So that both his departure from thence, and the time of his sacre is now uncertaın, and dependith wholly upon the said queen mother's recovery.

Though I take it that your majestie hath received from your ministers in Germany the pope's demand of the princes protestants of Germany, and their answer therunto; yett having recovered the same here, I thought in my duty to send it to your majestie as I do heerewith. And thus I pray God long to preserve your majestie in health, honnour, and all felicitie. From Paris the first of Maye, 1561.

Your majesties humble and most obedient subject and servant,

N. THROKMORTON.

NUMBER LXXIII.

A Letter of Bishop Jewel's to Bullinger, chiefly concerning the affairs of France, and the Queen espousing the Prince of Conde's Cause.

[Ex MSS. Tiguri.]

Idem ad Bullingerum.

SALUTEM Plurimam in Christo.—Redditæ mihi sunt non ita pridem Literæ tuæ, Scriptæ Tiguri ad quintum diem Martii: Quæ quamvis essent et querulæ, tamen mihi perjucundæ videbantur; non tantum quod à te essent, cujus omnia scripta dictaque mihi semper visa sunt honorifica, sed etiam quod officium meum ita obnixè requirerent, et meam in scribendo negligentiam et socordiam excitarent. Ego verò, mi Pater, et Domine Colendissimè etsi minùs fortasse ad te sæpè scribo quàm velim, tamen quoties occasio aliqua offertur, ne hoc quidem officium intermitto. Binas enim dedi nuper

ad te Literas, alteras Francofordiam ad nundinas Martias, alteras statim à Paschate. Quæ si adhuc, ut sit, subsistant fortè in itinere, tamen expediet æ aliquando, et postremò uti spero, ad te pervenient. Ego interim de te cogitare, et honorificè ut debeo, de te loqui nunquam desino. De Gallicis rebus ad te scribere hoc tempore, esset fortasse putidum: Omnia enim ad vos etiam sine ventis et navibus afferentur. Sanctissimus nihil relinquet intentatum. Flectere si nequeat superos, Acheronta movebit. Videt enim jam non agi de reduviis, sed de vita et sanguine. Utinam ne nostri sese patiantur circumveniri. Dux Guisanus, ut, nescio qua spe moderandæ Religionis, et recipiendæ Confessionis Augustanæ, moratus esset Principes Germaniæ, ne se admiscerent huic bello; ita omnibus modis persuadere conatus est Reginæ nostræ, non agi nunc in Gallia negotium Religionis; esse manifestam conjurationem, causam esse Regis, cui illam, cum Regium locum teneat, non oporteat adversari. Intereà id egit, ut Neptis sua, Regina Scotiæ, ambiret gratiam, atque amicitiam Reginæ nostræ, et munuscula mitteret, et nescio quas fides daret: Velle se, hac ætate honoris causa venire in Angliam; et æternum amicitiae Fœdus, quod nunquam postea convelli possit, velle sancire. Misit ea adamantem maximi pretii, gemmam pulcherrimam, undique vestitam auro, et commendatam pulchro et eleganti carmine. Quid quæris? Putabant festivis colloquiis, et venationibus, et blanditiis, animos nostros abduci facili posse à strepitu bellico, et consopiri. Interea, Regina nostra, cum subodorata esset rem omnem, et quid ageretur intelligeret; neque enim id erat adeò difficile, mutare Consilium de protectione, à Guisanis paulatim alienari, et ad Principem Condensem non obscurè inclinare. Tulit id Guisanus indignè, Consilia sua non procedere; accepit contumeliosè Legatum nostrum, proposuit Edicta publicè, Reginam Angliæ insidias facere Regno Galliarum, et solam istos tumultus concitasse. Ista, Regina nostra patienter ferre non potuit, nec sanè debuit. Statim apertè agere, Legatum, uti audio, revocare, militem scribere, navibus omnibus undecunque, atque ubicunque essent, et suis et alienis vela tollere, ne quis exire posset, et quid ageretur nuntiare. O si ea id antea facere voluisset, aut si nunc Principes Germaniæ hoc exemplum sequi vellent. Facilius, et minori jactura, Sanguinis Christiani tota res posset transigi. Et Regina quidem misit hoc tempore in Germaniam, ad Principes; et nunc in Aula Legatus à Guisano, cum novis, ut opinor, blanditiis, ut nos moretur et impediatur. Sed non ita erit facile, spero, imponere videntibus. Res Scotiæ de Religione satis sunt pacatæ. Regina sola Missam suam retinet invitis omnibus. Incredibilis fuit hoc anno toto, apud nos, cœli atque aëris intemperies. Nec Sol, nec Luna, nec Hyems, nec Ver, nec Æstas, nec Autumns, satisfecit officium suum. Ita affatim, et penè sine intermissione pluit, quasi facere jam aliud Cœlum non queat. Ex hac contagione nata sunt monstra: infantes fœdum in modum deformatis corporibus, alii prorsus sine capitibus, alii capitibus alienis; alii trunci sine brachiis, sine tibiis, sine cruribus; alii ossibus solis coherentes, prorsus sine ullis carnibus, quales ferè imagines mortis pingi solent. Similia alia complura nata sunt è porcis, et equabus, è vaccis, è gallinis. Messis hoc tempore apud nos Angustius quidem provenit, ita tamen ut non possumus multum conqueri. Sarisberiae 14 Augusti, 1562.

Tuus in Christo,

JO. JUELLUS ANGLUS.

Inscriptio.—Ornatissimo Viro, Domino Henrico Bullingero summo Pastori Ecclesiæ Tigurinæ Domino suo Colendissimo—*Tiguri.*

NUMBER LXXIV.

An Extract out of the Journal of the Lower House of Convocation.

[Ex MSS. Gul. Petyt. in the Inner Temple.]

Acta in Inferiori Domo Convocationis, Die Sabbati Decimo Tertio Die Februarii, Anno 1562.

DICTO Die Sabbati Decimo Tertio Die Februarii, in Inferiori Domo Convocationis Cleri Provinciæ Cant' post meridiem hora constituta convenerunt frequentes Dominus Proloquutor cum cæt. infra nominatisubi post Divini numinis implorationem Legebantur quidem Articuli approbandi vel reprobandi a cætu quorum Articulorum tenor talis est.

1. That all the Sundays of the year and principal feast of Christ be kept holy-days, and other holy-days to be abrogate.

2. That in all parish churches, the minister in common-prayer turn his face towards the people, and there distinctly read the divine service appointed, where all the people assembled may hear and be edified.

3. That in ministring the sacrament of baptisme, the ceremonie of making of the crosse on the child's forehead may be omitted, as tending to superstition.

4. That for as much as divers communicants are not hable to kneel during the time of the communion, for age, sicknes, and sundry other infirmities; and some also superstitiously both kneel, and knock; that the order of kneeling may be left to the discretion of the ordinarie, within his jurisdiction.

5. That it be sufficient for the minister, in time of saying of divine service, and ministring of the sacraments, to use a surplice: and that no minister say service, or minister the sacraments, but in a comely garment or habit.

6. That the use of organs be removed.

Unde orta fuit superiorum, proband' vel reproband' Disceptatio, multis affirmantibus eosdem à se probari, ac multis affirmantibus illos à se non probari; multisque aliis volentibus, ut eorum Probatio, vel reprobatio, referatur ad Reverendissimos Dominos, Archiepiscopum et Prælatos, plurimis item protestantibus, se nolle ullo modo consentire, ut aliqua contenta in his Articulis approbentur; quatenus ulla ex parte dissentiant Libro Divini et Communis Servicii, jam Autoritate Senatusconsulti publicè in hoc Regno suscepto; neque velle, ut aliqua Immutatio fiat contra Ordines, Regulas, Ritum, ac cæteras Dispositiones in eo Libro contentas.

Tandem inceptæ fuerunt publicæ Disputationes fieri à nonnullis doctis Viris ejusdem Domus, super Approbatione, vel reprobatione dicti Quarti Articuli: Ac tandem placuit Discessionem, sive Divisionem fieri Votorum, sive Suffragiorum singulorum; quæ mox subsecuta fuit: Atque numeratis Personis pro parte Articulis approbante, fuerunt Personæ 43; pro parte vero illos non approbante, neque aliquam Immutationem contra dictum Librum Publici Servicii jam suscepti, fieri petente fuerunt Personæ 35.

Ac deinde, recitatis singulorum Votis, sive Suffragiis, prompta sunt quemadmodum in sequenti folio liquet et apparet.

DISPUTATORES.—Decanus Wygorn', Mr. Byckley, Archid' Covent', Mr. Nebynson, Mr. Pullen, Mr. Cotterell, Mr. Joh. Waker, Mr. Laur. Neuell, Mr. Talphill, Mr. Crowley, Mr. Tremain, Mr. Hewet, Decanus Eliens'.

Pro parte Articulus prædictos approbante, fuerunt omnes subscripti; viz. :—D. Proloquutor, Decanus

S. Pauli; Mr. Leaver; Decan' Heref.; Mr. Soreby; Mr. Bradbriger; Mr. Peder; Mr. Watte, 3; Decan' Lychef.; Mr. Spenser; Mr. Beysley; Mr. Nebinson; Mr. Bowier; Mr. Edden; Mr. Longlonde; Mr. Tho. Lancaster; Mr. Ed. Weston, 2; Mr. Wyndon; Mr. Sall, 2; Mr. Joh. Walker, 2; Mr. Becon; Mr. Proctor, 2; Mr. Cockerell; Mr. Todd, Archid' Bed., 2; Mr. Crouley; Mr. Hyll; Decan' Oxon.; Mr. Savage; Mr. Pullan; Mr. Wilson; Mr. Burton, 2; Mr. Heamond; Mr. Weyborn; Mr. Day; Mr. Rever; Mr. Roberts, 5; Mr. Calphill, 3; Mr. Godwyn, 2; Mr. Pratt; Mr. Trenun, 2; Mr. Leaton; Mr. Kemper; Mr. Ronayer; Mr. Abis.—Persons, 43. Voices, 58.

Pro parte Articulus non approbante, ac protestante ut supra, sunt subscripti, viz. :—Decan' West., 2; Mr. Coterell, 4; Mr. Latymer, 3; Decan' Elien.; Mr. Heuwette, 3; Mr. Ric. Walker, 2; Mr. Warner; Mr. Tho. Whyte; Mr. Knouall, 2; Mr. Jo. Prise; Mr. Bolte, 2; Mr. Hughes, 3; Mr. Bridgewater, 2; Mr. Lougher, 3; Mr. Pierson; Mr. Merick; Mr. Luson; Mr. Greensell, 3; Mr. Cheston; Mr. Chanddelor; Mr. Bonder; Mr. Just. Lancaster; Mr. Pondde; Mr. Constantyne; Mr. Calberley; Mr. Nich. Smith; Mr. Watson; Mr. Walter Jones, 3; Mr. Garth, 3; Mr. Turnebull; Mr. Robynson; Mr. Bell; Mr. Ithel; Mr. Byckley; Mr. Hugh Morgan, 3.—Persons, 35. Voices, 59.

NUMBER LXXV.

Bishop Horne's Letter to Gualter, concerning the Controversy about the Habits of the Clergy.

[Ex MSS. Figur.]

Robertus Hornus Gualtero.

LITERAS tuas, mi Gualtere primas, quàm amanter et jucundè acceperim, vel hinc existinare debes, quòd de Tigurinæ Republicæ Statu, in cuius Fide ac Liberalitate exul collocatus fueram, tum de tui reliquorumque amicissimorum, et de me optimè meritorum valetudine cognoscebam. Accedebat tua in Johannis Evangelium Lucubratio; scribendi, ut tu ais, Occasio, quam ita probo, ut ad veram Scripturarum Scientiam et Pietatem conferre multum judicem, et non solum à Tyronibus, quibus tu potissimum studes, sed ab ipsis Professoribus legendam existimem. In Fœdere Gallico et Helvetico, perspicatim Tigurinam probo, quæ astutias Gallicas, Religionis prætextu adumbratas, olfecit et patefecit. Bernenses etiam Vicinos vestros spero, suasu vestro ab inhonesto fœdere assensum cohibituos. De Peste, quæ Regionem Tigurinam invasit, opinionem habeo, quod impiorum causa etiam ipsi pij affliguntur. Quà percussus Pater Bullingerus, quòd periculum evasit, debemus putare eum qui duriora Tempora sustulit, felicius esse à Domino reservatum. Tuam domum à contagione tutam, divinæ Clementiæ quæ laboribus tuis voluit otium, ascribo. Res nostræ ita se habent, quòd ut vos vicinas Gallicas, sic nos intestinas Papisticas timemus Insidias. Primates Papistici in publicis custodiis, reliqui exilium affectantes, scriptis quibusdam in vulgus disseminatis, sese in gratiam, nos in odium vocant. Ansam minutam sanè et ejusmodi nacti. Controversia nuper de quadratis Pileis et Superpelliciis, inter nos orta, exclamârunt Papistæ, non esse quam profitemur, unanimem in Religione Fidem; sed variis nos opinionibus duci nec in una sententia stare posse. Auxit hanc Calumniam publicum Senatus nostri Decretum, de profiganda Papistica impietate, ante nostram Retitutionem sancitum; quo sublata reliqua fece, usus Pileorum quadratorum et Superpelliciorum Ministris remanebat. Ita tamen ut superstitionis opinione careret, quod disertis Decreti verbis cavetur. Tolli

hoc Decretum non potest; nisi omnium Regni Ordinum, quorum conspiratione atque consensu, nobis penes, quos tunc non fuit sciendi vel abrogandi Autoritas, Pileis et Superpelliciiis uti, vel aliis locum dare injunctum est. Usi his sumus, ne numera Christiana, per nos deserta, occuparent adversarii. Sed cum jam hæc Res in magnam Contentionem inter nostros devenit, noster Grex pusillus etiam in duas abierit partes; altera, ob illud Decretum deserendum Ministerium, altera non deserendum putet. Peta abs te, mi Gualtere, quæ de hac Controversia, quæ nos unà vexat, senseris ut quam primo tempore scribas. Speramus certè proximis comitiis, illam Decreti partem abrogaturos. Sed si id obtineri non poterit, quoniam magna ope clam nituntur Papistæ, Ministerio nihilominus divino adhærendum esse iudico; ne deserto eo, ac à nobis ea conditione repudiato, sese insinuant. Quâ de re, Sententiam, mi Gualtere, expecto tuam; An hæc, quæ sic facimus, salva Conscientia facere possimus. De vestra etiam Ecclesia ita sum sollicitus, ut quoniam multos fideles Ministros ex peste interisse suspicor, per tuas Literas scire vellem eorum Nomina qui jam supersunt. Dominus Ihesus, magnus Gregis sui Custos, Vos, et Universam suam Ecclesiam custodiat. In eodem vale. Datum è Fernomiano Castro, 16 Calendis Augusti, 1565.

Tuus in Christo,

ROB. WINTON.

Inscriptio—Ornatissimo Theologo, Domino Gualtero, Tigurinæ Ecclesiæ Ministro Dignissimo.

NUMBER LXXVI.

Bullinger's Letter to Bishop Horne concerning that Question.

[Ex MSS Tigur.]

Bullingerus Horno, de Re Vestitaria.

(Eadem iterum recurrit, aliâ Manu.)

Reverendissimo Patri in Christo, Domino Roberto Horno, Episcopo Wintoniensi (in Angliâ) Vigilantissimo; Domino suo plurimum Observando, Salutem.

QUÆ de Controversia de Vestitu Ministrorum, inter vos exorta, scribis, Reverende in Christo Pater, prius etiam ex Johannis Abeli, communis nostri Amici, Literis intellexeram, quibus nuper respondi. Doluit mihi vehementer, et adhuc dolet, hanc occasionem adversariis datam esse, quâ inter se committerentur, qui apud vos puriorem Veritatis Doctrinam prædicant. De Causa verò non libenter pronuntio, cum illius Circumstantias omnes fortassis non norim. Ne tamen abs te, et aliis amicis requisitus, officio deesse videar; hic repetere volui, quæ nuper in literis ad Abelum datis comprehendi. Probo Zelum eorum, qui Religionem ab omnibus sordibus Papisticis repurgatam volunt. Scio enim illud Prophetæ, quo Deus movet, ut scortationes à facie simul et uberibus removeamus. Interim vestram quoque probo Prudentiam, qui, ob vestitum, Ecclesias non putatis deserendas. Etenim cum finis ministerii sit ædificatio et conservatio Ecclesiæ, magna circumspeditione nobis opus est, ne ab hoc declinemus; dum causam per se bonam et sanctam defendimus. Nec modo videndum est qualis jam sit Ecclesiæ conditio, quam deserere statuimus, sed quæ, futura sit nobis ab illa digressio. Si meliorem fore certum est, abire licet. Sin verò deteriorem fore, non aut malis atque insidiis operariis locum demus. At quantum ego conjicere possum, hoc unum quærunt adversarii vestri communes, ut vobis ejectis, ut Papistas vel ab his non multum diversos Lutheranos Doctores

et antistites surrogent. Quod si fiat, non modo Ecclesiasticus ordo omnis turbabitur et crescet Cærimoniarum Ineptissimarum numerus, verum etiam Idola reducentur (quæ à Lutheranis defendi scimus) ἀπολάρπεια circa Sacram Domini cænam instaurabitur, privata absolutio et sub hac confessio auricularis paulatim subrepet, et infinita alia fient, quæ et Publicè turbas dabunt, et privatim multos pios in periculum adducent. Nam non dubito vas in vestro ministerio eò usque profecisse ut plurimos habeatis in toto Regno nobiles, cives, agricolas, omnis denique ordinis et loci Homines, qui de Religione optimè sentiant, et Doctrinam omnem abominantur, quæ superstitionibus et idololatriæ fenestras aperit, et quibus intolerabile erit Tyrannidem in Ecclesia denuò stabiliri, quæ Populi infelicis conscientias gravet. Hi certè, si vos ab Ecclesiæ gubernaculis discedatis, adversariorum libidini subjicientur, quæ examina et inquisitiones cum publicas tum privatas adversus eos instituent, hæreseos et seditionis accusabunt, et per hos totam causam Religionis, Regiæ Serenissimæ et totius regni proceribus suspectam atque invisam reddent. Horum ergo artibus et improbitati prudenter occurrendum fuerit, ne illis sponte demus, quod jam annis aliquot magno studio et labore quæsierunt. Quod si quis me rogat, an ergò eos probem, qui decreta ejusmodi ut primi fecerunt, vel nunc observata volunt, quibus sordes Papisticæ salventur? Ingenuè et libere respondeo, illos mihi non placere. Nam aut imprudenter nimis agunt, si ex nostrorum numero sunt: Aut nialo dolo Ecclesiarum Libertati insidias struunt. Etsi feces istas tanquam ad Dei cultum et conscientiarum animæque salutem necessarias vobis obtruderent, quidvis potius ferendum esse judicarem, quàm ut Ecclesiæ pium Populum ab ingenua fidei professione abstrahi per illos pateremini. Sed cum in decreto illo disertis verbis (ut tu scribis) cautum sit, quadratos pileos cum superpellicieis absque omni superstitionis opinione retineri debere, simul vestris quoque Conscientiis cautum esse puto. Licebit enim vobis, ni fallor, facti vestri rationem reddere, superstitionis opinionem ex omnium animis remove et protestatione uti, quæ scandalum omne è medio auferat. Interea Serenissima Regina et Illustrissimi Proceres Regni edoceantur, moveantur et excitentur, ne Reformationem tanta cum laude et magna cum totius orbis admiratione institutam, fecibus et sordibus ejusmodi inficiant atque polluant, neve vicinis Ecclesiis Scoticis et Gallicis aliquam præbeant dissensionis suspitionem. Scio à quibusdam quæstiones moveri multas de regum et magistratus autoritate, an quid hujus ille in Ecclesia statuere, et an horum decretis ministri obedire debeant? At ego Disputationes illas in hac Causa non ita necessarias puto, cum (ut modo dixi) superstitionis opinio per ipsius decreti verba excludatur. Et cavendum est, ne coram populo de magistratus autoritate disputando, alicujus turbæ auctores, simus. In comitiis verò Regni Publicis, ista tractari debet legitime, et qui per occasionem privatim Reginam et Principes Officii admonere possunt, ii suis partibus minime deesse debent. Hæc Reverende in Christo pater, habui quæ nunc scriberem, quia meam in hac Causa sententiam audire cupiebas. Nolim ego alicujus Conscientiam gravare, sed cavendum puto nedum nobis aut existimationi nostræ privatim consulimus, Ecclesias totas in gravius aliquod periculum adducamus. Et meam hanc sententiam à Pauli mente non dissentire puto, qui omnia omnibus fieri solitus fuit, ut quàm plurimos lucrificeret: Et qui Timotheum circumcidere voluit, ne Judæos illius loci à Religione Christiana alienaret, et illius ministerio commodius uti posset: Qui tamen alibi nihil prorsus dandum esse putavit iis, qui in circumcissione salutis meritum collocabant. Sed non

errabant in ejusmodi controversiis, quotquot ædificationem Ecclesiæ suorum consiliorum atque actionum scopum atque finem constituerint. De rebus nostris non est quod scribam. In anni superioris lue ita nobis prospexit Dominus, ut neminem ex ministrorum numero amiserimus. In agro unus et alter obiit. Volitatur nunc et nonnihil pestis in Urbe nostra, sed non sævitura videtur. Sumus in manu Domini, ejus voluntas fiat. Ad vigesimum Novembris Electorum Principum conventus erit Wormatiæ in quo de pace per Germaniam constituenda deliberabitur et quædam de Episcopis et eorum Reformatione tractabuntur quæ maximi momenti erunt. Deus optimus maximus suo Spiritu omnium mentes et Consilia regat ad sui nominis gloriam et Ecclesiæ incolumitatem. Uxorem tuam honestissimam matronam, mea plurimum salvere jubet. Vale Pater in Christo Reverende. Tiguri, 3 Novembris, Anno 1565.

Quæ Staphilii Manu hoc Loco Scripta, p. 135.

NUMBER LXXVII.

Bullinger's Answer to Humphreys and Sampson on the same Subject.

Ornatissimis D. Laurentio Humfredo, et D. Thomæ Sampsoni, Anglis, Dominis meis et Fratribus in Christo.

DOMINUS JEUS benedicat vobis, Viri Ornatissimi et Fratres Charissimi, ac servet vos ab omni malo. Accepi literas vestras, ex quibus intellexi te lamentari, conqueri, quod mea responsio data ad tuam quæstionem in via videtur amissa. Ego verò, mi Frater tunc non vidi, neque nunc video, quorsum oportuerit copiosiores scribere Literas. Tu enim rogabas tunc duntaxat, quæ esset mea de re vestitaria, de qua contenditur in Anglia, sententia? Ad hanc quæstionem brevibus tibi respondendum putavi, nam brevibus meam Sententiam dicere potui: dum sciebam beatæ memoriæ D. Pet. Martyrem et Oxoniæ et hic eandem quæstionem tractasse sæpius et fusius, quibus quod adjicerem non habebam. Memini verò in Literis ad te Sampsonem Fratrem datis, meæ quidem Sententiæ factam tum quidem fuisse mentionem, et ut iterum uno et altero verbo quod sentio dicam: Nunquam probaverim, si vestrum jubeamini exequi Ministerium, ad aram Crucifixi imagine operatam magis quàm ornatam, et in veste Missatica hoc est in alba et in Copa quæ à tergo quoque ostendet Crucifixi imaginem. Attamen ex Literis allatis ex Anglia intelligo, nulla nunc est de ejusmodi vestitu contentio, sed quæstio est, an liceat Ministris Evangelicis portare pileum rotundum vel quadratum et vestem albam, quam vocant superpellicium, qua Minister ornatus, à vulgo discernatur? Et an oporteat Ministerium vel stationem sacram citius relinquere, quàm hujusmodi uti vestibus? Respondi ad hanc quæstionem præteritis nundinis Reverendo Viro D. Rob. Horn. Vintoniensi Episcopo et quidem brevibus repetens verba D. Martyris. Scripserat eidem paulò ante Symmysta et affinis meus charissimus D. Rod. Gualtherus. Cujus exemplum hisce inclusum ad vos et ad alios Fratres nostros mitto. Ergo si nos audire vultis, nostrumque judicium de re vestitaria expetitis, sicut ultimis vestris ad me Literis significabatis, en habetis in illa Epistola meum judicium. Cui si acquiescere non potestis, dolemus sanè quàm vehementissimè, et cum nullum aliud nobis amplius supersit Consilium, Dominum, qui in omnibus et semper respiciendus est, ex animo et incessanter oramus, ut ipse sua gratia atque potentia rebus succurret afflictis.

Quæstiones tu Humanissimè Frater, proposuisti, plures verò ejusdem Argumenti Sampsonus contexit. Licet verò pro mea simplici ruditate nunquam proba-

verim vel in tot distrahi quæstiones et nodis injectis in precatioribus, quæ aliqui simpliciores per se, brevibus et satis perspicuè expediti potuerant, aliquid tamen annotabo ad singulas, ut hac quoque in re vobis Dominis meis observandis et Fratribus charissimis, quantum per meam possum infantiam attamen retusam magis quàm acutam, inserviam. Vos autem oro, ut benignè hæc à me pro vestro amantissimo accipiatis et de his animo judicetis purgato affectibus atque tranquillo. A contentionibus abhorreo prorsus, et nihil magis supplex peto à Domino, quàm ut ab Ecclesia amoveat contentiones, quæ ab initio et semper plurimum nocuere veræ Pietati et Ecclesiam pacatam et florentem lacerarunt.

Cum quæritur, an debeant Ecclesiasticis leges præscribi vestitiarum, ut iis distinguantur à Laicis? Respondeo ambiguitatem esse in verbo debere. Si enim accipiat pro merito et quod ad salutem pertineat acquirendam, non arbitror hoc velle vel ipsos Legum Auctores. Si verò dicatur posse hoc fieri decori, ornatusque vel dignitatis et ordinis gratia, ut sit similis quædam observantia, aut tale quid intelligatur, quale illud est, quod Apostolus vult, Episcopum vel Ministrum Ecclesiæ *Κόσμιον*, compositum inquam vel ornatum esse, non video, quid peccet, qui veste hujusmodi induitur, aut qui hujusmodi veste uti jubet.

2. An Ceremonialis cultus Levitici Sacerdotii sit revocandus in Ecclesiam? Respondeo. Si pileus et vestis non indecora Ministro qui Superstitione caret jubeatur usurpari à Ministro, nemo sanè dixerit verè Judaismum revocari: præterea repetito hic, quod ad hanc Quæstionem video respondisse D. Martyrem, qui cum ostendisset Sacramenta veteris legis fuisse abolita quæ nemo debeat reducere in Ecclesiam Christi, quæ habeat Baptisma et cœnam Sacram, subjecit: Fuerunt nihilominus in lege Levitica Actiones aliquot ita comparatæ, ut propriè Sacramenta dici non possent: faciebunt nostræ ad decorem et ordinem et aliquam commoditatem, quæ ut lumini naturæ congrua et ad nostram aliquam utilitatem conducentia ego et revocari, et retineri posse judico. Quis non videt Apostolos pro panis et convictu credentium faciliiori mandasse gentibus, ut à Sanguine et præfocato abstergerent? Erant hæc citra controversiam Legalia et Levitica. Decimas quoque hodie multis in locis Institutas esse ad alendos Ministros, nemo nostrum ignorat. Psalmos et Hymnos cani in sacris cœtibus manifestum est, quod Levitæ quoque usurparant. Utque hoc non omittam. Dies habemus fastos in memoriam Dominicæ Resurrectionis et alia: An verò illa omnia erunt abolenda quia sunt vestigia legis Antiquæ? Videt ergo non omnia Levitica sic esse antiquata, ut quædam ex iis usurpari non possint: Hæc ille.

3. An vestitum cum Papistis communicare liceat? Resp. Nondum constat Papam discrimen vestium induxisse in Ecclesiam, imò discrimen vestium constat Papa esse longè vetustius. Nec video, cur non liceat vestitu non superstitioso sed politiore et composito, communicare cum Papistis. Si nulla re cum illis communicare liceret, oporteret et templa omnia deserrere, nulla accipere stipendia, non uti Baptismo, non recitare Symbolum Apostolorum et Nicænum, adeoque abjicere orationem Dominicam. Neque vos mutatis ab eis ulla ceremonias. Res vestitaria ab initio Reformationis nunquam fuit abolita, et retinetur adhuc non lege Papistica, sed vi edicti Regii, ut res media et politica.

4. Ita sanè, si ut in re civili utamini Pileo aut Veste peculiari, non hoc redolet Judaismum, neque Monachismum; nam hi volunt videri à civili vita separati, et constituunt meritum in peculiari sua Veste. Sic Eustathius, Sebastie Episcopus, damnatus est,

non simpliciter propter peculiarem Vestem, sed quòd in Veste Religionem constitueret. Noti sunt Gangrensi. Conc. Canones, Laodiceani, et VI. Synodi. Quod si ex plebe nonnulli sunt persuasi, redolere hoc Papismum, Judaismum et Monachismum, admoneantur, et rectè de tuis instruantur. Quod si importunis quorundam clamoribus, hac de re ad vulgus profusis, multi inquieti redduntur, videant qui hoc faciunt, ne graviora sibi onera imponant, Regiamque Majestatem irritent, denique multos fideles Ministros in discrimen adducant, ex quo vix emergere queant.

5. An qui Libertate sua hactenus acquieverunt, vi Regij Edicti, hac Servitute, implicare se et Ecclesiam salva Conscientia possint? Respondeo; Cavendum ego censeo, ne odiosius disputetur clametur et contendatur de re vestiaria, atque importunitate hac detur occasio Regiæ Majestati, ut liberum amplius illis non relinquit, qui libertate hactenus usi sunt; sed clamoribus non necessariis irritata, mandet sumere vestes illas Ecclesiasticas, vel cedere statione sua, Mirum sanè mihi videtur (meam sententiam, viri Ornatissimi, et fratres Charissimi, dixerim) quòd vobis persuadentis, salva conscientia vos et Ecclesias servituti vestiariæ subicere non posse, et non potius expenditis si in re politica et indifferenti uti nolitis et perpetuè contendatis odiosius, cujusmodi servituti et vos et Evangelicos subiciatis, qui statione vestra cedentes, lupis exponitis Ecclesias, aut saltem parum idoneis doctoribus, qui non æquà ac vos ad docendum populum sunt instructi. An verò Ecclesias in libertatem asseruistis, quando occasionem datis, Ecclesias pluribus etiam gravioribus quoque oneribus opprimendi? Num ignoratis, quòd multi querant, quomodo erga Evangelicam prædicationem sitis affecti et quales vobis successuri sint, quid de illis sperandum sit?

6. An Vestitus Clericalis res sit indifferens? Videtur sanè res indifferens, cum sit civilis; Decoris, Ornatus, Ordinisque habeat rationem, in quo Cultus non constituitur.

Hæc, brevibus, ad tuas volui respondere, Doctissime et Dilectissime mi Frater Laurenti. Jam venio etiam ad D. Sampsonis nostri Questiones; in quibus exponendis, fortè ero brevior.

1. An Vestitus peculiaris, à Laicis distinctus, Ministris Ecclesiæ nunquam fuerit constitutus; et an hodie, in Reformata Ecclesia, debeat constitui? Respondeo: In veteri Ecclesia, fuisse peculiarem Presbyterorum Vestitum, apparet ex Historia Ecclesiastica Theodoret, Lib. iii. c. 27, et Socratis, Lib. vi. c. 22. Pallio in sacris usos esse Ministros, nemo ignorat, qui veterum Monumenta obiter inspexit. Ideò antea admonui, diversitatem Indumentorum non habere suam originem à Papa. Eusebius rectè testatur, ex vetustissimis Scriptoribus, Johannem Apostolum Ephesi Petalum, seu Laminam gestasse Pontificalem in Capite: Et de Cypriano Martyre testatur Pontius Diaconus, quòd cum jugulum carnifici præbere vellet, ei prius birrum dedisse, Diacono verò dalmaticam, atque sic ipsum in lineis stetisse indutum. Præterea, Vestis candidæ Ministrorum meminit Chrysostomus: Ac certum est, Christianos, quòd à Gentilismo ad Ecclesiam converterentur, pro Toga induisse Pallium. Ob quam rem, cum ab infidelibus irriderentur, Tertullianus Librum de Pallio conscripsit eruditissimum. Alia hujusmodi plura proferre possem, nisi hæc sufficerent. Mallem quidem nihil invitis injici Ministris, et eos ea uti posse consuetudine qua Apostoli. Sed cum Regia Majestas Pileum tantummodò et candidam injicit Vestem, in qua Cultum (quod sæpe jam repetitum est) non constituit; eademque res apud veteres, dum meliores adhuc essent res Ecclesiæ, usurpata sint absque superstitione et culpa; optarem, bonos Ministros in his, non ut in prora et puppi, quemadmodum dicitur, totum

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constituere Religionis perfectum: Sed dare aliquid tempori, et de re indifferenti non odiosius alterari, sed modestè indicare, hæc quidem ferri posse, sed proficiendum cum tempore. Propiores enim esse Apostolicæ simplicitati, qui discrimina illa ignorent, aut non urgeant, interim tamen à Disciplina in amictu non sunt alieni.

2, 3. An Vestium Præscriptio conveniat cum Christiana Libertate? Resp. Res indifferentes admittere aliquam Præscriptionem, adeoque Coactionem, ut sic dicam, quoad usum et non quoad virtutem; ut aliquid scilicet, quod natura sit indifferens, ut nimirum Conscientiæ obtrudatur, et ita animis injiciatur Religio. Tempora certè et Loca sacrorum Cætuum, certè habentur inter indifferencia; et tunc si hic nulla sit Præscriptio, quanta obsecro confusio conturbatioque oriretur?

4. An ullæ Ceremoniæ novæ, præter expressum præscriptum Verbi Dei, cumulari possint? Resp. Me non probare, si novæ cumulantur Ceremoniæ: Sed aliquas institui posse non negārim, modò in eis non statuatur Dei Cultus, sed instituantur propter Ordinem et Disciplinam. Christus ipse Encecionum Ceremoniam, vel Festum servavit, nec tamen lege præceptum legitimus hoc Festum. In summa, Propositionum, vel Questionum de re vestiaria, potior pars de eo disputat, an de Vestibus Leges in Ecclesia condi vel debeant, vel possint? Ac Questionam revocat ad genus. Quidnam, videlicet, de Ceremoniis statuere liceat? Ad has Propositiones paucis respondeo: Me quidem malle nullas Ceremonias, nisi rarissimas, obtrudi Ecclesiæ: Interim fateor, non posse statim Leges de his, fortè non adeo necessarias, aliquando etiam inutiles, damnari impietatis, turbasque et schismata excitare in Ecclesia, quando (videlicet) superstitione carent, et res sunt sua natura indifferentes.

5, 6. An Ritus Judeorum antiquatos revocare, Religioniq; Idololatrarum propriè dicatos, in usus Reformatarum Ecclesiarum liceat transferre? De hac Questione antea respondi, ubi disserui de Leviticis Ritibus. Nolim verò Ritus idololatricos, non repurgatos ab Erroribus, transferri in Ecclesias Reformatas. Rursus verò et ex adverso queri poterat: An recepti Ritus, remota Superstitione, propter Disciplinam et Ordinem, retineri sine peccato non possint?

7. An Conformatio in Ceremoniis necessariò sit exigenda? Respondeo, Conformationem in Ceremoniis, in omnibus Ecclesiis fortè non esse necessariam. Interim, si præcipiatur res non necessaria, rursus tamen non inopia, ob eam Ecclesia non videtur deprenda. Non fuit in Ritibus Conformitas in omnibus, in Ecclesiis vetustioribus: Quæ tamen conformibus utebantur Ritibus, eas non vituperabant Conformitate carentes. Facile autem credo, Viros prudentes atque politicos, Conformationem Ritum urgere, quòd existiment hanc facere ad Concordiam, et quòd una sit Ecclesia totius Angliæ; in qua re, si nihil impij videatur, non video, quomodo ejusmodi non malis institutis vos hostiliter obiciatis?

8. An Ceremoniæ, cum aperto scandalo conjunctæ, retineri possint? Respondeo, Scandalum vitari oportere. Videndum interim, ne sub scandalo nostras Affectiones contegamus: Non ignoratis aliud quidem datum, aliud verò acceptum, et ultrò necersitum esse scandalum. Non disputo nunc, An Vos, sine grandi scandalo dato, deserere possitis Ecclesias, pro quibus Christus mortuus est, propter rem indifferentem.

9. An ullæ Constitutiones ferendæ in Ecclesia, quæ natura sua impiæ quidem non sunt, sed tamen ad Ædificationem nihil faciunt? Resp. Si Constitutiones impietate carent, quas vobis imponere vult Regia Majestas, ferendæ sunt potius, quàm deserendæ Ecclesiæ. Si enim Ædificatio Ecclesiæ hac in re potissi-

mum est spectanda; deserendo certè Ecclesiam, plus destruxerimus Ecclesiam, quàm Vestes induendo. Et ubi abest Impietas, nec læditur Conscientia, ibi cedendum non est, licet aliqua imponatur Servitus. Interim verò quæri rursus poterat, An sub Servitute justè referamus rem vestiarum; quatenus facit ad Decorem et Ordinem?

10. An in Reformatis Ecclesiis à Principe præscribendum in Ceremoniis, sine voluntate et libero consensu Ecclesiasticorum? Resp. Si Voluntas Ecclesiasticorum semper sit expectanda Principi, nunquam fortè sapientissimi et piissimi Reges, Asa, Ezechias, Josaphat et Josiah, alijque Principes boni, Levitas et Ministros Ecclesiarum redegerunt in ordinem. Quamvis nolim prorsus excludi Episcopos à Consultationibus Ecclesiasticorum. Nolim rursus eam sibi potentiam vindicare, quam sibi usurparunt contra Principes et Magistratus in Papatu. Nolim item tacere Episcopos, et consentire ad iniqua Principum instituta.

11, 12. Postremæ Questiones duæ propius ad rem ipsam accedunt: An consultius Ecclesiæ sic inservire; an propterea Ecclesiastico munere rejeci? Et, an boni Pastores, jure ob hujusmodi, Ceremonias neglectas à Ministerio avocari possint? Resp. Si in Ritibus nulla est Superstitio, nulla Impietas, urgentur tamen et imponuntur bonis Pastoribus, qui mallent illos sibi non imponi: Dabo sanè, et quidem ex abundanti, onus et servitute ipsis imponi; sed non dabo ideo justissimis ex causis, Stationem vel Ministerium propterea esse deserendum, et locum cedendum lupis, ut antea dictum est, vel ineptioribus Ministris. Præsertim, cum maneat libera Prædicatio, . . . possit obtrudere servitus, et multa hujusmodi alia, &c.

Dixi quæ videbantur mihi dicenda de propositis Questionibus: Non nescius alios per sua eruditione, longè elegantius meliusque potuisse excussisse; sed quia ita voluistis, ut responderem, feci quod potui, liberum aliis relinquens de his et calamum et iudicium. Quod superest, nullius ego his Conscientiam urgere volo, examinanda propono; moneoque, ne quis in hac Controversia, ex *Φιλονεικία*, sibi faciat Conscientiam. Hortor item vos omnes, per Jesum Christum, Dominum meum, Ecclesiæ suæ servatorem, Caput et Regem, ut probè quisque apud se expendat: Utra nam re plus ædificavit Ecclesiam Christi, si propter Ordinem et Decorem Vestibus utatur, ut re indifferenti, et hæcenus ad concordiam utilitatemque Ecclesiasticum non-nihil facienti; an verò propter rem vestiarum deserere Ecclesiam, occupandam postea, si non à lupis manifestis, saltem à Ministris minus idoneis et bonis? Dominus Jesus det vobis videre, sapere, et sequi quod facit ad Gloriam ejus, et Ecclesiæ Pacem et Salutem.

Valete in Domino, unà cum omnibus fidelibus Ministris. Orabimus sedulo pro vobis Dominum, ut ea sentiat et faciat, quæ sancta sunt et salutaria. D. Gualtherus amicissimè vos salutatur, et omnia felicia vobis precatur. Faciunt hoc ipsum reliqui etiam Ministri. Tiguri, Calendis Maij, Anno Domini MDLXVI.

Vester ex animo totus,

HEINRYCHUS BULLINGERUS, Sen.
Tigurinæ Ecclesiæ Minister.

Admonitum te volo, chare mi Sampson, ne quid D. Bibliandri edas, nam quæ habetis excerptæ sunt ab Auditoribus ejus, et non sunt scripta à D. Bibliandro. Habent autem Hæredes ejus Commentaria, ejus manu scripta in Biblia, vel in vetus Testamentum. Indignissimè enim ferunt, si quid sub ejus nomine ederetur, quod ipsi non scripsisset. Interim gratias ago humanitati tuæ, quòd de his nos fecisti certiores. Et Literæ tuæ 16 Febr. scriptæ, demùm mihi traditæ sunt 26 Aprilis.

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*Humphreys and Sampson's Letter to Bullinger,
insisting on the Question.*

[Ex MSS. Tigur.]

Laurentius Humfredus, et Thomas Sampson, Bullingerò.

Cum diligentia tua clarissimo Viro, in scribendo nobis probatur: Tum verò ex Literis illis quidem humanissimis incredibilis tuus erga nos amor et Ecclesiæ nostræ singularis cura et concordie ardentissimum studium apparent. Questiones aliquot misimus P. T. in quibus jus et quasi cardo totius Controversiæ sita esse videbatur. Quibus est à P. T. accuratè responsum, nobis tamen quod bona cum venia tua dicimus, non est satisfactum plenè. Primò respondet P. T. Ministris præscribi posse leges Vestiarum ut iis colore te forma à Laicis distinguantur: Esse enim civilem observationem et Apostolum velle Episcopum esse *κόσμιον*. Cum hæc questio de Ecclesiasticis Homini-bus proposita sit et ad Ecclesiasticam politiam spectet: Quomodo habitus Ministrorum singularis et clericalis civilem rationem habere possit, non videmus. Ut Episcopum *κόσμιον* esse debere fatemur; sic ad ornatum mentis non ad cultum corporis cum Ambrosio referimus. Et ut in vestitu honestatem, dignitatem, gravitatem requiramus: Sic decorum ab hostibus Religionis nostræ peti negamus. Secundo respondes Hypotheticè, si pileus et vestis non indecorus Ministro, et quæ superstitie carent, jubeatur usurpari à Ministris Judaismum propterea non revocari. At qui esse potest vestis simplicis Ministerio Christi conveniens, quæ Theatro et Pompei Sacerdotii Papistici serviebat? Neque enim (quo nostri P. T. persuadent) pileus quadrus et vestitus externus solummodo exiguntur sed et etiam sacras vestes in templo adhibentur, superpelliceum, seu alba chori vestis, et capa revocantur.

Judaismi *μυήματα* quedam esse et simulacra non modo Papistæ ipsi in suis Libris clamitant, sed P. T. non semel ex Innocentio docuit. D. Martyris præceptoris nostri colendissimi testimonio libenter subscribimus. Sed quæ ille offert exempla ad decorum et ordinem pertinent, hæc Ecclesiam deformant, *ὀβραΐων* perturbant, concedentiam omnem evertunt: Illa luminis naturæ congruunt; hæc prodigiosa et monstrosa sunt: Illa juxta Tertullianii regulam meras necessitates et utilitates habebant: Hæc inepta prorsus et supervacanea et inutilia sunt, nec ædificationi nec ulli bono usui conducentia sed verius ut ejus Martyris nostri verbis utamur, cultui, quem hodie quotquot pii sunt execrantur, splendide inservierunt. Vestium Ecclesiasticarum discrimen hodiè receptum Papisticum esse inventum ipsi Papistolæ Gloriantur, Othlonis Constitutiones loquuntur, Liber Pontificalis ostendit, oculi et ora omnium comprobant. Usus Decimarum Stipendii, Baptismi, Symboli, et ante Papam natum divino instituto inolevit. Et cum Augustino quicquid in aliqua Hæresi Divinum ac Legitimum reperimus, id et approbamus ac retinemus, non inficiamus. Hoc autem quia erroris illius ac dissensionis proprium est, veraciter cum eodem arguimus et certamus. Quod addis, rem vestiarum ab initio reformationis non fuisse abolitam, in ea rursus vestri minime vera retulerunt. Multis enim in locis Serenissimi Regis Edvardi VI. temporibus absque superpelliceo cena D. pure celebrabatur: Et Cupa quæ tum lege abrogata est nunc Publico decreto restituta est. Hoc non est Papismus extirpare, sed denuo plantare, non in Pietate proficere sed deficere. Vestitum Sacerdotalem civilem esse ais: Monachismum, Papismum, Judaismum redolere negas. De superpelliceo quid blaterent Papistæ habitus

Clericorum apud eos quanti fiat, et quo Religioni dicatus sit Prudentiam tuam ex libris eorum intelligere non dubitamus. Deinde Monachatum ac Papiam sapit illa ambitio et Pharisæica peculiaris, vestitus præscriptio; cui illi hodie non minus quam olim Morechi suæ cucullæ tribuunt. Neque verò simul ac semel irruit sanctitatis et meriti opinio, sed paulatim et sensim irrepsit. Quod ne hic quoque fiat, quod veremur, idcirco non ab re cunctamur, et principiis obstare conamur. Cum Eustathio non facimus, qui in veste religionem collocabat, imò his, qui singulares et religiosas vestes sui Sacerdotii indices superstitionis requirunt adversamur. Idem etiam de Canone Concilii Gangrensis et Laodiceæ et Synodi VI. dicendum, et libertate in qua hactenus stetimus, discedere servitutis autoramentum quoddam esse iudicamus. Neque hic nos rimati sumus, non odiosè contendimus, acerbis contentiones semper fugimus, amicas consultationes querimus; lupis non cedimus, sed coacti et pulsati loco inviti et gementes discedimus. Fratres et Episcopos Domino suo stare et cadere permittimus, eandem erga nos æquitatem ad frustra petimus. In ritibus nihil est liberum; nec ad hoc nobis R. M. irritata est: Sed aliorum suavis ducta est: at nunc demum non quod Ecclesiæ expedit, sed quod aliquo modo licet, constituitur: et quod omnino impium non est, id sanum et salubre, id sacrosanctum, id ratum habeatur. Ceremonias et vestes sacerdotum, cum religionis testes, et professionis notæ sunt, non civiles esse: et ab hostibus omnium consensu mutuò corrogatæ, non decore haberi: et Anathemate divino notatæ et piis omnibus invisæ et malis ac infirmis admirabiles, sine quibus nec nos ministros esse, nec Sacramenta ritè administrari credunt, in rebus indifferentibus numerari nec possunt nec debent. Habebant Patres antiqui suas vestes, sed nec Episcoporum omnium proprias, nec à Laicis distinctas. Exempla D. Joan. et Cypr. singularia sunt. Sisinius hæreticus erat, nec aut laudatus aut nobis imitandus proponitur. Pallium omnium erat Christianorum commune, ut Tertull. in illo libro refert, et T. P. alibi notavit. Chrysostomus candidæ vestis meminit, sed obiter: nec commendat sed reprehendit: et fuerit nec sacerdotum an aliorum Græcorum linea aut lanea alba in munda nondum constat. Certè ad populum Antiochenum ab eodem, et ab Hieronymo opponitur sordidæ et apud Blondum de pallio laneo sit mentio. Quare ex ambiguo nihil concludi potest. Vestium professionem non congruere cum Christiana libertate Bucerus est testis, qui discrimina vestium propter præsentem abusum in Ecclesiis Anglicanis, propter pleniorum declarationem detestationis Antichristi, propter pleniorum professionem Libertatis Christianæ, propter tollendas inter fratres dissensiones omnino tollendo esse censuit. His enim verbis usus est in Epistola ad D. Alasco, qui totus noster fuit. Cedendum quidem est tempori sed ad tempus: sic ut progrediamur semper, regrediamur nunquam. Absit ut nos vel Schismata in Ecclesia altercando odiosius feramus vel fratribus hostiliter nos opponendo Cæmerinam moveamus: absit (optime Bull.) ut res natura indifferentes impietatis damnumus: Absit ut sub scandalo nostras affectiones contegamus, vel ex *φιλωνεῖα* conscientiam faciamus. Hæc sex et fermentum papisticum (nobis crede) omnis dissensionis est seminarium: Illud tolli et sempiternâ oblivione obrui ac sepeliri cupimus, ne ulla extant Antichristianæ superstitiones vestigia. In Papatu primatus et supercilium semper nobis displicuerunt: Et tyrannis in Ecclesia Libera placebit? Libera Synodus apud Christianos controversiarum nodos hactenus solvit: Cur nunc ad unius aut alterius arbitrium referentur omnia? Ubi hæc votorum et vocum regnat libertas,

Ibi valet et viget veritas. Breviter sic habeto rectum, primum hæc nobis potissimum fidem facere, Autoritatem Scripturarum, simplicitatem ministerij Christi, puritatem ecclesiarum primarum et optimarum quæ brevitate studio commemorare supersedemus. Ex altera verò parte legem nullam, nullum decretum generale, vel Dei optimi maximi, vel repurgatæ alicujus ecclesiæ, vel universalis consilij (quæ August. regula est) legere nobis hactenus contigit vel audire. Præterea illud comperimus, hæc quæ adducta sunt hactenus, exempla particularia esse, et universale non confirmare. Ad hæc statuimus, non quicquid est licitum ullo modo, obtrudendum, sed quod Ecclesiam ædificat omni modo, esse introducendum; nec quod alicui licet, id statim licere omnibus. Doctrinam castam et incorruptam (Deo sit laus) habemus: in cultu, religionis parte non infirma cur claudicabimus? cur mancum Christum potius, quam totum, quam purum ac perfectum recipimus? Cur à Papistis hostibus, et non à vobis fratribus reformationis exempla petimus? Eadem est nostrarum ecclesiarum confessio: eadem doctrinæ et fidei ratio: cur in ritibus et ceremoniis tanta dissimilitudo? tanta diversitas? Signatum idem: cur signa adeò variant ut dissimilia vestris, similia papisticis existant? Idem dux et Imperator Christus: cur in Ecclesiis nostris vexilla hostilia eriguntur? quæ si homines Dei si ullo zelo præditi essemus, jamdudum detestati et demoliti fuisset. Nos de semper optimè sensimus: illorum fastum candidè interpretati sumus: cum nos olim crucem cum ipsis ex osculantes et nunc eundem Christum prædicantes, idem jugum suavissimum una ferentes ferre non possunt? Cur in carceres conjiciunt? cur propter vestem persequuntur? Cur victu ac bonis spoliant? Cur libris publicè traducant? Cur causam malam posteritati, edito scripto commendant? Verterunt etiam in idioma nostrum Schedulas aliquot D. Bucer, P. Martyri, et nunc tuas privatas ad nos Literas nobis invitis et insciis in Publicum emiservunt. Unde dum suam causam agunt, suum honorem vendicant, nec Ecclesiæ nostræ, nec Fratribus suis, nec dignitati tuæ, nec seculo alteri consulunt. Quo autem P. T. intelligat, non levem aut ludicram, sed magni ponderis esse controversiam. Nec de pilco solum, aut superpelliceo certari, sed de re gravissima nos conqueri, Stipulas aliquot, et quisquilias Papisticæ Religionis mittimus, ex quibus facile, quæ est tua prudentia, reliqua conicias: Et remedium aliquod, quæ est tua Pietas, primo quoque tempore excogites. Oramus autem, D. nostrum Jesum Christum, ut hos tumultus et turbas consopiat, gloriam suam asserat, operarios in vincam extradat, quo Messis læta et uberrima proveniat. Teque oramus, ut Consilio Paterno, Scripto Publico, Literis Privatis Agas, Satagas, facias, efficias, ut vel hæc mala tollantur, vel boni Viri nondum persuasi tolerentur, ne quos Doctrinæ firmissimum Vinculum copulavit, Ceremonia Romana disjungat. Salutem dicas Gualtero, Symlero, Lavatero, Wolphio, Dominis colendis, quibuscum si contuleris, et nobis et Ecclesiæ universæ gratissimum feceris. D. Jesus suo Tygurio, vestro Tyguro benedicat. Julij Anno 1566. Hæc paucis et raptim, et non tam respondendi, quam admonendi Causa, quæ in hanc Sententiam dici possent infinita sunt. Tu nunc non quid fiat, aut fieri possit, sed quid fieri debeat pronuncia.

Tuæ Paternitatis Studioosissimus,

LAURENTIUS HUMFREDUS.
THO. SAMSON.

Inscriptio.—Domino Henrico Bullingero, Ecclesiæ Tigurinæ Ministro Fidelissimo, et Doctissimo Domino in Christo nobis Colendo.

NUMBER LXXIX.

A Paper of other things complained of besides the Heads.

[Ex MSS. Tigur.]

1. Aliquot Maculae quæ in Ecclesia Anglicana adhuc hærent. In Præcibus publicis et si nihil impurum, est tamen Species aliqua Superstitionis Papisticæ. Quod non modò in matutinis et vespertinis, sed in sacra etiam Cæna videre est.

2. Præter Musicæ sonos fractos et exquisitissimos, Organorum usus in Templis invalescit.

3. In Administratione Baptismi, Minister infantem alloquitur, ejus nomine sponsores, parente absente, de Fide, de Mundo, Carne, Diabolo deserendo respondent, Baptizatus cruce signatur.

4. Mulierculis etiam domi baptizandi potestas facta est.

5. In Cæna Dominica sacræ vestes, nempe Capa et Superpelliceum adhibentur; communicantibus Genuflexio injungitur; pro pane communi, placentula Azima substituitur.

6. Extra Templum, et Ministris in universum singulis, vestes Papisticæ præscribuntur; et Episcopi sum lineum, rochetum vocant, gestant et utrique pileos quadros, lirippia, togas longas à Papistis mutuo sumptas circumferunt.

7. De nervo autem Religionis, Disciplina, quid dicemus? Nulla est, nec habet suam virgum Ecclesia nostra: Nulla Censura exercetur.

8. Conjugium Ministris Ecclesiæ, publicis Regni Legibus, concessum et sancitum non est; sed eorum Liberi, à nonnullis, pro spuris habentur.

9. Solennis Desponsatio fit, more ritque Papistico, per Annulum.

10. Mulieres adhuc cum velo purificantur.

11. In regimine Ecclesiastico, multa Antichristianæ Ecclesiæ vestigia servantur. Ut enim olim Romæ, in foro Papæ, omnia fuerunt venalia; sic in Metropolitani Curia, eadem ferè omnia prostant: Pluralitates Sacerdotiorum, Licentia pro non residendo, pro non initiando Sacris, pro esu carniū diebus interdictis, et in Quadragesima, quo etiam tempore, nisi dispensetur et numeretur, nuptias celebrare piaculum est.

12. Ministris Christi libera predicandi potestas adempta est: Qui jam concionari nolunt, hi rituum innovationem suadere non debent, sed manus subscriptione Ceremonias omnes approbare coguntur.

13. Postremò, Articulus de spiritali manducatione, qui disertis verbis oppugnabat, et tollebat realem Præsentiam in Eucharistia, et manifestissimam continebat veritatis explanationem, Edwardi VI. temporibus excusus, nunc apud vos evulgatur mutilatus et truncatus.

LAUR. HUMFREDUS.

NUMBER LXXX.

Bullinger's Answer to their Letter, declining to enter further into the Dispute.

[Ex MSS. Tigur.]

Præstantissimis Viris, D. Laurentio Humfredo, et D. Thomæ Sampsoni, Anglis, Dominis meis Colendis, et Fratribus Charissimis.

EPISTOLAM illam vestram, Domini colendi et Fratres charissimi, quā mæ respondetis de re vestiariâ scriptæ, accepimus et legimus. Cujus quidem hæc summa est, Vobis per nostram nondum esse satisfactum. Prævidimus hoc futurum, Fratres: Ideoq; mox ab initio, si bene meministis, in Epistola mea

hæc præmisimus verba. Ergo, si nos audire vultis, nostrumque Judicium de re vestiaria expenditis, sicut ultimis ad me Literis vestris significabatis, en habetis in illa (Gualtheri) Epistola meum judicium. Cui si acquiescere non potestis, dolemus sanè quam vehementissimè, et cum nullum aliud nobis supersit consilium, Dominum, qui in omnibus et semper respiciendus est, ex animo et incessanter oramus, ut ipse sua gratia atque potentia, rebus graviter afflictis, &c. His jam nihil ampliùs addere nec possumus, nec volumus. Respondere quidem ad vestra objecta possemus, sed nolumus ullam novis et nunquam terminandis Disputationibus, scriptis vel rixis dare occasionem. Toties scripsit Martyr beatæ Memorix, cum adhuc viveret in Anglia, sed subinde alie atque alie suggerebantur, repetebanturque Quæstiones, ut videam ægre ullis verbis Scriptivæ satisfieri posse. Rogati à vobis fraterno amore suasimus, quod nobis coram Domino videbatur ecclesiæ fore fructuosum. Diximus nobis quidem videri utilius ad tempus uti istis vestibus et cum oviculis creditis manere, quàm rejectis illis pariter et ecclesias deserere. Uterius progressi non sumus, neque ullas papisticas sordes ac superstitiones probavimus: de quibus in illis disputationem ne suscepimus quidem, quippe ignari, quæ inter vos controverterentur, et de quibus nunc quoque scribitis. De re magni ponderis esse apud vos controversiam, nec de pileo solum aut superpelliceo certari, sed de re gravissima vos conqueri. Licet quidem epistola illa nostra ad vos privatim de re vestiaria conscripta, insciis nobis à quibusdam sit edita, speramus tamen pios et prudentes viros, nostra, neque in comitiis neque extra comitia eò detorsuros, quasi videamur ea nunc approbare et restituere velle, quæ pij omnes libris nostris edocti, dudum nos reprobare norunt. Suasimus vobis, sicut et ante nos et una nobiscum D. Martyr, quod nobis quidem videbatur, pro hoc tempore Argumento vel re, recipiendam vobis, eeu honestum et utile. Hoc quia hactenus placere non potuit, committimus nos totum Deo Negotium, petimusq; ut nobis non sitis ingrati, sed nihilominus amici, pergentes amare nos, vestri amantes in Domino, quem ex Animo oramus ut ipse, qui Fidelis est Custos Ecclesiæ suæ. Dissidium hoc infelix, inter vos exortum, componat et Ecclesiæ suæ Tranquillitatem reddat. Memineritis Fratres, obsecramus, per Dominum Jesum, à Ministris Ecclesiarum non tantum requiri, ut sint fidelis Sermonis tenaces, sed ut simul sint prudentes domus Dei dispensatores, rationem habentes familie, temporumq; et ut patienter, per Charitatem, plurima sustineant, concordiam veram in Domino foveant, deniq; per omnia Ecclesias in pace conservent, nimiaq; sua vehementia, morositate aut importunitate, bonum quidem sed non prudenter volendo, non incommodent piis et pietati. Dominus Jesus concedat vobis Spiritum suum sanctum, et dirigat vos in viis suis. Valete Fratres.

Datum Tiguri, 10 Septembr. Anno Dom. 1566.

HEINRYCHUS BULLINGERUS,
Suo et sui Gualtheri Nomine.

NUMBER LXXXI.

Bullinger and Gualter's Letter to the Earl of Bedford, pressing him to find a Temper in that Matter.

[Ex MSS. Tigur.]

Illustrissimo Principi, Domino Francisco Russello, Comiti Bedfordiensi, &c.

Cum anno superiori intellexissemus apud vos, Illustrissime Princeps, contentionem aliquam de Habitu

Ministorum exortam esse, vehementer timebamus, ne ea ulterius progressa, aliquid majoris mali daret Ecclesiae: Et ideo à viris piis et cordatis requisiti, consilium dedimus, quod tunc nobis tutum et pium videbatur. Monuimus enim Ecclesiarum Ministros, ne ob rem non adeo magni momenti ab Ecclesiis discederent, et eas lupis et superstitionis seductoribus vexandas relinquerent. At non fefellerit nos gravioris periculi metus, quem nos tunc concepissemus. Audimus enim, jam non de solo vestitu apud vos contendì, sed insuper multa alia obtendi piis Ministris; quæ merum Papatum redolent, imò in Antichristi Schola primum fabricata sunt, et proinde salva pietate recipi aut dissimulari non possunt. Dolorem autem nobis non levem parit, quòd Epistolam quam privatim ad amicos pauculos ea de re dedimus, typis excusam esse fertur, et quod multi nostrum de re illa vestitaria judicium ad alia usque extendunt, quæ Controversa esse tunc nesciebamus, et quæ à nobis nunquam probari potuerunt. Et sane justissimi doloris causa est, nostri nominis autoritate pios Fratres gravari, quibus consilium et consolationem afferre, potius quam molestiam exhibere studuimus. Magis tamen utimur scandalì consideratione, quod inde exortum esse non dubitamus. Auget præterea tristitiam nostram infelix Ecclesiae Anglicanæ conditio; quam cum semper amaverimus, non possumus non sanguinariis Fidei purioris hostibus totis animis commoveri, quòd quæ vixdum liberata nonnil florere caperat, nunc intestinis dissidiis labefactatur. Et quia de tua virtute, Illustrissime Princeps, nobis satis constat, et non pauca extant tuæ Pietatis argumenta, ad tuam Excellentiam Literas dandas esse putavimus, de qua pij quàm rimi spem non mediocrem conceperunt. Rogamus autem ut apud Serenissimam Reginam, et in Comitibus (quæ brevi futura audimus) apud regni proceres, causam Ecclesiae pro more tueri pergat, neque suum patrocinium piis Fratribus neget: qui etsi aliqua in re peccarunt, veniam tamen merentur, quando illis ferventi pietatis zelo commotos fuisse; constat et hoc unum querere, ut Ecclesiam ab omnibus Papisticis sordibus repurgatam habeant. Neque illi modò nobis digni videntur, quos pij Principes propugnent; sed tota hæc causa ejusmodi est, ut qui in illa agenda studium et industriam adhibent, eo facto demùm testentur, se Principum nomine dignissimos esse. Dignatus est illustres viros co honore Dominus, ut Ecclesie ejus nutritij dicantur, quæ sanè laus omnem hujus mundi gloriam atque dignitatem longè superat. Erunt autem fideles nutritij, si Ecclesiam non modò ex hostium manibus eripiant, verbi Prædicationem instant, et Sacramentorum usum legitimum restituant; verùm et caveant, ne quæ Christo adduci debet Sponsa incontaminata, ullo superstitionum fuce defoedetur, aut ullis Ritibus à simplicitate Christiana, alienis à fide sua suspectam reddat. Et notum est illud Hoseæ, qui Ecclesiam Israeliticam monebat, ut scortationes non ab uberibus modò, verùm et à facie removeret. Quare etiam atque etiam Excellentiam tuam rogamus, ut quod hactenus fecit, nunc imprimis facere pergat, et sua Autoritate apud Serenissimam Reginam et Regni Proceres efficere student, ne cum magna totius orbis admiratione instituta Ecclesie Anglicanæ Reformatio, novis sordibus et postliminio reductis infelicis Papatù reliquiis, deformetur. Nam si id fiat, non modo inconstantie nota multis in Regno vestro florentissimò inuretur, verumetiam infirmi offenduntur, et vicini Scotie, Gallie et Flandriæ Ecclesiis scandalum præbebitur sub cruce adhuc laborantibus, cujus poenæ in auctores ejus proculdubio redundabit. Imò ex vobis exemplum sument vicini veritatis Evangelicæ hostes; ut ipsi quoque in suis locis, liberiolem verbi Dei cultum novis tyrannicæ

superstitionis legibus circumscribant. Liberiùs hæc dicimus, Illustrissime Princeps, non quòd de tua pietate quicquam dubitemus, sed id partim tua humanitate incredibili freti faciamus, partim rei necessitate adducti tuæ Excellentie, et multis aliis de hac causa cogitandi materiam et occasionem ampliorem præbere cupimus. Precamur autem Deum optimum maximum, ut Ecclesie suæ miseratur, pacem illi restituat, et T. E. tuique; similes Principes suo Spiritù regat, suo favore prosegat, et potenti brachio servet, ad sui Nominis Gloriam, et Ecclesie suæ Conservationem. Tiguri, 11 Sept. Anno 1566.

Tuæ Excellentie Deditissimi,

HENRICUS BULLINGERUS, Sen. and
ROD. GUALTHERUS.

NUMBER LXXXII.

Bullinger and Gualter's Letter to Bishop Grindal and Bishop Horn, for quieting the Dispute.

[Ex MSS. Tiguri.]

Reverendis in Christo Patribus, D. Edmundo Gryn-dallo Londoniensi, et D. Roberto Horno Wintoniensi, in Anglia Episcopis, Dominis nostris Colendissimis et Fratribus Charissimis.

REVERENDI in Christo Patres, Domini Honorandi, et Fratres Charissimis,—Rumore perlatum est ad nos, confirmato eodem nonnullorum Literis Fratrum aliunde ad nos allatis, Epistolam illam meam, quam mense Maio, privatim Scripsimus ad Honorandos Fratres nostros D. Humfredum et Sampsonem, vobisque Dominis nostris et Fratribus Charissimis, certo Consilio exposito à nobis in Epistola ad vos data communicavimus, Typis excusam atque publicatam esse, eaque ipsa illos confirmari, qui jam multos Ecclesiarum Ministros pios et doctos exauthorarunt, non quidem ob rem vestariam, de qua illa nostra Scripta est Epistola, sed alios complures ob articulos, apud vos controversos. De quibus in Epistola illa nostra nullam instituis Disputationem, quas tamen omnes dicimur contra exauthoratos defendere atque approbare. Nos quidem incendium inter vos exortum non augere, sed extinguere studio vestri Sancto sumus conati, et non probare vel improbare articulos de quibus nihil nobis constabat. Proinde luculenta nobis fieret injuria, si nostra Epistola raperetur eo quasi eos etiam articulos, quos tunc ignoravimus, cum de re vestitaria scriberemus, approbare videremur. Summa sententie nostre erat, Ecclesias Christi Sanguine redemptas, minimè esse deserendas propter pileos et vestes, res indifferentes, cum non propter cultum ullum, sed propter ornatum politicè usurpari jubeantur. Nunc verò audimus (utinam rumore falso) requiri à Ministris novis quibusdam subscribant articulis, aut statione sua cedant. Articulos verò esse hujusmodi, tantum in templis figuratum, et peregrina lingua, unà cum strepitu organorum esse retinendum, Mulleres in casu necessitatis privatim posse, et debere baptizare infantes. Magistrum quoque infantem oblatum baptismo rogare debere questiones, olim catechumenis propositas. Baptizantes item Ministros usurpare exufflationes, exorcismos, crucis characterem, oleum, sputum, lutum, accensos cereos, et hujus generis alia: Docendum esse Ministris in perceptione Coenæ Domini, opus esse genuflexione (quæ speciem habat adorationis) nec panem frangendum esse communiter, sed culibet communicaturo crustulam ori ejus esse inserendam à Ministro. Neque verò modum Spiritualis manducationis, et præsentie Corporis Christi in Sacra Coenà explicandum, sed relinquendum in medio. Præterea dicitur, ut quondam Romæ

omnia fuerint venalia, ita nunc in Metropolitani Curia, prostare eadem, pluralitates videlicet Sacerdotiorum, licentiam pro non residendo, pro esu carniū diebus interdictis, et in Quadragesima, et rebus similibus, pro quibus nisi quis numeret, nihil impetret, Uxores item Ministrorum longē arceri à suis maritis, quasi impura sit conjugatis cohabitatio, perinde ut quondam factitatum est apud Antichristi Sacerdotes; aiunt autem illis omnibus non licere vel privatim vel publicè contradicere, quinimò adigi Ministros, ne hanc camarinam siquidem Ministrare Ecclesiis velint, commoveant. Adeoq; omnem potestatem gubernationis, vel potestatis Ecclesiasticæ penes solos esse Episcopos, neq; ulli Pastorum permitti, in rebus hujusmodi Ecclesiasticis, suam dicere sententiam. Quæ si vera sunt, plurimum sanè non nobis tantum, sed Piiis omnibus dolent. Oramusq; Dominum, ut hæc ex Sancta Christi Ecclesia quæ in Anglia est eluat, prohibeatq; ne quisquam Episcoporum, statione sua, dejiciat Pastorem ullum hujusmodi articulos recipere, aut approbare respicientem. Et quanquam de vestra Pietate Sinceritateque hoc nobis persuasissimum habeamus, vos si quid hujus (tam crassa enim extare apud vos vixdam credimus), in usu apud vos est, ferre et dissimulare ea ad comitia usq; regni opportuna, quibus de superstitione abolenda commodè et prudenter agatur: Et si qui sint, qui nostra illa Epistola abutantur ad quoslibet abusus confirmandos, vel tamen non esse de eorum numero, nihilominus hortamur vestram Pietatem per Dominum Jesum, ut seriò de emendandis expurgandisq; istis similibusq; superstitionibus, si ita res habet, ut dicitur, cum vestris Coepiscopis, et aliis Viris sanctis prædicensq; consultatis, nosq; ab injuria illa nobis ab aliis irrogata, fideliter vindicetis. Non enim istos articulos, uti perlati sunt ad nos, unquam probavimus. Rogamus insuper Humanitatem vestram, ut hæc à nobis benigno animo accipiat, qui vestræ concordie item sinceritatisq; in Religione Regni Anglici sumus studiosissimi, et vobis in Christo addictissimi. Dominus Jesus benedicat vobis et servet ab omni malo. Salute obsecramus nostro nomine, reliquos Reverendissimos Patres in Christo, Dominos meos Honorandos et Fratres Charissimos Angliæ Episcopos. Reginæ quoq; Serenissimæ semper nos commendate. Cui optamus vitam longævam, et gubernandi felicitatem, firmum tranquillumq; et tutum Regnum, et omnia quæ pii exoptare possunt.

Datæ Tiguri, Septemb. 6. Anno 1556.

Vestræ Pietatis Humanitatisque Deditissimi,

HEINRYCHUS BULLINGERUS, et

ROD. GUALTHERUS, Tigurinæ Ecclesiæ Pastores et Ministri.

NUMBER LXXXIII.

A Letter of Bishop Grindal, and Bishop Horn, giving a full account of their sense of all the Matters complained of in the Church of England.

[Ex MSS. Tigur.]—N. B. Ex Præcipuis.

Edmondus Londinensis, et Robertus Wintoniensis, Bullingero Heinricho, et Rodolpho Gualtero.

ERUDITAS vestras Literas ad Humfredum, et Sampsonem, commodissimas, cum ad nostras de vestibus animorum dissensiones, tum verborum altercationes atq; pugnas sedandas, quam libentissimè accepimus: Acceptas non sine certo Consilio, parentes tamen Fratrum nominibus, Typis excudi atq; publicari curavimus, indeq; fructum amplissimum quidem, quemadmodum sperabamus, præcepimus. Nam sanis quidem viris, universum Evangeliorum institutum et finem

spectantibus, multum profuere: Ministros certè nonnullos qui de deserendo Ministerio propter rem vestariam, quæ jam sola controversa ac causa contentionis apud nos fuerat, cogitarent, persuasus ne Ecclesias fraudari suâ operâ sinerent propter tantillum, confirmatosq; reddidere, et in vestram sententiam retraxere: Plebem autem quæ per importunos quorundam clamores concitata in varias partes distrahebatur, piosq; Ministros contumeliâ afficiebat, quasi concordia quadam illis placavere ac leniere temperantia: Morosis vero et nihil preterquam quod ipsi statuerant preferre valentibus, etai non satisfacere, eo tamen eis profuere, ut pios convitiis minus proscindere, pacemq; Ecclesiæ salutarem sermonibus suis morologis non adeò audacter fœdare, velint aut possint. Ex hiis quosdam esse exauthoratos, etsi sua ipsorum culpa, ut gravius in illos nos dicamus, fatemur et dolemus. Verum illud æquiori animo ferendum putamus, quod non sint multi sed pauci, et pij, certè non adeò docti. Nam solus Sampsonus inter eos qui exauthorati sunt, et pius pariter ac Doctus esse habendus. Humfredus verò ac Doctiores omnes in sua hactenus statione manent. Quod si vestra Epistola Typis excusa ac publicata fuisset, ut qui exauthorarunt, confirmarentur: si qui exauthorati sunt, propter alios articulos apud nos controversati et non ob rem solam vestariam de gradu fuissent dejecti suo: si deniq; illa Epistola quæ verbis adeò exquisitis ac perspicuis solam controversiam vestariam pertractat, ut alio transferri non possit ad approbandos articulos vobis ignotos, nec dum apud nos Dei gratia controversos (nam nulli nobis cum Fratribus articuli in contentionem hactenus venerunt nisi hic solus vestiarius) reperetur: Luculenta profectò vobis, quos amamus, colimus, et in Domino Honoramus, fuisset injuria: sicut nobis manifesta adhibita est calumnia ab hiis qui Autores fuerunt vanissimi rumoris, quo ad vos perlatum fuit, à Ministris Ecclesiæ requiri novis quibusdam subscribant articulis, aut statione sua cedant. Summa controversiæ nostræ hæc est: nos tenemus Ministros Ecclesiæ Anglicanæ sine impietate uti posse vestium discrimine publica autoritate jam præscripto, tum in Administratione Sacra, tum in usu externo, præsertim cum ut res indifferentur proponantur, tantum propter ordinem ac debitam legibus Obedientiam usurpari jubeantur: et omnis Superstitionis Cultus ac Necessitatis quod ad Conscientias attinet, opinio, legum ipsarum præscripto et sincerioris Doctrinæ Prædicatione assidua quantum fieri potest amoveatur, rejiciatur, ac omnino condemnetur. Illi contra claustrant vestes has in numerum τὰν ἁδιαφορῶν, jam haud quaquam esse ascribendas, impias esse, Papisticas ac Idolatricas: et propterea, omnibus piis uno consensu Ministerio cedendum potius, quàm cum ista Panniculariis Papisticis, sic enim loquuntur, Ecclesiæ inservire: licet Doctrinam sincerissimam prædicandi nec non omnimodos Errores seu abusus sive in Ritibus, sive in Doctrina, sive in Sacramentis, sive in Moribus, per sanam Doctrinam subaccusandi, exagitandi, condemnandi, summam habeamus Libertatem. Istud istorum immaturum Consilium accipere non possumus: quomodo nec impetuosa eorum Adhortationes, quibus Pacem Ecclesiæ indesinenter pro suggestu disturbant, Religionemq; nostram universam in Periculum trahunt, ferre debemus. Nam istiusmodi suis celeusmatibus, serenis. Reginæ Animum alioqui ad optimè merendum de Religione propensum, irritari, prohi dolor, nimium experti sumus: Procerum quorundam Animos, ut de aliis taceamus, ægros, imbecilles, vacillantes, hiis vulnerari, debilitari, abalienari, certò certius scimus. Equis dubitare possit, quin Papistæ hujusmodi Occasione nacti virus suum pestilentissimum eructabunt, evoment in Evangelium Jesu

Christi, ejusque Professores omnes; in spem erecti, jam Opportunitatem se habere suam sibi ereptam Helenam recuperandi. Quodsi inconsulto nostro Consilio acquiesceremus, ut omnes cunctis viribus impetum in vestes Legibus Constabilitas, contra Legem faciamus, perimamus, ac dealeamus omnino, aut simul omnes Munia exuamus. Papisticum profecto, vel saltem Lutherano-papisticum haberemus Ministerium, aut omnino nullum. Illud autem Deum Optimum Maximum testamur, Fratres in Christo honorandi; neque culpa evenisse dissidium hoc nostra, nec per nos stare quo minus istiusmodi vestes à medio tollerentur: Imò sanctissime, licet, juremus, laborasse nos hactenus quanto potuimus studio, fide, diligentia, ut id effectum daremus, quod fratres postulant, et nos optamus. Verum in tantas adducti angustias, quid faciendum? (multa vobis, qui prudentes et ad pericula Ecclesiis impendenda perspicendi estis sagaces, conjicienda relinquimus) nisi ut cum non possumus quod velimus, velimus in Domino quod possumus. Hactenus rem controversam et plenam dissensionis inter nos, ut se habet, exposuimus. Nunc vero quod reliquum est, accipite: Falsissimum omnino est ille rumor, si tamen rumor dicendus sit (novimus enim prudentiam vestram, ac modestiam, et laudamus) de receptione, subscriptione, et approbatione novorum istorum Articulorum quos recensetis. Nec magis sunt veraces, qui sive scriptis suis Epistolis, sive verbis coram, hoc prætextu vobis fucum facere, nobis autem calumniam inurere sunt conati. Plerique enim omnes isti Articuli falso nobis obijciuntur; perpauci recipiuntur: Horum omnino nulli, Fratris sua subscriptione approbandi obtruduntur. Cantum in templis figuratum, unà cum strepitu organorum, retinendum non affirmamus imò prout decet, insectamur. Peregrinam linguam, exufflationes, exorcismos, oleum, sputum, lutum, accensos cereos, et ejus generis alia, ex Legum præscripto nunquam revocanda, penitus amisit Ecclesia Anglicana. Mulieres posse aut debere baptizare infantulos, nullo modo prorsus assentimur. In Cœnæ Dominicæ perceptione, panem communiter frangere, cuilibet communicaturo non ori inserere, sed in manus tradere: Modum spiritualis manducationis, et presentie Corporis Christi in sacra Cœna, explicari Leges jubent, Usus confirmat, Oblatores nostri Anglo-Lovanienses nefariis suis scriptis testantur. Uxores Ministrorum non arcentur à suis Maritis; cohabitantes, et eorum Conjugium apud omnes (semper Papistas excipimus) habetur honorabile. Denique non minus falsum est quod oblatrant, penes solos Episcopos omnem esse Ecclesiasticæ gubernationis potestatem, etsi primas illis dari non negamus. Nam in rebus hujusmodi Ecclesiasticis in Synodo deliberari solet. Synodus autem indicitur, Edicto Regio, eo tempore quo habetur totius Regni Parliamentum, ut vocant. Adsunt Episcopi, adsunt etiam totius Provinciæ Pastorum doctiores quique, qui triplo plures sunt quam Episcopi. Hij seorsum ab Episcopis de rebus Ecclesiasticis deliberant, et nihil in Synodo statuatur, aut definitur, sine communi eorum ac Episcoporum, aut majoris saltem illorum partis, consensu et approbatione: tantum abest ut Pastoribus non permittatur in hujusmodi rebus Ecclesiasticis suam dicere sententiam. Recipimus quidem, seu potius toleranter ferimus, donec meliora Dominus dederit, interrogationes infantium, et crucis characterem in Baptismo, in Cœnæ perceptione genuflexionem; et Regiam Facultatem Curiam, quam Metropolitanam vocant. Quæstiones istiusmodi non adeo accommodè infantibus proponi, etsi ex Augustino videantur emendicatæ, publicè profitemur, ac sedulo docemus. Crucis Characterem frontem jam baptizati infantis notare; etsi Minister palam conceptis verbis,

profiteatur signatum esse Cruce infantulum, solummodò in signum quòd in posterum illum non pudebit fidei Christi crucifixi, idque ex vetustiori Ecclesia videatur transumptum, tamen non defendimus. Genuflexionem in sacre cœnæ perceptione, quoniam ita Lege constitutum est, permittimus: Ea tamen expositione, seu potius cautione, quam ipsi genuflexionis auctores, viri sanctissimi ac Martyres Jesu Christi constantissimi, adhibuerunt, diligentissimè populo declarata, promulgata, inculcata. Quæ sic ad verbum habet: Etsi in Libro Præcum statutum sit, ut communicantes genuflectendo sacram accipiant communionem, id tamen eo trahi non debere declaramus, quasi ulla adoratio fiat aut fieri debeat, sive Sacramentali pani ac vino, sive ulli reali et essentiali presentie ibi existenti, naturalis carnis et sanguinis Christi. Nam Sacramentalis panis et vinum permanent in ipsis suis naturalibus substantiis, et propterea non sunt adoranda: Id enim Idololatria horrenda esset, omnibus Christianis detestanda. Et quantum ad corpus naturale ac sanguinem salvatoris nostri Christi attinet, in Cœlo sunt et non sunt hic. Quandoquidem contra veritatem veri naturalis corporis Christi est, pluribus quàm uno inesse locis, uno atque eodem tempore. Facultatem Curiam, undecunque est allata, Regia est, non Metropolitana. Is enim prudens Pater, doctus et ad syncerissimam Religionem propagandam optimè affectus, omnimodas Romanas fæces prorsus eluere peroptat, conatur, satagit. Et licet omnes hujus Fiscalis Curie, sicut etiam alios nonnullus abusus à medio tollere non possumus, eos tamen carpere, contumeliis insequi, ad tartara usque, unde proreperant, detrudere non desistimus. Nobis credite, fratres venerandi: Unicuique licet Ministro omnibus istiusmodi articulis, cum modestia et sobrietate contradicere. Pastores verò articulos istos nobis falso impositos, recipere aut approbare nolentes, statione sua haudquaquam dejicimus. Pergite ergo nos amare, admonere, juvare, ut incendium inter eos exortum, solummodo pro re vestiaria, extingatur. Nosque operam dabimus, quantum fieri possit, quemadmodum in proximis Comitibus fecimus, et si nihil obtinere potuimus; ut omnes errores et abusus ad amussim verbi Dei corrigantur, emendentur, expurgentur. Commendamus vos Fratres Gratie Domini nostri Jesu Christi, quem oramus ut vos incolentes, vestrasque Ecclesias in pace quam diutissimè conservet. Salutate nostro nomine Fratres ac Symnistas Tigurinos omnes.

Londini, 6 Februarij, Anno Dom. 1567.

Vestrum omnium Amantissimus,

EDM. LONDON.

ROBERTUS WINTON.

Addito Manu Winton' sequentia.

Obsecro et ego vos, Fratres mihi plurimum observandi, (ignoscatis mihi) quod Literis vestris ad me privatim scriptis, hactenus non responderim; nec pro doctissimis vestris Commentariis ad me transmissis, ullas hactenus gratias retulerim. Neque illud ipsum mihi vitio vertant Wolvius et Lavaterus; quos quæso, meo nomine, plurimum salutate, et me apud illos excusate. Scio enim Officij mei rationem hoc ipsum efflagitasse; et vos, illosque, meas Literas desiderasse, non dubito. Efficiam posthac, scribendo vos omnes expleam, et Officio non desim meo. Salutem etiam à me dicite, oro, D. Simlero, Zuinglio, Halero. Vivite omnes, ac valete in Christo.

Totus Vester,

ROBERTUS WINTON.

Inscriptio.—Ornatissimis Viris, D. Henricho Bul-
lingero, et D. Radulpho Gualtero, Tigurinæ Ec-
clesiæ Pastoribus fidelissimis.

NUMBER LXXXIV.

A Letter of Jewell's to Bullinger, concerning the Debates in Parliament relating to the Succession, and the Heats in the Disputes about the Vestments.

[Ex MSS. Tigur.]

Johannes Juellus Henricho Bullingero.

S. P. in Christo. Proximæ Literæ meæ, Ornatis-
sime Vir, cum Londinum tardiusculè venissent, et
Francofordiam ad Nundinas proficisci non possent,
re infecta, domum ad me reversæ sunt. Quod non-
nihil vereor, ne nunc quoque in istas accidat. De
prolixis et pereruditis illis tuis ad me Literis proxi-
mis, prolixè tibi ago gratias. Nunc mihi de Synodo
illa Francofordiensi, ut de re obscura, et controversa,
egregiè satisfactum esse, et fateor et gaudeo. Res
nostræ Ecclesiasticæ, publicæ privateque, eo loco
nunc sunt, quo fuerunt. Lovanienses nostri clamant,
et turbant, quantum possunt: Et habent fautores,
etsi non ita multos, plures tamen multò quam velim.
Et quanvis complures sint, et in universum in omnes
scribant, tamen nescio, quo meo fato, omnes in me
feruntur unum. Itaq; dum illis respondco, ne me
esse otiosum putes. Habuimus, proximis istis Men-
sibus, Comitia totius Regni: Illis ego, propter Vale-
tudinem, interesse non potui. Scriptæ sunt Leges de
Religione, quibus Papistarum obstinata malitia, atq;
insolentia in officio continentur. Actum etiam est de
Successione; hoc est, cui Familiæ Jus Regni debeatur,
si quid Elizabethæ Reginae humanitas acciderit,
quod nolimus. Ea Contentio mensem unum, atque
alterum omnium animos occupavit; cum Regina ea
de re agi nollet: Reliqui omnes vehementer cuperent,
et utrinque magnis viribus, et studiis pugnaretur.
Quid queris? Efficì postremò nihil potuit: Regina
enim, ut est femina imprimis prudens et provida,
Hærede semel designato, suspicatur, aliquid sibi
creari posse periculi. Nosti enim illud, plures Ori-
entem Solem adorant, quam Occidentem. De Reli-
gione, Causa illa vestiaria magnos hoc tempore motus
concitavit. Regiæ certum est, nolle flecti: Fratres
autem quidam nostri ita ea de re pugnanti, ac si in ea
una omnis nostra Religio versaretur. Itaq; Func-
tiones abjicere, et Ecclesias inanes relinquere malunt,
quàm tantillum de sententia decedere. Neq; aut
tuis aut D. Gualtheri doctissimis scriptis, aut aliorum
piorum Virorum monitis moveri volunt. Agimus
tamen Deo gratias, qui non patitur nos inter nos, hoc
tempore, gravioribus Quæstionibus exerceri. Unus
tantum quispiam è nostro numero, Episcopus Gloces-
trensensis, in Comitibus apertè, et fidenter dixit, probari
sibi Lutheri sententiam de Eucharistia; sed ea seges
non erit, spero, diuturna. In Hibernia, nonnihil hoc
tempore tumultuatur. Insula ea, uti scis, paret nos-
tris Regibus. Johannes quidam Oncus, spurius, con-
scripsit nuper militem, et nostros insolenter provo-
cavit. Sed plus in ea re moræ est, quàm periculi.
Is enim longè abdit sese in paludes, et solitudines;
quo noster miles conasequi facili non possit. E Scotia
vero, (quid ego dicam? aut tu, quid credas?) horrenda
atq; atrocita nuntiantur. Ea quamvis ejusmodi sint,
ut credo, vix possit, tamen ex Aula usq; ad me scri-
buntur, et passim jactantur, et creduntur ab omnibus.
Regem juvenem, aiunt, proximis hisce admodum die-
bus, unà cum uno famulo, quem habuit à cubiculis,
interfectum esse domi suæ, et exportatum foras, et
relictum sub dio. Crede mihi, horret animus ista
commemorare. Si ista vera sint, ne sint; tamen
sint, quid causæ fuerit, aut quibus ille insidiis petitus
sit, faciam te posthac, ubi omnia rescivero, de rebus
omnibus certiozem. In Præsentia, nec ea, quæ ita

constanter jactarentur, reticere potui, nec ea quæ
comperta non haberem, nimium fidenter affirmare.
Julium nostrum, audio, Tiguri esse mortuum: Mitto
tamen ad illum viginti Coronatos Gallicos, si vivit, ut
illi cedant; sin autem, quod nolim, est mortuus, ut
in Epulum Scholasticum insumantur. Si esset otium,
scriberem ad D. Lavaterum, ad D. Simlerum, ad D.
Wolphium, ad D. Hallerum, et alios: Imprimis vero
ad D. Gualtherum; ad quem, hactenus homo ingratus,
nunquam scripsi. Quæso, ut hosce omnes, atque
etiam in primis D. Rodolphum, et D. Henricum tuos,
meo nomine plurimum valere jubeas. Vale, mi Pater,
et Domine in Christo Colendissime.

Sarisberiae in Anglia. Feb. 24, 1567.

Tuus in Christo,

JO. JUELLUS, Anglus.

Inscriptio.—D. Henricho Bullingero Ministro Ec-
clesiæ Tigurinæ Fidelissimo, Viro longè Doctis-
simo, et Domino suo Colendissimo.—*Tiguri.*

NUMBER LXXXV.

*A Letter of Jewell's to Bullinger, of the State Affairs were in, both in England, Ireland, Scot-
land, and the Netherlands.*

[Ex MSS. Tigur.]

SALUTEM Plurimum in Christo Jesu—Quid ego
dicam, Doctissime Vir et Clarissime Pater? Et pudet
et dolet, pudet primum, non scripsisse sæpius, deinde
dolet, eas ipsas quas scripsi, non potuisse ad vos per-
venire, obsecro tamen te, ne putes mihi aut Scholam
Tigurinam, aut Rempubicam, aut illam vestam Hu-
manitatem tantam tam citò ex Animo elabi potuisse.
Equidem vos omnes in oculis, et in sinu gero, et te
imprimis. Mi Pater, lumen jam unicum ætatis nos-
træ. Quod autem ad Literas attinet, equidem, pre-
terquam anno illo superiore cum peste, et lue omnia
ubique clausa essent, cæterois nunquam internisi
scribere, ad te, ad Lavaterum, ad Simlerum, et ad
Julium. Quod nisi facerem, videri, vix possem, non
dico officii, sed ne Humanitatis quidem rationem
ullam retinere. Et de aliis quidem meis Literis su-
perioribus, quid factum sit, nescio. Proximas autem
audio in navali conflictu exceptas fuisse à Gallis, atque
ablatas Caletum. Sed Missa ista facio. Nunc acci-
pito de rebus nostris, quos tibi, pro tua pietate, magis
cordi esse, sat scio. Primum de Religione omnia
domi Dei Optimi Maximi Beneficio pacata sunt.
Papistæ exules turbant, et impediunt quantum pos-
sunt et evulgatis libris, nescio, quo meo, fatone,
dicam, an merito, me petunt unum, idque terni max-
imis clamoribus uno tempore. Illis omnibus dum
unus respondeo, tu me ne putes esse otiosum. Offer-
tur mihi inter alia, causa illa Ubiquitaria, quam ego
in senis illius nostri Tubingensis gratiam, ut potui,
utque res tulit, de industria ornavi pluribus: Sed
nostra lingua, utpote nostris Hominibus. Si quidem
otium erit, partem aliquam transferam, et ad vos mit-
tam. De illo autem sene, equidem non video quid
debeam statuere. Ita mihi videtur, magis magisque
in singulos dies delirare. Legi enim novum Menandri
phasma, quod nunc nuper dedit: Et tibi, et de illo
Libro, et de omnibus Literis tuis, et de omni tua
Humanitate, ago gratias. Respublica domi, forisque,
terra, marique tranquilla est. Pacem habemus cum
Gallis constitutam. Flandrica etiam illa turba jam
tandem consiluit. Mercatores utrinque commeant,
Flandri ad nos, et nostri vicissim ad illos. Granve-
lanus, cujus unius nequitia hæc omnia cæpta sunt, id
egit, ut, turbatis, atque impeditis emporiis, cum neque
invehi quicquam, neque exportari posset, attonitis

mercatoribus, et oppidano vulgo, quod verè è lanificio victum quærit, ad otium, atque inopiam redacto, popularis aliquis motus, et seditio domestica sequeretur. Ita enim sperabat Religionem unà posse concuti. Sed Deus ista consilia convertit potiùs in authorem. Nostri enim in officio, uti par erat, remanserant. Flandricum autem vulgus, digressis nostris Mercatoribus, et Emporio Embdæ constituto, eam rem indignè ferre, atque etiam tantum non tumultuari. Hiberni, uti te audisse scio, nobis parent, et nostis utuntur legibus. In illam insulam, Papa ante aliquot admodum dies immisit Hominem sceleratum, et callidum, cum mandatis, qui huc illuc concursaret. Erat enim Hibernus, qui gentem feram et silvestrem contra

Nebulo statim primo appulsu comprehenditur, et excussus, et victus ad nos mittitur. Ita sacerrimus Pater prorsus decrevit, cum flectere non possit superiores, Acheronta movere. In Scotia ita ut volumus. Regina sola Missam illam suam retinet, invitis omnibus. Parkhurstus, Hoperus, Sampson, Sandus, Leverus, Chamberus valent, et officium faciunt. Biennium jam est, quod ego illorum quenquam viderim. Vale, mi Pater. Dominus Jesus te quàm diutissimè servet superstitem, et incolumem. Saluta D. Gualterum, D. Lavaterum, D. Simlerum, D. Lupum, D. Hallerum, D. Gesnerum, D. Frisium, D. Zuinglium, D. Wikium; ad quos singulos darem litéras si esset otium, vel potiùs nisi prorsus obruerer Negotiis.

Sariserbie, in Anglia, Calend. Martiis, 1565.

Tui Nominis Studiosissimus,
Tibique Deditissimus,

JO. JUELLUS, Anglus.

NUMBER LXXXVI.

The End of a Letter written to Zurich, setting forth the Temper of some Bishops in these Matters.

[Ex MSS. Tigur.]

Nunc Patres illud petimus, et in Christo contendimus etiam atque etiam, (quod vos ultrò benignissimè polliciti estis) ut Londinensis, Wintoniensis ac Cantuariensis Episcoporum animos exacerbatos molliatis, et si non amplius aliquid potestis, saltem hoc tantum exoretis: Ut et in Fratres nostros in Anglia remanentes mitiores esse velint, et fœces ex suis Ecclesiis removeantes, si non adjuvare, at saltem tolerare, et ipsorum factis connivere velint. Atque vos Reverendis Nordovicensi, Wigorniensis, et Dunelmensis Episcopis, in vestris Epistolis, pollicitis justas suæ pietatis laudes persolvatis: Atque illis, simul et Fratribus Ministris studentibus repurgationi Ecclesiarum, animos pergendi in proposito addatis. Hæc, si pro vestra summa Dignitate (ut confidimus) impetraverimus, non modò non fatigabimus alias Ecclesias novis precibus, sed et nos, omnesque; verè pii, omnia vobis ob pacem et concordiam, vestra opera, Ecclesiæ parum debebimus; et Deus optimus maximus vobis, per Dominum nostrum Jesum Christum, æternam Coronam tribuet. Amen.

Vestræ Dignitatis Studiosissimi,

GEORGIUS WITHERUS, Angli.
JOHAN. BARTHOLOTTUS,

NUMBER LXXXVII.

Bullinger and Gualter's Letter to the Bishops of London, Winchester, and Norwich, interceding for Favour to those whose Scruples were not satisfied in those Matters.

[Ex MSS. Tigur.]

Intercessionales pro Tolerantia. Londinensi, Wintoniensi, et Norwicensi, Episcopis in Anglia.

REVERENDI Viri Domini Colendissimi, et Fratres in Domino Charissimi. Dominus Jesus benedicat vobis et servet vos ab omni malo.—Quo vehementius favemus vobis Reverendi Domini et Fratres Charissimi, eò dolemus gravius deessidere vos à Fratribus aliquot, Viris Doctis, in Anglia gradu suo dejectis. Atque ideo dilectioni nostræ dabitis, quod frequentius eadem de re aures vestras obtundimus. Vidimus et accepimus vestram in hanc causam excusationem: Interim Angli exules ad nos veniunt, qui affirmant Londinensis Ecclesiæ Doctores, nec non aliarum in Anglia Ecclesiarum, in Mariana persecutione probatos Homines, quorum fide diligentia Ecclesiæ Anglicanæ in sevisissimis istis tempestatibus conservate sint, nunc pelli, nec pelli tantum, sed gravi etiam persecutione premi, adeoque et in tetras retrudi carceres. Addunt plures esse in Hibernia Ecclesiarum Ministros, qui non aliter sentiant aut faciant, quàm illi ipsi qui in Anglia sustinent persecutionem. Illos autem Episcopi sui Beneficio, et apud Regiam M. interventu agere in summa tranquillitate. Unde isti colligunt, si Episcopi qui in Anglia sunt apud R. Majestatem intercederent, fore ut et ipsi tranquillè sibi commissus possit retinere et gubernare Ecclesias. Et quod hac in causa præcipuum est. Episcopos non differi meliorem habere causam afflictos et dejectos. Nam agnoscere eos Ecclesiam rectius constitui et constitutum gubernari sine illis caeremoniis ritibusque et institutis, quam cum illis, adeò ut ipsismet afferatur optio, malint ipsi sibi Ecclesiam deligere sine illis, quam illis onerata sibi dari. Id quod inde quoque colligescat manifestissimè, quod in Regni Comitibus, non semel Episcopi petierint, à R. M. ut tollantur illa et purgatio ornatiorque aut minus saltem onerata fiat Ecclesia. Quæ cum ita sint reverendi Domini et Fratres Charissimi, incitabit vos ipsos haud dubiè vestra pietas ad consulendum, quomodo fieri possit commodè et maturè, ut Fratribus istis afflictis consulatur, et ne ita gravi persecutione premantur, quin potiùs R. Maj. Clementia tolerentur, donaque in ipsis utilia Ecclesiæ, per abdicationem non extinguantur. Non est autem quod multis rationibus aut exemplis vos alioqui peritissimos omnis pietatis et æquitatis, urgeamus: tantum hoc oramus per Dominum, ut si apud R. M. afflictis afflictionem vel imminuere, vel prorsus adimere potestis, pro Christiana Charitate, illis omnem vestram fidem impendatis operam; et nostram hanc fraternam admonitionem boni consilii, solitoque amore nos vestri amantissimos prosequi pergatis. Valete, Honorandi Domini.

BULLINGERUS ET GUALTERUS.

Tiguri, 26 Augusti, 1567.

NUMBER LXXXVIII.

A Part of a Letter of Jewell's to Bullinger, of the State of Affairs both in England and Scotland.

[Ex MSS. Tigur.]

—CONTENTIO illa de Ecclesiastica Vestre linen, de qua vos vel ab Abele nostro, vel à D. Parkhursto audisse non dubito, nondum etiam conquievit. Ea res nonnihil commovet infirmos animos: Atque utinam

omnia etiam tenuissima vestigia Papatus, et è templis, et multò maximè ex animis omnium auferri possent. Sed Regina ferre mutationem in Religione, hoc tempore, nullam potest. Res Scotiæ nondum etiam satis pacatæ sunt: Nobiles aliquot primi nominis apud nos exulant. Alij domi remanserunt, et sese, si vis fiat, ad resistendum parant, et ex arcibus suis excursiones interdum faciunt, et ex Papistarum agris agunt, feruntque quantum possunt. Regina ipsa, etsi animo sit ad Papismum obfirmato, tamen vix satis exploratum habet, quo se vertat: Nam de Religione adversariam habet magnam partem, et Nobilitatis, et Populi: Et, quantum quidem nos possumus intelligere, numerus indies crescit. Submisit proximis istis mensibus Philippus Rex, Abbatem quandam Italum cum auro Hispanico, hominem vafum, et factum atque instructum ad fraudes, qui et Regem et Reginamque juvaret veterario Consilio, et impleret omnia tumultibus. Rex novus, qui semper hactenus abstinuisset à Missis, et ultrò accessisset ad Conciones, ut se Populo daret, cum audiret navem illam appulsuram postredie, factus repente confiditior, sumptis animis, noluit longius dissimulare. Accedit ad Templum; jubet sibi de more dici Missam. Eodem ipso tempore, D. Knoxus, Concionator in eodem oppido, et in proximo templo, magna frequentia clamare in Idolomanias, et in universum Regnum Pontificium, nunquam fortius. Interea, navis illa Philippica jactata tempestatibus, et ventibus fluctibusque; concussa, et fracta, convulso malo, ruptis lateribus, amissis gubernatoribus, vectoribus, et rebus omnibus inanis, et lacera, et aquæ plena, refertur in Angliam. Hæc ego divinitus non dubito contigisse, ut Rex fatuus intelligat, quàm sit auspicatum audire Missas. È Galliis multa turbulenta nunciuntur. Domus illa Guisana non potest acquiescere sine aliquo magno malo: Verum ista vobis multò propiora sunt, quàm nos. Danus, et Suecus, cruentissime inter se confixerunt, et adhuc dicuntur esse in Armis: Uterque affectus est maximis incommodis; nec adhuc uter sit superior, dici potest. Libri vestri (tuus, Reverende Pater, in Daniele, et tuus, Doctissime Ludovice, in Josuam) incolumes ad me delati sunt: Ego et Deo Optimo Maximo de vobis, et vobis de istis laboribus et studiis, deique omni vestra humanitate, ago gratias.

Misi in hoc tempore ad Julium nostrum, in annuum Stipendium, viginti Coronatos; et alteras totidem ad vos duos, ut eos vel in cœnam publicam pro more vestro, vel in quemvis alium usum pro vestro arbitrio consumatis.

Deus vos, Ecclesiam, Rempublicam, Scholamque; vestram conservet incolumes. Salutate D. Gualterum, D. Simlerum, D. Zuinglium, D. Ghesnerum, D. Wikium, D. Hallerum, D. D. Hen. et Rod. Bullingerum meo nomine. Sarsisberiz, 8 Februar. 1566.

Vestri Amans, et
Studiosus in Deo,
Jo. JUELLUS.

NUMBER LXXXIX.

[Cott. Libr.]

The Nobilitie, Gentillmene, Barons, with Superintendants, Ministers and others, professinge the evangell of Jesus Christ, within this realm: To the King's and Queen's Majestie, and the Christian estat of yis realme presentlie met into Parliament, wisheth the fere of God, with the spirit of righteous judgment.

FORASMUCKILL as the convention of the kirke, halden at Edenburgh as the 25th day of June last past, certayn gentelmen then were directed to the queen's majestie, with certaine articles concerning the religion, desiring her majestie's answer therupon: To the whilks

howbeit her majestie than gave sum particular answer, nocht the less her majestie remitted the ferder answer to this present parliament. And therefore wee, of our dewty, can doe noe lesse nor crave the full answer of the said articles in this present parliament, conforme to the queen's grace own appointment. And alsua in respect that in the parliament, halden at Edinburgh the 10th of July, 1566 years, it was determined and concluded, the masses, papistrie, and papis jurisdiction, to be simply abolysht and put away out of this realme, and Christ's religion to be reteined universally and approvit. And in like manor, in respect that the queen's majestie, by many divers and sundry proclamations, hes ratefyt and approvyt Christ's religion, quhilk she fand publickly resaved in this realme at her arrivall, and spetially upon the fiftene daye of September last at Dunde: The kinge and queen's majestie, with the advyse of thair secreat counsaill, promiset as well be the act of secreat counsaile, as by divers and sundry proclamations mad therupon, publickly in the principall burghis of this realme, to establish in this present parliament the religion of Christ, quhilk thei fand publickly and univarsally standing at the arrivall in Scotland; and all acts, lawes and constitutions, comon, civil, or municipiall, prejudiciall to the same, to be abolished and put away, as the said acts and proclamations mair fulllelye proports. Desiringe thairfore the premisses to be considered, together with the said articles, and the queen's majestie's answers to the same, with the kirke's replie thareupon as followis.

THE ARTICLES.

Theis are the articles, which the nobilitie, barons, gentlemen, bourgeois, and other professors of Christ's evangell, crave with all humilitie at the queen's majestie, and her honorable consaile, within this realme of Scotlande.

Imprimis, That the papistical and blasphemous mass, with all papistree, idolatry, and pope's jurisdiction, be universallie suppressed and abolished thorowgout this whole realme, not only in the subjects, but also in the queen's majestie own person, with punishment against all persons, that shall be deprehended to transgresse and offend in the same: and that the sincere word off God, and Christ's true religion, nowe presently received, might be established, approved, and ratified througheout thole realme, aswel in the queene's majestie owne person, as in the subjects, without any impedymnt: and that the people be astricted to resort, upon the Sondaies at least, to the praiers and preaching of Gode's worde, like as they were astricted before to resort to the idolater's masse: and theis heads to be provided by act off parliament, with the consent of the estates, and ratifycation of the queen's majesty.

Secondlie, That seur provision be appointed for sustention of the mynistrye, aswel for the tyme present, as for the tyme to come; and that suche persons as are publicklye admytted in the mynistrye, may have there livings assigned unto them, in the townes where they travell, or at the least next adjacent thereto: and that they have not occasion to crave the same at the hands of any other. And that the benyffices nowe vacant, or that have vaked sithence the monethe of Marche, anno 1558, or that hereafter shall happen to vake, be dispoined to qualified and learned persons, able to preche Godde's worde, and to discharge the vocation concernynge the mynysterye, by tryall, and admission of the superintendents: and that no bishopricke, abbaty, priorye, deaconrye, provostrye, or enye other benyffyce having many churches annexed thereto, be dispoined altogether at any time to come, to eny one man: but at the least, the churches thereof be

severallye disposed, and to several persons, so that every man having charge may serve at his owne church, according to his vocation. And to this effect, that the glebbis and manses be given to the mynistrye, that they may make residence at there churches, wherethrough they may discharge there consciences, conform to there vocation, and also that the churches may be repaired accordingle; and that a lawe be made and established hereupon by act of parliament, as said is.

Thirdlie, That none be permytted to have charge of scoules, colleges, or universities, or yet privatly or publickly instruct the youth, but such as shall be tryed by the superintendents, or the visitors of the church, found sound and able in doctrine, and admitted by them to there charges.

Fourthlie, For sustentacion of the poore, that all lands founded to hospitalitie of old, be restored again to the same use: and that all lands, annuell rents, or any other emoluments pertayninge any wayes somtyme to the friers of whatsoever ordre they had been of, or annuall rents, altarge, obits perteyninge to the priests, be applyit to the sustentacion of the poor, and uphold of scoles in the townes, and other places whear theye lie.

Fifthlie, That all sic horrible crymes, as now abound in this realme, without any correction, to the great contempt of God and his holye worde, sic as ydolatri, blasphemy of Gode's name, manifest brekinge of the sabbath day, with wichcraft, sorcery and enchantment, adultery, incest, manifest whordome, menceance of bordells, murther, slaughter, reyle and spulze, with many other detestable crymes, may be severely punished; and judges appointed in every province or dioces, for execution therof, with power to doe the same, and that by act of parliament.

Last, That som order be devysit and establishit, for the ease of the poore laborers of the ground, concerninge the reasonable payment of thair teyndis, and settinge of thair teyndis to an over yair heads, without yaire own advyse and consent.

The Queen's Majestie's Answer to the Articles, presentit to her highnes by certaine Gentlemen, in the name of the hall last Assemble of the Kirke.

To the first, desiringe the mass to be suppressed and abolscht, as well in the head as members, with punyshment, against the contradonears; as also that religion now professed to be establish be acte of parliament. It is answerit, first, for the part of her majestie selfe, that hir highnes is yet na wyse perswadit in the said religion, nott yett that any impietie is in the masse; and therefore beleves that her lovinge subjects will noe wayes presse her to receive any religion agaynst her conscience: quike suld be to her continuall trouble, be remorse of conscience, and ther through an perpetuall inquietnes. And to deal plainly with her subjects, her majestie neather will, nor may leave the religion, qucharin she hes ben noryscht, and upbrought, and believes the same to be well grounded; knowinge, besides the grudge of conscience, gyf she receve any change in her owne religion, that she shold leave the friendship of the king of France, the auncient allia of yis realme, and of other great princes hir frinds and confederats: quha wold take the same in evil part. And of quhom she may luke for thare great support in har necessities and havfand no other consideracion that may contraven the same. She will be loth to put in hasard the losse of all her frinds in an instant; prayinge all her lovyng subjects, seing they had experience of hir goodnes, that she has neither in tymes by past, nor yet means hereafter to prease the conscience of any man, but that they may wor-

shippe God in sick sort as they ar perswadit to be the best, that they will allwayes notht presse hir toffend hir awne conscience. As to the establishment in the body of the realme, these your selfis knowis as appears well by your articles, that the sam can nocht be done, be thonly consent of hir majestie, but requires necessarily the consent of the thre estates in parliament. And therefore soe sone as the parliament halds, that thing quhilke the thre estates agree upon amongst your selves, hir Majestie shall grant the same unto you. And alwais sall make you suer yat na man shall be troblit for using your selves in religion accordinge to your consciences: so that no man shall have cause to doubt that for religious causes men's lyves, or heritags, shall be in haserid.

To the second article, that her majestie thinks it no wayes reasonable that she shuld defraud hir selfe of sa greate a parte of the patrimony of the crowne, as to put the patronages of the benefices furth of her owne hands. For her own necessity, in beringe of her, and comon charges, will requyre the retention of ane gude part in her own hands: nocht yelles her majestie is well pleasit that consideracion being had of hir owne necessity, and quhat may be sufficient for the reasonable sustentation of the ministers, and special assignation be made to you, in places maist commodius and with the quihik her majestie shall not intromitt, but soffer the same to run to tham.

The answer of the rest of the articles is referred to the parliament.

The Kirk's Reply to the Queen's Majestie's Answers aforesayd.

First, whar her majestie answers that she is not persuadit in the religion; neather that she understands any impietie in the masse, bot that the same is well grounded, &c. This is no smale greafe to the Christian harts of her godlie subjects; consideringe that the trompet of Christ's evangell hes ben sa lange blawin in this countrie; and his mercy sa plainly offerit in the same: that her majestie yet remaynes unperswadit of the trewth of this our religion; for our religion is not ells, but the same religion quhilke Christ in the last days revelit, fra the bossome of his father: quharof he mad his apostells messengers, and quilkhe they preachit and establisht amounst his faithfull to continu till gaine coming of the lord Jesus: quhilke differs from the impietie of the Turks, the blasphemy of the Jewes, and vaine superstition of the papists, in this: that onlie our religion hes God the Father, his only Sonne our Lord Jesus, his Holy Spirit speakinge in his prophets and apostles, for authors therof: and the doctrine and practice for ground of the same. The quhilke assurance no other religion upon the face of the yearth can justly alleage, or plainly prove; yea, quatsoever assurance the papists hes for their religion, the same hes the Turk for mayntenance of the Alcarone; and the Jewes far greter for the defence of their cerimonies; quihidder it be antiquity of tyme, consent of people, authority of princes, great number or multitud consenting together, or any other sike like cloks, that they can pretent. And therefore as we are dolorous that her majestie in this our religion is not perswadit, so maist reverently wee require in the name of the Eternal God, that her highnes wald embrace the meanes quharby she may be perswadit in the trewth. Quhilke presently we offer unto her grace, aswell by preachinge of his worde, quhilke is the chiefe means appointed be God to perswade all the chosen children of his infailable veritie. As be publick disputacon against the adversaries of this our religion, descivers of her majestie, whensoever it shall be thought expedient

to hir grace. And as to the impietie of the masse, we dare be bauld to affirme, that in that idoll there is great impietie, ye it is na thinge ells but a messe of impiete, fra the beginninge to the endinge. The author, or sayer, the action it selfe, the opinion therof conteanit, the hearers of it, gasars upon it, avoure it pronouncis blasphemy, and comytts maist abhominable ydolatrie, as we have ever offerit, and yet offer our selves maist manifestly to prove. And quhar hir majestie estesmes that the change of hir religion should dissolve the confederacy and allyance that she hes with the kinge of France, and other princes, &c.

Assuredly Christ's true religion is the undowtild means to knit up surly perfect confederacy and friendship, with him that is king of all kings; and quha hes the harts of all princes in his hands. Quhilk aucht to be more precious unto her majestie, nor the confederacy of all the princes of the yearth; and without the quhilke, neather confederacy, love, or kindnes, can long endure.

Concerning her majesties answer to the second article, quhar as she thinks yt no ways resonable to defraud hir selfe of hir patronage of the benefices, quhilke her majestie estesmes to be a portion of hir patrimony. And that hir majesty is myndit to retaine an gud parte of the benefices in her own hands to support her comon charges: as to the first point, our mind is not that hir majestie, or any other patrone of this realme, shuld be defraudit of their just patronages, but we mean that quhen soever hir majestie, or any other patrone dois present any personage to any benefice, that the parson presently shuld be tryed and examined by the learned men of the kirke, sic appertaineth, as the superintendaunts appointit there to. And as the presentation of the benefices appertayne to the patrons, so ought the collation therof by lawe and reason appertayne to the church; of the quhilke collation, the kirk shuld not be defrauded, mair nor the patrons of their presentation; for otherwise, if it shall be lawful to the patrons absolutely to present, quhom thai please, without triall or examination, quhat than can abyde in the kirke, the kirke of God, but mere ignorance without all ordre. As to the second parte concerninge the retention of a gude parte of the benefices in her majestie's owne hands, this point abhorris sa far fra gud conscience, as well of God's law, as fra the publicke ordre of all comon laws; that we ar loth to open up the ground of the matter, be any long circumstances. And therefore maist reverently we wish that hir majestie wold consider the matter with her selfe, and with her wise counsell, that how soever the patronages of the benefice may appertayne to her selfe, yet the retention therof in hir own hands undisponing them to qualifyfyt Persones, is both ungodly, and also contrary to all polytike order, and final confusion to the pure saules of the comon people: quha be this means shuld be instructit of their salvation. And quhar hir majestie concludis in her second answer, that she is content that an sufficient and resonable sustentacion of the ministers be provydat to tham, by assignation in placis most commodious and easiest to tham; consideracion beinge had of hir owne necessitie. As we are altogether desirous that hir grasis necessitie be relevit, so our duty craves that we should notefie to your grace the true order that shuld be observed in this behalfe, quhilke is this, the teynds are properly to be reputed to be the patrimony of the kirke, upon the quhilks befor all things they that travells in the ministry thairof, and the pore indigent members of Christ body are to be sustenit. The kirks also repaired, and the youthead brought up in gud letters: quhilks things be aud done, than other necessitie resonable might be

supportede accordinge as her majestie, and her godlie counsaile could think expedient. Allways we cannot but thank her majestie most reverently, of her liberrall offer, of assignations to be made to the ministers for their sustentation. Quhilk not the lesse is so generally conceived that without mare speciall condiscendinge upon the particularity therof, no expectacion is able to follow therupon. And so to conclud with her majestie at this parliament, we desire most earnestly the performance of the said articles, beseeching God that as they are resonable and godly in thaimselvis; so your majestie's hart, and the estates jointly convenient, may be inclynit and perswadit to the performance therof.

NUMBER XC.

The Supplication to the Queen's Majestie of Scotlande.

[Cott. Lib. Calig. b. 10.]

To the queen's most excellent majesty, her grace's humble subjects, professing the evangell of Christe Jesus within this realme, wisheth longe prosperitie, with the spirit of righteous judgment.

It is not unknown unto your majestie, that within this realme the evangell of Jesus Christ was lately so planted, the trewe religion so established; idolatry, to wit, the masses, and all that therto appertenyth, together with the usurped and tyrannicall power of that Romaine Ante-Christ, called the pope, so suppressed, aswel by the mighty power and hand of God, as by just lawes and deceres of parliament, that none within this realme durst in publick have gainsaid the one, nor mayntenet the other. It is further known that such as in whose hands, God of his mercye had prospered the beginninge of this his worke, were going forwarde to an exact and perfect reformation, concerninge the policy of the church, accordinge to the word of God, and sustentation of them that travell in the same. But theis nowe our most just and godlie begynnings have nowe bene staid and trobled nere the space of 4 yeres, to the great grief of all godlie hartes within this realme. Shortlie after your grace's arrival was that idol the masse erected up again: and there after were wicked men enemyes to Christ Jesus, and his holy evangell, reposed in the places wiche they never possessed, and were admitted to receive the fruts, that by no just lawe can appertene to them: and that under color they shold pay ther thirds to your majesties comptroller, and such as he shold depute for the receiving of the same; to theend, as we understand, that our mynysters and mynisterye might have bene planted and sustanid according to God's commandment. And albeyt we were plainly forwarned that suche begynnynge wold not have eny happy ende; yet the love that we bare to the tranquillitie of your realme, and esperance and hope that we had, that God of his mercye wold molyfyf your highnes' hart, to heere his blessed evangell publicly preched, we quyetly past over many things that were in our harts, as also many tymes by our supplications unto your majestie, we desired to have bene redressed: but howe litle we have profyted to this daie, bothe great and small amongst us begynne now to consider. For laws we see violated, idolatrye encreased, your highnes owne gates (against proclamations) made patent to the foolish people, to comytt idolatrye: the patrymony of the church we see bestowd upon persons most unworthie, and to other uses then was at first intended: and thereby, the tyranye of that Romaine Antichrist to be intruded

upon us againe; our mynisters brought to extreme povertie; some of them trobled in ther function, some prechers hurt, and no redresse maide. Fornicacion, adulterye, incest, murther, sorcerers, bewytchers, and al impietie, so to abounde universallie within this your highnes' realme, that God cannot linge spaire to stricke the heade and the members, onless speedye repentance followe. We therefore, nowe contynuing in our former humble sewte, most humbly requere of your majestie a speedye reformation of the innormyties aforesaid, and a favorable answer of our just petycions; as more fullye your majestie please receive in articles; most humbly beseeching your highnes to have this opynion of us, that as to this daie your grace have founde nothinge in us, but dewe obbedyence to your majestie's lawes and auctoritie, which we have given, because we are thonly part of your people that treuly fear God, so to esteame of us, that God, his Christ Jesus, and his trewe religion which we professe (and by his grace shal be), to us more dear then lives, possessions, or respect of prosperitie. And therefore yet againe we the hole bodye, professing Christ Jesus within this realme, humbly crave of your majestie, that ye give us not occasion to thinke that ye entende nothinge but the subversion of Christ Jesus his true religion, and in the overthrowe of it, the destruction of us the best part of the subjects of this your grace's realme: for this before the world we plainly professe, that to that Romaine Antichrist we will never be subyeect, nor yet suffer (so far as our power may suppress it) any of his usurped auctoritie to have place within this realme. And thus with all humble and dewtifull obbedyence, we humbly crave your grace's favorable answer, with these our appointed commissions.

NUMBER XCI.

A Letter of Parkhurst, Bishop of Norwich, to Bullinger, concerning the state of affairs in Scotland, and the Killing of Signior David.

[Ex MSS. Tigur.]

SALVUS sis in Christo, optime Bullinger. Secundo Februarij scripsi ad te, et unâ cum Literis misi viginti Coronatos, vel decem Coronatos et Pannum pro toga: nam hoc Abeli arbitrio permisi. Tuas accepi 23 Maij. Paulò post Londinensis Episcopus, exemplar Responsionis tue ad Literas Laurentij Humphredi, et Thomae Sampsonis, ad me misit. Quae scripsisti, typis apud nos exceduntur, et Latine, et Anglice. Accepi praeterea, 12 Julij, Confessionem Fidei orthodoxae, c. pulcherrimum libellum. Mense Martio, Italus quidam, vocatus Senior David, Necoromanticae artis peritus, in magnam gratiam apud Reginam Scotiae, è Reginae cubiculo (illa praesente) vi extractus, et aliquot pugionibus confossus, miserè periit. Abbas quidam ibidem vulneratus, evasit ègrè, sed paulò post ex vulnere est mortuus. Fraterculus quidam, nomine *Black* (niger Visularius) Papistrarum antesignanus, eodem tempore in Aula occiditur: sic niger hic Nebulo, nigra quoque morte peremptus, invitus nigrum subito descendit in orcum. Consiliarij, qui tum simul in unum cubiculum erant congregati, ut de rebus quibusdam arduis consularent, audientes has caedes (nam prius nihil tale sunt suspicati) alij hac, alij illac, alij è fenestris sese proturbantes certatim aufugerunt, atque ita cum vitæ periculo, vitæ consulebant suae. Regina Scotiae Principem peperit: et cum antea Maritum (nescio quas ob causas) non tanti faceret, jam plurimi facit. D. Jacobum, suum ex parte fratrem, quem antea exosum habuit, nunc in gratiam recepit, nec solum illum, sed omnes (utinam verum esset) proceres evangelicos, ut audio. Evangelium quod ad tempus sospiebatur, denuò

caput exerit. Cùm hæc scriberem, ecce Scotus quidam è Patria profugiens, Vir bonus et doctus, narravit mihi, Reginam ante decem hebdomadas Puerum peperisse: nec dum esse baptizatum. Rogo causam. Respondet, Reginam velle Filium in summo Templo, cum multarum Missarum Celebratione tingi. At Edinburgenses id omniño non permittunt: nam mori potius malunt, quàm pati, ut abominandæ Missæ in suas Ecclesias iterum irrepant. Metuunt Edinburgenses, ne illa è Gallia auxiliares vocet Copias, ut facilius Evangelicos opprimat. Oremus Dominum pro piis Fratribus. Mandatis dedit cuidam pio Comiti, ut Knoxum apud se manentem, ex sedibus ejiciat. Dominus illam convertat, vel confundat. Plura scribere non possum; diu ægrotavi, nec dum plene convaleui. Est hæc scribendo debilitata manus.

Vale, Charissime mi Bullinger. Salutem quaeso adscribas omnibus, atque adeo omnibus Piis, meo nomine. Dominus sua dextra protegat Ditionem Tiguri norum. Raptim Ludhamiae, 21 Augusti, 1566.

Tuus,

JOH. PARKHURSTUS, N.

Inscriptio.—D. Henricho Bullinger.

NUMBER XCII.

A Letter of Grindall's to Bullinger, giving an Account of the State of Affairs both in England and Scotland; and of the Killing of Signior David.

[Ex MSS. Tigur.]

Salutem in Christo.

Clarissime D. Bullinger, ac Frater in Christo Charissime.

D. JOHANNES ABELUS tradidit mihi Literas tuas D. Wintoniensi, Norvicensi, et mihi communiter inscriptas, unâ cum scripto vestro de re vestitaria: Quorum ego exemplaria ad D. Wintoniensem et Norvicensem statim transmissi. Quod ad me attinet, ago tibi maximas gratias, tum quod nostrarum Ecclesiarum tantam curam geris, tum quod me, hominem tibi ignotum, participem facis eorum, quæ ad nostros de rebus controversis scribuntur. Vix credibile est, quantum hæc Controversia, de rebus nihili, Ecclesias nostras perturbaret, et adhuc aliqua ex parte perturbat. Multi ex Ministris doctioribus, videbantur Ministerium deserturi. Multi etiam ex Plebe, contulerunt Consilia de Seccessione à nobis faciendâ, et occultis coetibus cogendis; sed tamen, Domini benignitate, maxima pars ad sanio rem mentem rediit. Ad eam rem Literæ vestrae, plenæ Pietatis ac Prudentiæ, plurimum momenti attulerunt: Nam eas latine, atque anglicè, Typis evulgandas curavi. Nonnulli ex Ministris, vestro judicio atque auctoritate permoti, abjecerunt priora Consilia de deserendo Ministerio. Sed et ex Plebe quamplurimi mitius sentire ceperunt, postquam intellexerunt nostros Ritus, à vobis (qui iisdem non utimini) nequaquam damnari Impietatis, quod ante publicatas vestras Literas, nemo illis persuasisset. Sunt tamen, qui adhuc manent in priore Sententiâ; et in his, D. Humfredus et Sampsonus: Nihil verò esset facilius, quàm Regiæ Majestati eos reconciliare, si ipsi ab instituto discedere vellent. Sed quum hoc non faciunt nos apud Serenissimam Reginam ista contentione irritam, nihil possumus. Nos, qui nunc Episcopi sumus, in primo nostro reditu, priusquam ad Ministerium accessimus, diu multumque contendebamus, ut ista de quibus nunc controversitur, prius amoverentur. Sed cùm illa de Regina et Statibus in Comitibus Regni impetrare non potuimus, communicatis Consiliis, optimum judicavimus, non deserrere Ecclesias propter Ritus non adeo multos, eosque per se non inpios; præsertim quum pura Evangelij Doctrina nobis integra

ac libera maneret, in qua ad hunc usque diem, (utcumque multi multa in contraria moliti sunt) cum vestris Ecclesiis, vestraque Confessione nuper dedita, plenissimè consentimus. Sed neque adhuc pœnitent nos nostri Consilij: Nam interea, Domine dante incrementum, auctæ et confirmatæ sunt Ecclesiæ, quod alioqui Eccebolis, Lutheranis, et Semi-papistis, prædæ fuissent expositæ. Istæ verò istorum intempestivæ Contentiones de Adiaphoris, (si quid ego judicare possum) non ædificant, sed scindunt Ecclesias, et discordias seminant inter Fratres. Sed de nostris Rebus hactenus. In Scotia non sunt res tam bene constitutæ, quàm esset optandum. Retinent quidem Ecclesiæ adhuc puram Evangelij Confessionem; sed tamen videtur Scotiæ Regina omnibus modis laborare, ut eam tandem extirpet. Nuper enim effecit, ut sex aut septem Missæ Papisticæ, singulis diebus in Aula sua publicè fierent, omnibus qui accedere volunt admissis, quum antea unica, eaque privatim habita, nullo Scoto ad eam admissio, esset contenta. Præterea, quum primum inita est Reformatio, cautum fuit, ut ex bonis Monasteriorum, quæ fisco adjudicata sunt, stipendia Evangelij Ministris persolverentur: At ipsa jam integro triennio nihil solvit. Joannem Knoxum, regia urbe Edinburgo, ubi hactenus primarius fuit Minister, non ita pridem ejecerit, neque exorari potest ut redeundi facultatem concedat. Publicè tamen, extra Aulam, nihil hactenus est innovatum; et Proceres Regni, Nobiles item, ac Cives, multò maxima ex parte Evangelio nomen dederunt, multa, magnaque Constantiæ indicia ostendunt. In his, præcipuus unus est, D. Jacobus Stuardus, Murracæ Comes, Reginæ Frater, Nothus, Vir pius, ac magnæ apud suos Authoritatis. Perscribitur ad me ex Scotia, Reginæ cum Rege pessimè convenire. Causa hæc est: Fuit Italus quidam, nomine David, à Cardinale Lotharingo Reginæ Scotiæ commendatus. Is quum Reginæ à secrete atque intimis esset Consiliis, ferè solus omnia administrabat, non consulto Rege, qui admodum juvenis et levis est. Hoc malè habebat Regem. Itaque facta Conspiratione cum Nobilibus quibusdam, et Aulicis suis, Italum illum Reginæ opem frustra implorantem ex ipsius conspectu arripit, et statim indicta causa multis pugionibus perfodit, atque interficere curavit. Hujus facti immanis memoriam Regina, tametsi nuper Filium Regi peperit, ex animo deponere non potest. Hæc paulò verbosius de Scotia, ex qua fortassis rarò ad vos scribitur.

Oro ut D. Gualterum, ac reliquos Collegas tuos, meo nomine salutes. Dominus te, nobis et Ecclesiæ suæ, quàm diutissimè conservet.

Londini 27 Aug. 1566.

Deditissimus tibi in Domino,

EDM. GRINDALLUS
Episcopus Londinensis.

Inscriptio.—Reverendo in Christo, D. Henricho Bullingero, Tigurinæ Ecclesiæ Ministro Fidelissimo, ac Fratri in Domino Charissimo.

NUMBER XCIII.

A part of Grindal's Letter to Bullinger, of the Affairs of Scotland.

[Ex MSS. Tigur.]

SCOTIA jam in novos motus incidit. Henricus nuper Scotiæ Rex (uti te audivisse existimo) Decimo Februarii elapsi, in horto quodam, hospitio suo adjacente, inventus est mortuus: De genere mortis nondum convenit apud omnes. Alii dicunt incensis vasis aliquot pulveris tormentarii, quæ sub cubiculo in quo dormiebat ex industria reposita fuerant, rebus eversas atq; ipsum in hortum proximum projectum fuisse.

Alii verò intempesta nocte vi extractum è cubiculo, et postea strangulatum, ac tum demum incenso pulvere sedes disjectas fuisse affirmant. Hujus cædis apud omnes suspectus erat Comes quidam nomine Bothwellius. Huic Comiti, postquam Uxorem Legitimam interveniente auctoritate Archiepiscopi S. Andreae repudiasset: Decimo Quinto Maii nupsit Scotiæ Regina, atq; eandem ex Comite, Orchadam Duem creavit. Paulo ante hoc Matrimonium omnes fere Regni proceres, quum nullam in cædem Regis inquisitionem institui viderent, discesserunt ex Aula, et seorsum apud Sterlynum oppidum conventum habuerunt. In hoc conventu, certis inditiis nefandam hanc cædem à Bothwellio perpetratam fuisse, compertum est. Itaq; collecto exercitu ipsum comprehendere satagunt, Bothwellius verò dat se in fugam: Sed quo profugerit, adhuc nescitur.—Reginam alii aiunt obsideri in Arce quadam, alii verò in Arce Edinburgensi, tanquam necis mariti consciam, captivam detineri asserunt. Quomocunque sit, infames illæ Nuptiæ, non possunt, non in aliquam diram Tragædiam desinere. Sed de his omnibus expectamus indies certiora, de quibus, efficiam brevi ut cognoscas. De persecutionibus, Flandriæ nihil scribo, quod eas vos non latere existimem: Multa apud nos jactata sunt de obsessa Geneva, sed spero vana esse. Dominus Jesus pietatem tuam, nobis et Ecclesiæ incolumem conservet.

Londini, 21 Junii, 1567.

Deditissimo tibi in Domino

EDMUNDUS GRINDALLUS
Episcopus Londiniensis.

Inscriptio.—Reverendo in Christo, D. Henricho Bullingero, Tigurinæ Ecclesiæ Ministro Fidelissimo, et Fratri in Christo Charissimo.—*Tiguri.*

This being the last of the letters sent me from Zurich, which I have put in this Collection, I add to it the attestation sent me from thence, that the copies were faithfully taken from the originals, and that they were carefully collated with them.

The Attestation of the Burgomaster and Council of Zurich, of the Faithfulness of the Copies of the Letters sent me from the MSS. that lie there.

CONSUL et Senatus Civitatis Thuricensis Helvetiorum vulgò Zurich dictæ, præsentibus hisce confitemur ac notum facimus. Apographa illa ex Originalibus in Archivis Civitatis nostræ asservatis Literis, quæ tempore Reformationis ab Ecclesia Anglicana ad nostræ Ecclesiæ tunc temporis Ministros et vice versa emanavere, ducta et transumpta, omni diligentia et fidelitate descripta esse, ut facta in Cancellaria nostra accuratà collatione, Copias Originalibus de Verbo ad Verbum ubiq; concordare repertum fuerit, quibus Apographis proinde plenaria fides tutò adhiberi possit. In cujus rei Testimonium præsentibus hasce exhiberi, Civitatis nostræ Sigillo muniti, et à Jurato Secretario nostro subscribi mandavimus, Die Decimo Julii, Anno à Nata Salute Millesimo, Septingentesimo, Decimo Tertio.

(Locus Sigilli.)

BEATUS HOYRHALBIUS, Reipublicæ Thuricensis, Archigrammaticus.

(Manu propria subscripsi.)

NUMBER XCIV.

A Relation of Mary Queen of Scotland's Misfortunes, and of her last Will, in the Life of Cardinal Laurea, written by the Abbot of Pignerol, his Secretary. Printed at Bologna, Anno 1559.

ATQVI tunc in Scotia tam scelestum, tamque nefarium facinus commissum est, ut illud reminisci, nedum

enarrare animus quodammodo exhorreat. Rex, variolarum (ut vulgò aiunt) morbo correptus, ne fortassis Uxorem contagione contaminaret, se in aedes à regis aedibus Edimburgi sejunctas receperat; ubi, simul ac convalescere cepit, ab Uxore sæpius invisitur, quodam autem die cum simul cænasset, atq; in multam noctem sermonem, lusumq; protraxissent, quo minus itidem simul cubarent, excusationem affert Regina, quod sponsam quandam è nobilibus suis mulieribus ea primam nuptiarum nocte usque ad cubile honoris gratia esset comitatura: Quem morem superiores Reginæ observare semper consueverant. Vix Regina discesserat, cum ecce pulvis tormentarius, per cuniculos subter fundamentum domus coniectus, totum edificium continuò dejecit, ipsumque Regem opprimit: Quamvis nonnulli non ruina interemptum, sed, dum per posticum primo circa aedes auditu armorum strepitu in hortum proximum confugeret, unà cum familiari quodam strangulatum, noxque aedes tormentario pulvere dejectas fuisse malint. Planè constat, exangue Regis Corpus in horto repertum nullo affectum vulnere, nigram tantum modò circa collum maculam habuisse. Horrissima hac Regis divulgata cæde, ingens omnes horror corripuit; quidem iniquos in Reginam sermones jacere; alij per injuriarum libellos edere: Nonnulli Comitem Boduellium, quem cædis nefariæ auctorem fuisse compererant, non sicarium, sed crudelissimum carnificem accusare, adeò interdum vulgus acutissimè indagare, atque odorari omnia solet. Boduellius, licet Hæreticus, Reginæ tamen studiosissimus, fidelissimusque semper extiterat: Nuper eam gravissimo illo seditionis periculo fortiter liberaverat, ab ipsa deniq; perditè amabatur. Quamobrem in spem adductus fore, ut Reginam ipsam in Matrimonio haberet, primò Uxori propriæ (quasi propter adulterium fieri divortium, aliamque ducere liceret) repudium misit, deinde Regi necem crudeliter machinatus est. Regina post, improbissimos de ea, Boduellique rumores dissipatos, verita ne quis populi motus in eorum perniciem fieret, Edimburgo statuit recedendum, ac se unà cum parvulo filio ad munitam Strivelini arcem recepit; statuto prius (ut simile vero videtur) quid inter ipsam, et Boduellium foret postea Transigendum. Nam paucis inde diebus egressa Regina, venatum prodire simulat; tum Bodvellius, veluti ex insidiis, ducentis stipatus equitibus, illam circumvenire, vimque ei intendere visus est. Ergo Regina, unà cum Bodvellio in arcem regressa, confestim cum Orcadam Ducem, moxque Maritum eam esse declarat, verum Nuptiæ illæ neutiquam faustæ, ac diuturnæ fuerunt: Quippe quæ non Matrimonij dignitate, sed indigni facinoris societate conjunctæ viderentur. Eo tempore, Moraviensis è Scotia aberat, præ cæteris tamen relicto Ledingtonio, qui novas, ut occasio daretur, turbas, novasq; rixas faceret. Huic quàm facillimum fuit sponte omnium in Reginam Bodvelliumque ira, accensos animos acrius inflammare. Raptim igitur, turbulentequè, Exercitu Edimburgi comparato, subito Strivelinam versus Castra moventur. Id ubi Regina intellexit, secum Mulieres tantum, paucosq; aulicos Homines, adducens obviam produendum duxit, venienti debita cum reverentia assurrexerunt. Interrogati, quam de causa armati illuc accessissent, non alia respondisse feruntur, nisi ut atrocem injuriam à Bodvellio factam, ac crudelem, et indignam Regis necem, vimq; ipsimet Reginæ illatam vendicarent. At Regina noxam Bodvellij purgare; nihil non ipsa assentiente commissum. Quo sermone adeò sunt commoti, et exarserunt, ut omnes illicò uno ore acclamaverint. Et tu igitur, Domina, apud nos Captiva eris. Nec mora, ad Arcem insulæ intra Lucum Levinum in custodiam mittunt; uno ei tantum Lixa, duabusq; infimæ conditionis Mulierculis, ad ei ministrandum concessis.

Towards the End of the Book comes what follows.

—Unum, hoc loco, non videtur silentio prætereundum: Quod cum Sixti Pontificis jussu, Regni Scotiæ, atque in primis Reginæ Mariæ Res, in Urbe protegendi munus suscepisset, accidit, ut infelix Regina pridè, quàm securi in Aglia feriretur, supremas tabulas Gallica Lingua, Manuque propria conficeret. Quibus primo, se Religionis Catholicæ studiosissimam semper fuisse professâ est; deinde cavit, ne ad Filium Principem, si falsam Hæresis, quam animo imbiberat, persuasionem non exuisset, Anglici Regni Hæreditas ullo unquam tempore perveniret; sed loco sui ad Philippum, Hispaniarum Regem Catholicum pertineret. Hasce Tabulas cum Vincentius Cardinalis accepisset, mira diligenter recognoscendas curavit, ut ad Reginæ ultimam Voluntatem aperiendam, Fidemq; faciendam sufficeret. Nam et cum Literis ab eadem Regina prius acceptis contulit, et non à se solum, verumetiam à Ludovico Audeno, Anglo, Episcopo Cassanensi, pio et integerrimo Homine, voluit subsignari: Sicq; firmatas, ac tanquam publica Autoritate roboratas, Comiti Olivario, Hispaniarum Regis Oratori, ad ipsumet Regem fideliter transmittendas dedit.

NUMBER XCV.

A Bond of Association, upon Mary Queen of Scotland's Resigning the Crown in Favour of her Son.—An Original.

[In the Library of Glasgow.]

WE quihiks has subscrivit the underwritten bond, understanding that the queenis majesty willing nathing mair earnestlie, nor that in her lifetime her majestie's dear son, our native prince, be placit and inaugurat in the kingdom of this his native cuntre and realm, and be obeyit as king be us, and uthers his subjects: And being wearit of the great pains and travels taken be her in her government thereof, hes be her letters demittit and renderit, and given power thairby to demit and renunce the said government of this realm, liegis and subjectis thairfof, in favours of her said son, our native prince: To the effect he may be inaugurat thairin, the crown royal put upon his head, and be obeyit in all things as king and native prince thairfof, as her hienes's letters past thairupon bears. Thairfore, and because it is ane of the maist happy things that can come to any pepill or cuntre, to be governit and rulit by their awn native king; we, and ilk ane of us, quihik hes subscrivit thir presents, be the tenor heirof, promitties, binds, and obbliss us, faithfully to convene and assenbil our selfs at the burgh of Sterling, or any other place to be appointit, to the effect foresaid; and thair concur, assist and fortify our said native king and prince, to the establishing, planting and placing of him in his kingdom, and putting of the crown royal thairfof upon his head, and in the fear of our God being instructit and teichit be his and all other laws, sall giff our aith of fidelity and homage, and lawfull and dutiful obedience, to be made by us to him during his grace's lifetime, as it becomes faithfull, christian, and true subjects, to do to thair native king and prince. And farther, that we sall with all our strength and forcis promote, concurre, fortifie and assist, to the promoteing and establishing of him in his kingdom and government, as becumis faithfull and true subjects to do to thair prince, and to resist all sick as wald oppon them thairto, or make any trouble or impediment to him thairin, and sall do all uther things, that becomis faithfull and christian subjects to do to thair native king and prince. In witness of the quihik thing, we haif subscrivit thir presents

with our handis, at Edinburgh, the day of —, the year of God 1567 years.

James Regent. Huntley. Archibald Argyle. Athol. Mortoun. Mar. Glencairn. Errol. Buchan. Graham. Alexander Lord Home. William Lord Ruthven. Lord Sanquhar. Iohn Lord Glamis. Patrick Lord Lindsey. Michael Lord Carlisle: With my hand at the pen, Alexander Hay, Notarius. William Lord Borthwick. Lord Innermaith. Ucheltrie. Sempill. Henry Lord Methven. Allan Lord Cathcart. Patrick Lord Gray. Robert Com. of Dumferling. James Stuart. Alexander Com. of Culross. Adam Com. of Cambuskenneth. Dryburgh. Master of Montrose. Alexander Bishop of Galway. Caprington. Blairquhan. Tullibarden, Comp-troller; with eighteen more.

NUMBER XCVI.

Bond to the King, and to the Earl of Murray, as Regent during his Infancy: Registered in the Council-books on the 4th of April, 1569.

Us, and every ane of us underscriv, and sall in all time cuming, like as we do presentlie, reverence, acknowledge, and recognosce the maist excellent and mighty prince James the Sixt, by the grace of God king of the Scottis, our only soveraine lord, and his dearest uncle, James Earl of Murray, Lord Abernethie, regent to his hiennes, his realme, and leidges thereof, during his majestie's minority. His hiennes his said regent, and his majestie's authority, we sall observe and obey, as becomis dutifull subjectis, our lands and livis in the defence and advancement thairof, we sall bestow, and wair. The skaith, harm, or subversion of the samen, we sall never knaw, nor procure by any meanis, direct nor indirect. All former bandis, for obedience of any other authority, subscrivit or made by us in any tymes by-gaine, contrarious or prejudicial to his hiennes, his said regent and authority, we renunce and discharge for evir: affirming and swearing solemnitlie, upon our faiths and honouris, to observe and keep this our declaration and plane profession, everie point thairof, be God himself, and as we will answer at his general judgement: whairin gif we failzie, we are content to be comitit faithless, false, perjurit, and defamit for ever; besyde the ordinar pain of the lawis to be execute upon us, without favour, as a perpetual memory of our unnaturall defection and inexcusable untruth. In witnes whairof, we have subscrivit thir presents with our hands as follows, at the dayes and tymes particularly under specified.

Huntley, Craford, Cassilis, Sanquhar, Saltoun, James Lord Ogilvie, Laurance Lord Oliphant, John Mr. Forbes. With thirty-six more.

NUMBER XCVII.

A Declaration of the Causes moving the Queene of England to give Aide to the Defence of the People afflicted and oppressed in the Lowe-Countries.

ALTHOUGH kinges and princes, soveraignes, owing their homage and service only unto the Almighty God,

versions are to hold account of their actions only to Almighty God, the king of kings.

not bounde to yeeld account, or render the reasons of their actions to any others, but to God their only soveraine Lord: yet (though amongst the most

ancient and Christian monarchies, the same Lord God having committed to us the soveraigntie of this realme of Englande, and other our dominions, which wee holde immediately of the said Almighty Lorde, and so thereby accountable only to his Divine Majestie) wee are, notwithstanding this our prerogative at this time, specially moved (for divers reeasons hereafter briefly remembred) to publish, not only to our owne naturall loving subjects, but also to all others our neighbours, specially to such princes and states as are our confederates, or have for their subjects cause of commerce with our countreis and people, what our intention is at this time, and upon what just and reasonable grounds we are moved to give aid to our next neighbours, the naturall people of the Lowe-Countries, being by long warres, and persecutions of strange nations there, lamentable afflicted, and in present danger to be brought into a perpetual servitude.

First, it is to be understoode (which percase is not perfectly knowne to a great number of persons), that there hath been, time out of minde, even by the naturall situation of those Low-Countries and our realme of England, one directly opposite to the other, and by reason of the ready crossing of the seas, and multitude of large and commodious havens respectively on both sides, a continuall traffique and commerce betwixt the people of England and the naturall people of these Lowe-Countries; and so continued in all ancient times when the severall provinces therof, as Flanders, Holland, and Zeland, and other countries to them adjoining, were ruled and possessed by severall lordes, and not united together, as of late yeeres they have been by enter-marriages; and at length by concurrences of many and sundrie titles have also been reduced to be under the government of their lordes that succeeded to the dukedome of Burgundie, whereby there hath been in

former ages many speciall alliances and confederations, not only betwixt the Kinges of England our progenitours, and the lordes of the said countries of Flanders, Holland, Zeland, and their adherents; but also betwixt the very naturall subjectes of both countries, as the prelates, noblemen, citizens, burgesses, and other comminalties of the great cities and port townes of either countrie reciproquellie by speciall obligations and stipulations under their seales

both of commerce and entercourse of merchantes; and also of speciall mutuall amitie to be observed betwixt the people and inhabitants of both parties, as well

The people of both the countries bound by special obligations enterchangenble, for mutual favours and friendly offices.

ecclesiastical as secular: and very expresse provision in suche treaties contained for mutuall favours, affections, and all other friendly offices to be used and prosecuted by the people of the one nation towards the other. By which mutual bondes there hath continued perpetuall unions of the people's hearts together, and so by way of continuall entercourses, from age to age the same mutuall love hath bene inviolable kept and exercised, as it had been by the worke of nature, and never utterly dissolved, nor yet for any long time discontinued, howsoever the kinges, and the lordes of the countries sometimes (though very rarely) have been at difference by sinister meanes of some other princes their neighbours, envying the felicitie of these two countries.

And for maintenance and testimonie of these natural unions of the peoples of these kingdoms and coun-

tries in perpetuall

Treaties extant of
ancient time, betwixt
the Kings of England

garrise, for the com-
merce betwixt their
countries.

and, there are extant sundrie
autentique treaties and transac-
tions for mutual commerce, enter-
course, and straight amitie of
ancient times: as for example,
some very solemnly accorded in
the times of King Henrie the
VIth our progenitor, and Philip
the IId, Duke of Burgundie, and
inheritour to the countie of Flanders by the Ladie
Margaret his grandmother, which was above one hun-
dred and forty years past; and the same also renewed
by the noble duke Charles his sonne, father to the
King of Spayne's grandmother, and husband to the
Ladie Margaret, sister to our great-grandfather King
Edward the IVth: and after that, of newe oftentimes
renewed by our most noble and sage grandfather king
Henrie the VIIth, and the archduke Philip, grandfather
to the King of Spayne now being: and in later times
often renewed betwixt our father of noble memorie
king Henry the VIIIth, and Charles the Vth emperor
of Almaine, father also to the present king of Spaine.

In al which treaties, transactions, and confederations
of amitie and mutual

conventions for the
subjectes of either
side, to shewe mutual
favours one to the
other.

mutuall favours and dueties one to the other, and
should safely, freely, and securely commerce together
in everie their countries, and so hath the same mutuall
and naturall concourse and commerce bene without
interruption contynued in many ages, farre above the
like example of any other countries in Christendome,
to the honour and strength of the princes, and to the
singular great benefite and enriching of their people,
untill of late yeeeres that the King of Spayne depart-
ing out of his Lowe-Countries into Spayne, hath bene
(as is to be thought) councelled by his counsellours of

Spaniardes and stran-
gers lately appointed
governours in the Lowe
Countries, to the viola-
tion of the liberties
of the country.

chiefest governours of all his said Low Countries,
contrary to the ancient lawes and customes thereof,
having great plentie of noble, valiant, and faithful per-
sons naturally borne, and such as the Emperour
Charles and the king himselfe had to their great
honours used in their service, able to have bene em-
ployed in the rule of those countries. But these Spa-
niardes being meere strangers, having no naturall
regarde in their government to the maintenance of
those countries and people in their ancient and naturall
maner of peaceable living, as the most noble and wise
Emperour Charles, yea, and as his sonne King Philip
himself had, whilst he remained in those countries,
and used the counsels of the states, and natural of the
countries, not violating the ancient liberties of the
countries: but, contrarywise, these Spaniardes being
exalted to absolute government by ambition, and for
private lucre have violently broken the ancient lawes
and liberties of all the countries; and in a tyrannous
sort have banished, killed, and destroyed, without
order of lawe, within the space of

the nobilitie and the
people of the countries
by Spanish govern-
ment.

ancient and principal persons of
the natural nobilitie that were
more worthy of government. And
howsoever in the beginning of

these cruel persecutions, the pretence thereof was for
maintenance of the Romish religion, yet they spared
not to deprive verie many Catholiques and ecclesiastical
persons of their franchises and privileges: and of the
chiefest that were executed of the nobilitie, none was
in the whole countrie more affected to that religion

then was the noble and valiant
Count of Egmond,

of those countries.

his singular victories in the ser-
vice of the King of Spayne can
be forgotten in the true histories, nor yet for the
cruelties used for his destruction, to bee but for ever
lamented in the heartes of the natural people of that
countrie. And furthermore, to bring these whole
countries in servitude to Spayne, these foreine gover-
nours have, by long intestine warre, with multitude of
Spaniards, and with some fewe Italians and Almaines,
made the greater part of the said countries (which with
their riches, by common estimation, answered the
Emperour Charles equally to his Indias) in a manner
desolate; and have also lamentably destroyed by sword,

The riche townes
and strengthes with
the wealth thereof
possessed by the Spa-
niardes.

famine, and other cruel maners of
death, a great part of the natural
people, and now the riche townes
and strong places being desolate
of their natural inhabitants, are
held and kept chiefly with force

by the Spaniardes.

All which pitiful miseries and horrible calamities of
these most rich countries and people, are of all their
neighbours at this day, even of such as in ancient
time have bene at frequent discord with them, thorowe
natural compassion verie greatlie pitied, which ap-
peared specially this present yere, when the Frenche
kinge pretended to have received them to his pro-
tection, had not (as the states of the countrie and
their deputies were answered) that certaine untimely
and unlooked for complottes of the house of Guise,
stirred and maintained by money out of Spayne,
disturbed the good and general peace of Fraunce, and
thereby urged the king to forbear from the resolution
he had made, not only to aide the oppressed people of
the Lowe Countries against the Spaniardes, but also
to have accepted them as his owne subjectes. But in
verie truth, howsoever they were pitied, and in a sort
for a time comforted and kept in hope in Fraunce by
the French king, who also hath oftentimes earnestly
solicited us as queen of England, both by message

The French King's of-
fers to have aided and
received to his subjec-
tion the oppressed
People of the Lowe
Countries.

and writinge to bee careful of their
defence: yet in respect that they
were otherwise more straightly
knitte in auncient friendship to
this realme then to any other
countrie, we are sure that they
could bee pitied of none for this

long time with more cause and grief generally then of
our subjects of this our realme of England, being their
most ancient allies, and familiar neighbours, and that
in such maner, as this our realme of England, and
those countries have been by common language of
long time resembled, and termed as man and wife.
And for these urgent causes and many others, we have

The Queen of Eng-
lands continual
friendly advices to the
King of Spaine for re-
straining of the Tyr-
rannie of his Gover-
nours.

by many friendly messages and
ambassadors, by many letters and
writings to the said king of Spayne
our brother and allie, declared our
compassion of this so evil and
cruel usage of his natural and
loyal people, by sundrie his mar-
tiall governours, and other his
men of warre, all strangers to these his countries.
And furthermore, as a good loving sister to him, and

a natural good neighbour to his Lowe Countries and people, we have often, and often againe most friendly warned him, that if he did not otherwise by his wisdom and princely clemencie restraine the tyranny of his governours, and crueltie of his men of warre, we feared that the people of his countries should be forced for safetie of their lives, and for continuance of their native country in their former state of their liberties, to seek the protection of some other foreyne lorde; or rather to yeeld themselves wholly to the soveraigntie of some mighty prince, as by the ancient lawes of their countries, and by speciall priviledges graunted by some of the lordes and dukes of the countries to the people, they do pretende and affirm, that in such cases of general injustice, and upon such violent breaking of their privileges, they are free from their former homages, and at libertie to make choice of any other prince to bee their prince and head. The proof whereof, by examples past is to be seene and read in the ancient histories of divers alterations, of the lordes and ladies of the countries of Brabant, Flanders, Holland, and Zeland, and other countries to them united by the states and people of the countries; and that by some such alterations, as the stories do testifie, Philip the duke of Burgundy came to his tytyle, from which the king of Spayne's interest is derived: but the further discussion hereof, we leave to the viewe of

The Queene of England's meanes used to of the Lowe Countries from yielding their Subjection to any other Forreigne Prince.

the monuments and recordes of the countries. And now for the purposes to stay them from yeelding themselves in any like sort to the soveraigntie of any other strange prince, certaine yeeres past, upon the earnest request of sundrie of the greatest persons of degree in those countries, and most obedient subjects to the king, such as were the duke of Ascot, and the marques of Havery yet living, and of such others as had principal offices in those countries in the time of the emperor Charles, we yielded at their importunate requests, to graunt them prests of money, only to continue them as his subjects, and to maintaine themselves in their just defence against the violence and cruelties of the Spaniardes their oppressours, thereby staying them from yielding their subjection to any other prince from the said king of Spayne: and during the time of that our aide given to them, and their stay in their obedience to the king of Spayne, we did freely acquainte the same king with our actions, and did still continue our friendly advices to him, to move him to commaund his governours and men of warre, not to use such insolent cruelties against his people, as might make them to despayre of his favours, and seeke some other lorde.

And in these kind of perswasions and actions wee continued many yeeres, not onely for compassion of the miserable state of the countries, but of a natural disposition to have the ancient conditions of straight amitie and commerce for our kingdomes and people to continue with the states and the people of the said dukedome of Burgundie and the appendants, and namely with our next neighbours the countries of Flanders, Holland and Zeland. For wee did manifestly see, if the nation of Spayne should make a conquest of those countries, as was and yet is apparently intended, and plant themselves there as they have done in Naples and other countries, adding thereto the late

The Enterprise of the Spaniardes in Irelande made by the King of Spayne and the Pope.

examples of the violent hostile enterprise of a power of Spayne being
fewe yeeres by the king
and the pope into our realme of Ireland, with an intent manifestly

confessed by the captaines, that those numbers were sent aforehand to sease upon some strength there to theintent with other greater forces to pursue a conquest thereof: wee did we say againe, manifestly see in what danger our selfe, our countries and people might shortly bee, if in convenient time wee did not speedily otherwise regard to prevent or stay the same. And yet notwithstanding our saide often requests and advices given to the king of Spayne, manifestly for his own weale and honour, wee found him by his counsell of Spayne so unwilling in any sort to incline to our friendly counsell, that his governours and chieftains in his Lowe Countries increased their cruelties towards his own afflicted people, and his officers in Spayne

The refusal of the Queen's Messenger and her letters to the King of Spayne.

offered dayly greater injuries to ours, resorting thither for trafficke: yea, they of his counsell in Spayne, would not permit our express messenger with our letters to come to the king their master's presence: a matter very strange, and against the law of nations.

And the cause of this our writing and sending to the king, proceeded of matter that was worthy to be

The just Causes of dismissing of B. Mendoza out of England.

known to the king, and not unmete nowe also to be declared to the world, to shewe both our good disposition towards the king in imparting to him our grieves, and to let it appear howe evil we have bene used by his ministers, as in some part may appear by this that followeth. Although we could not have these many yeres past any of our servants, whome we sent at sundrie times as our ambassadours to the king our good brother, as was mete, suffered to continue there without many injuries and indignities offered to their families, and divers times to their owne persons, by the greatest of his counsellours, so as they were constrained to leave their places, and some expelled, and in a sort banished the country, without cause given by them, or notified to us: yet we, minding to continue very good friendship with the king, as his good sister, did of long time, and many yeres give favourable allowance to all that came as his ambassadours to us; saving onely upon manifest dangerous practices, attempted by two of them to trouble our estate, whereof the one was Girald Despes, a very turbulent-spirited person, and altogether unskilfull and unapt to deale in princes' affaires being in amitie; as at his retourn into Spaine, he was so there also reputed: the other, and last was, Bernardin de Mendoza; one whom we did accept, and use with great favour a long time, as was manifestly seene in our court, and we thinke cannot be denied by himself: but yet of late yeeres (we know not by what direction) we found him to be a secret great favourer to sundrie our evil-disposed and seditious subjectes, not onely to such as lurked in our realme, but also to such as fled the same; being notoriously condemned as open rebelles and traytours; with whome by his letters, messages, and secret counsels, he did in the ende devise, how with a power of men, partly to come out of Spayne, partly out of the Lowe Countries, whereof hee gave them great comforte in the kinge's name, an invasion might be made into our realme; setting downe in writing the manner howe the same should be done, with what numbers of men and shippes, and upon what coastes, portes and places of our realme, by special name: and who the persons should be in our realme of no small account, that should favour this invasion, and take part with the invadours; with many other circumstances, declaring his full set purpose and labours taken, to trouble us and our realme very dangerously; as hath bene moste clearly proved and confessed, by such as were in that confederacy

with him : whereof some are fled, and now do frequent his companie in France ; and some were taken, who confessed at great length by writing, the whole course herein helde by the saide ambassador, as was manifestly of late time published to the worlde upon Francis Throgmorton's, a principall traitour's examination. And when we found manifestly this ambassadour so dangerous an instrument, or rather a head to a rebellion and invasion : and that for a yeere or more together, he never brought to us any letter from the kinge his master, notwithstanding our often requeste made to him, that he woulde by some letter from the king to us, let it appeare that it was the king's will, that he should deale with us in his master's name, in sundrie things that he propounded to us as his ambassadour ; which we did judge to be contrary to the kinge his master's will. We did finally cause him to be charged with these dangerous practices ; and made it patent to him, how, and by whom (with many other circumstances), we knew it ; and therefore caused him, in very gentle sort, to be content (with some reasonable time) to departe out of our realme, the rather for his own safety, as one in very deed mortally hated of our people. For the which we graunted him favorable conduct, both to the sea, and over the sea. And thereupon we did speedily send a servant of ours into Spaine, with our letters to the king, only to certify him of this accident, and to make the whole matter apparant unto him. And this was the messenger afore-mentioned, that might not be suffred to deliver our message, or our letters, to the king.

And beside these indignities, it is most manifest, how his ministers also have both heretofore many times, and now lately practised here in England, by meanes of certaine rebelles, to have procured sundry invasions of our realme, by their forces out of Spaine and the Lowe Countreys : very hard recompences (we may say) for so many our good offices. Hereupon we hope, no reasonable person can blame us, if we have disposed our selves to change this our former course, and more carefully to look to the safety of our selfe, and our people. And finding our owne dangers in deed very great and imminent, we have bene the more urgently provoked to attempt and accelerate some good remedy : for that, besides many other advices, given us both at home and from abroad, in due time to withstand these dangers ; we have found the general disposition of al our own faithfull people, very ready in this case, and earnest, in offering to us both in parliaments and otherwise, their services with their bodies and blood, and their aides with their lands and goods, to withstand and prevent this present common danger to our realme and themselves, evidently seene and feared, by the subverting and rooting up of the ancient nation of these Low Countries, and by planting the Spanish nation and men of warre, enemies to our countries, there so near unto us.

The Queen of England's Proceeding, for the Deliverie of Scotland from the servitude wherein the house of Guise meant to have brought it.

And besides these occasions and considerations, we did also call to our remembrance our former fortunate proceeding, by God's special favor, in the beginning of our reigne, in remedying of a like mischief that was intended against us in Scotland by certaine Frenchmen, who then were directed onely by the house of Guise, by colour of the marriage of their neece, the queene of Scots, with the dolphin of France : in like maner, as the offsprings of the saide house have even now lately sought to attaine to the like unordinate power in France : a matter of some consequence for our selves to consider ; although we hope, the king (our good brother) professing sincere friendship towards us, as

we profess the like to him, will moderate this aspiring greatnes of that house, that neither himself, nor the princes of his blood be overruled, nor we (minding to continue perfect friendship with the king, and his blood) be by the said house of Guise, and their faction, disquieted or disturbed in our countries. But now to return to this like example of Scotlande aforesaid, when the French had in like maner (as the Spanyardes have nowe of long time attempted in the Lowe Countries) sought by force to have subdued the people there, and brought them into a servitude to the crowne of France ; and also by the ambitious desires of the saide house of Guise, to have proceeded to a warre by way of Scotland, for the conquest of our crowne for their neece the queene of Scottes (a matter most manifest to the common knowledge of the worlde) : it pleased Almighty God, as it remaineth in good memorie to our honour and comfort, to further our intention, and honourable and just actions, at that time, in such sort, as by our aiding then of the nation of Scotland, (being sore oppressed with the French, and universally requiring our aide,) we procured to that realme (though to our great cost) a full deliverance of the force of strangers, and danger of servitude, and restored peace to the whole countrie ; which hath continued there ever since many yeres ; saving that at some time of parcialities of certaine of the noblemen, (as hath beene usuall in that countrie, in the mynoritie of the yong king) there hath risen some inward troubles, which (for the most part) we have, in favour of the king and his governours, used meanes to pacifie :

The Reahn of Scotland restored to the ancient Freedom, and so possessed by the present King, by the Means only of the Q. of England.

so as at this day, such is the quietnes in Scotlande, as the king our dear brother and cousin, by name James the VIth, a prince of great hope for many princely respectes, raigneth there in honour and love of his people, and in very good and perfect amitie with us and our country. And so our actions, at that time, came to so good successe, by the goodnes of God, as bothe our own realme, and that of Scotland, hath ever since remained in better amitie and peace, then can be remembered these manie hundred yeeres before : and yet nothing heereby done by us, nor any cause justly given, but that also the French kinges that have since succeeded (which have been three in number, and all brethren) have made and concluded divers treaties for good peace with us ; which presentlie continue in force on both parties, notwithstanding our foresaide actions, attempted for removing out of Scotland of the saide French forces, so transported by the onely direction of the house of Guise.

And therefore, to conclude for the declaration of our present intention at this time, we hope it shall of

The conclusion of all persons abroad be well interpreted, as wee knowe it will be of such as are not ledde by partialitie, that upon the often and continuall lamentable requestes made to us by the universall states of the countries of Holland, Zealand, Guelders, and other provinces with them united, (beeing desperate of the king of Spaine's favours) for our succours to be yeilded to them, onely for their defence against the Spaniards, and other strangers ; and therewith finding manifestly, by our often and importunate requestes and advices given to the king of Spaine, no hope of reliefe of these their miseries, but rather an increase thereof, by dayly conquests of their townes, and slaughter of their people (tho' in very truth, we cannot impute the increase of

any late cruelties to the person of him that now hath the title of generall governor, shewing his naturall disposition more inclynable to mercie and clemencie, then it seemeth he can direct the heartes of the Spaniards under him, that have been so long trayned in shedding of blood, under the former Spanish governours) : and joyning therunto our owne danger at hand, by the overthrow and destruction of our neighbours, and access and planting of the great forces of the Spaniards so nere to our countries, with precedent arguments of many troublesome attempts against our realme : we did therefore, by good advice, and after long deliberation, determine to sende certaine companies of souldiers, to ayde the naturall people of those countries ; onely to defende them and their townes from sacking and desolation, and thereby to procure them safetie, to the honour of God, whome they desire to serve sincerely, as Christian people, according to his holie word, and to enjoye their ancient liberties for them and their posteritie, and so consequently to preserve and contynue the lawfull and ancient commerce betwixt our people, and those countries and ours.

And so, we hope, our intention herein, and our subsequent actions will be, by God's favour, both honourably and charitably interpreted of all persons (saving of the oppressors themselves, and their partizans) in that we meane not heereby, either for ambition or malice, (the two rootes of all injustice) to make any particular profit hereof, to our selfe, or to our people : onely desiringe at this time to obtaine (by God's favour) for the countries, a deliverance of them from warre, by

reasonably desired by the queen of England.

1. The end of wars, with restitution of the Low Countries to their ancient liberties.
2. Surety from invasion of her own realm.
3. And renewing of the

the Spaniards and forrainers ; a restitution of their ancient liberties and government, by some Christian peace, and thereby a suretie for our selves and our realme, to be free from invading neighbours ; and our people to enjoy in those countries their lawfull commerce and intercourse of friendship and marchandise, according to the ancient usage and treaties of intercourse made betwixt our progenitors and the lordes and earls of those countries, and betwixt our people and the people of those countries.

And though our further intention also is, or may be, to take into our garde some fewe townes upon the sea-side next opposite to our realme, which otherwise might be in danger to be taken by the strangers, enemies of the country :

The causes of taking some townes into her majestie's custody.

yet therein considering we have no meaning at this tyme, to take and retaine the same to our owne proper use ; we hope that all persons will thinke it agreeable with good reason and princely policie, that we should have the gard and use of some such places, for sure access and recess of our people and souldiers in safety, and for furniture of them with victuals, and other things requisite and necessarie, whilst it shall be needfull for them to continue in those countries, for the aiding therof in these their great calamities, miseries, and imminent daunger, and untill the countries may be delivered of such strange forces as do now oppresse them, and recover their ancient lawfull liberties and maner of gouvernement, to live in peace as they have heeretofore done, and doe nowe most earnestly in lamentable manner desire to doe ; which are the very onely true ends of all our actions nowe intended, howsoever malicious tongues may utter their cankered conceits to the contrary, as at this day the worlde aboundeth with such blasphemous reportes in writings and infamous libels, as in no age the devil

hath more abounded with notable spirites replenished with all wickednesse, to utter his rage against professors of Christian religion. But thereof we leave the revenge to God, the searcher of hearts, hoping that he beholding the sinceritie of our heart, wil graunte good successe to our intentions, whereby a Christian peace may ensue to his divine honour, and comfort to al them that love peace truly, and wil seeke it sincerely.

An Addition to the Declaration, touching the Slaunders published of her Majestie.

AFTER we had finished our declaration, there came to our hands a pamphlet written in Italian, printed at Milan, entituled "Nuovo Avviso," directed to the archbishop of Milan, conteyning a report of the expugnation of Antwerpe by the prince of Parma : by the which we found our self most maliciously charged with two notable crimes, no lesse hateful to the world then most repugnant and contrary to our own natural inclination. The one, with ingratitude towards the king of Spaine, who (as the author saith), saved our life being justly by sentence adjudged to death in our sister's time : the other, that there was some persons procured to be corrupted with great promises, and that with our intelligence, as the reporter addeth in a parenthesis in these words (as it is said)—that the life of the prince of Parma should be taken away : and for the better proving and countenancing of this horrible lye, it is further added in the same pamphlet, that it pleased the Lord God to discover this, and bring two of the wicked persons to justice. Now, knowing how men are maliciously bent in this declining age of the world, both to judge, speak, and write maliciously, falsely, and unreverently of princes ; and holding nothing so dear unto us as the conservation of our reputation and honour to be blamelesse ; we found it very expedient not to suffer two such horrible imputations to pass under silence, least for lacke of answer, it may argue a kind of guiltines, and did therefore thinke that what might be alledged by us for our justification in that behalfe might be most aptly joined unto this former declaration now to be published, to lay open before the world the maner and ground of our proceedings in the causes of the Lowe Countries.

And for answer of the first point wherewith we are charged, touching our ingratitude towards the king of Spaine, as we do most willingly acknowledge that we were beholding unto him in the time of our late sister, which we then did acknowledge very thankfully, and have sought many ways, since in like sort to requite, as in our former declaration by our actions may appeare : so do we utterly denie as a most manifest untruth, that ever he was the cause of the saving of our life, as a person by a course of justice sentenced unto death, who ever carried our self towards our said sister in dutifull sort, as our loyaltie was never called in question, much lesse any sentence of death pronounced against us : a matter such, as in respect of the ordinarie course of proceeding, as by processe in lawe, by place of tryal, by the judge that should pronounce such sentence, and other necessary circumstances in like cases usual, especially against one of our qualitie, as it could not but have bene publicquellie known, if any such thing had bene put in execution. This, then, being true, we leave to the worlde to judge howe maliciously and injuriously the author of the said pamphlet dealeth with us, in charging us by so notable an untruth with a vice that of all others we do most hate and abhorre. And therefore, by the manifest untruth of this imputation, men not transported with passion may easily discerne what untruth

is contained in the second, by the which we are charged to have bene acquainted with an intended attempt against the life of the said prince: a matter, if any such thing should have been by us intended, must have proceeded either of a mislyking we had of his person, or that the prosecution of the warres in the Lowe Countries was so committed unto him, as no other might prosecute the same but he.

And first for his person, we could never learne that he hath at any time, by acte or speech, done any thing that might justly brede a mislike in us towards him, much lesse a hatred against his person in so high a degree, as to be either privie or assenting to the taking away of his life: besides he is one of whom we have ever had an honourable conceite, in respect of those singular rare partes we alwaies have noted in him, which hath won unto him as great reputation as any man this day living carrieth of his degree and qualitie: and so have we always delivered out by speeche unto the world, when any occasion hath bene offered to make mention of him. Nowe, touching the prosecution committed unto him of the warres in the Lowe Countries, as all men of judgment know that the taking away of his life carrieth no likelihood that the same shall worke any ende of the said prosecution: so it is manifestly knowen that no man hath dealt more honourable then the saide prince, either in duely observing of his promise, or extending grace and mercie where merite and deserte hath craved the same: and therefore no greater impietie by any coulede bee wrought, nor nothing more prejudicial to ourselfe (so long as the king shall continue the prosecution of the cause in that forcible sort he now doeth) then to be an instrument to take him away from thence by such violent means, that hath dealt in a more honourable and gracious sort in the charge committed unto him,

then any other that hath ever gone before him, or is likely to succeed after him.

Now therefore how unlikely it is that we having neither cause to mislike of his person, nor that the prosecution of the warres shoulde cease by losse of him, should be either authour, or any way assenting to so horrible a fact, we referre to the judgment of such as looke into causes, not with the eyes of their affection, but do measure and weigh things according to honour and reason. Besides, it is likely if it had bene true, that we had bene any way chargeable (as the author reporteth) the confessions of the parties executed (importing such matter as by him is alledged) would have been both produced and published; for malice leaveth nothing unsearched that may nourish the venime of that humour.

The best course, therefore, that both we and all other princes can holde in this unfortunate age, that overfloweth with numbers of malignant spirits, is through the grace and goodnesse of Almighty God, to direct our course in such sort, as they may rather shewe their willes through malice, than with just cause with desert, to say ill, or deface princes, either by speach or writing: assuring our selves that besides the punishment that such wicked and infamous libellours shall receive at the handes of the Almightye for depraving of princes and lawfull magistrates, who are God's ministers, they both are, and alwayes shall be thought by all good men, unworthie to live upon the face of the earth.

Given at Richimount the first of October, 1585; and the 27th yeere of the reigne of our soveraigne lady the queene; to be published.

Imprinted at London by Christopher Barker, printer to the queene of England, her most excellent majestie. 1585.

AN APPENDIX :

CONTAINING

SOME PAPERS RELATING TO THE FIRST TWO PARTS

OF THE

HISTORY OF THE REFORMATION OF THE CHURCH OF ENGLAND.

I.—A LETTER WRITTEN TO ME BY ANTHONY WOOD, IN JUSTIFICATION OF HIS HISTORY OF THE UNIVERSITY OF OXFORD; WITH REFLECTIONS UPON IT, REFERRED TO ALPHABETICALLY.

II.—A LETTER TO MR. AUSONT, WHICH WAS TRANSLATED INTO FRENCH, UPON HIS PROCURING FOR ME A CENSURE IN WRITING, MADE IN PARIS UPON THE FIRST VOLUME OF MY HISTORY OF THE REFORMATION.

III.—SOME REMARKS, SENT ME BY ANOTHER HAND.

NUMBER I.

A Letter written to me by Anthony Wood, in Justification of his History of the University of Oxford; with Reflections on it, referred to Alphabetically.

SIR,—Your book of the Reformation of the Church of England, I have latelie perused, and finding my self mentioned therein, not without some discredit, I thought fit to vindicate my self so far in these animadversions following, that you may see your mistakes, and accordingly rectifie them (if you think fit), in the next part that is yet to publish.

P. 86. [But after he hath set downe the instrument, he gives some reasons, &c.]

The two first reasons (if they may be so called),^a were put in by another hand; and the other were taken from these three books following^b, viz. from Dr. Nicholas Harpesfelde's treatise concerning marriage, &c. which is a fair manuscript in folio; written either in the time of queen Marie, or in the beginning of queen Elizabeth, and 'tis by me quoted in my book, in the place excepted against. From Will. Forest's Life of Queen Catherine, written in the raigne of queen Marie, and dedicated to her. 'Tis a manuscript also, and written verie fairlie in parchment^c. From "An Apologie for the Government of the Universitie against King Henry the VIIIth.," written by a master of arts, septimo Elizabethæ. 'Tis a manuscript also, and hath all the king's letters therin, written to the universitie about the question of marriage and divorce,

with several passages relating to convocations concerning the said questions.

So that by this you see I do not frame those reasons out of mine owne head (as partiall men might) but what other authours dictate to me.

Ibid. [Upon what designe I cannot easily imagine.] No designe at all God-wot, but meerlie for truth's sake, which verie few in these dayes will deliver.

Ibid. [And as if it had been an ill thing, he takes paines to purge the universities of it, &c.]

It was an ill thing I think (I am sure it was taken so to be) for a prince by his letters to frighten^d people out of their conscience, and by menaces force them to say what must please him. But seeing the masters would not be frightned, and therefore they were laid aside (the matter being discussed by a few old timerous doctors and batchellors of divinity, who would say any thing to please the king, least danger should follow), they ought to be commended, or at least justified for keeping their consciences safe.

Ibid. [And without any proof gives credit to a lying story set downe by Sanders, of an assemblie called by night.]

Sanders is not my authour, for he says no such thing in his book *De Schismate*, of an assembly^e called

^d I do not find there was any frightening threatnings: none appear in the king's letters. If he had this from any good authors, he had done well to have quoted them. It is not honourable for the university, as it is not probable, to represent all the doctors and batchelours of divinity, as men apt to be frightned out of their consciences; and that only the masters of arts were impregnable. It is rather to be supposed that the one sort were carried away by faction; and that the others were guided by learning and conscience.

^e He says it was called "*clam*;" that could hardly be, but in the night: so this is no material difference. In the rest you agree with Sanders.

^a I could not know this: He publishes them, and is justly to be charged with them.

^b From such authorities what else was to be expected?

^c This, as Dr. Lloyd informs me, is Parson's book, an author of no better credit than the former; for he was a master of arts in Balliol College, in queen Elizabeth's time.—See Wood in *Bal. Col.*

by night; my author for this is the Apologie before mentioned, which adds, that "when a regent of Baliol College (whom they called king Henry), heard that the commissarie, and his company, were going to dispatch this night work, denied the seale with his breeches about his shoulders, for want of a hood." See in Hist. et Antiq. Oxon. Lib. 1. p. 256. A^f. The truth is, the meeting was unseasonable, and their actions clancular; as being protested against by, and done without the consent of, the regents. And as for Sanders, though I cannot well defend him, yet many things in his book *De Schismate*, especially those relating to the universitie of Oxford, I find from other places to be true^g.

Ibid. [But it appears that he had never seen, or considered the other instrument, to which the universitie set their seale.]

The grand collection, or farrago, which Mr. Thomas Masters made (by the lord Herbert's appointment), in order to the writing of king Henry the VIIIth's life, I have seen and perused, but could not with all my diligence find that instrument (as you call it, yet we, an act, or decree) of convocation; neither in the three great folios, written by another hand, containing materials at large for the said life; neither in any of the registers, records, or papers, belonging to the universitie. So that for these reasons, and that because the lord Herbert says, "it was blurred, and not intended for the king"; and also not under seal (you say 'twas), neither passed in the house by the majority of votes; therefore did I omit it, as not authentick^h. I truly believe, or at least have good grounds to think, that it was only drawn up, and not proposed; for if it had, it would have been registered: there being nothing proposed, either in convocation or congregation, but is registered, whether denied or not. And the register of that time is most exactly kept; and nothing thence, as I can perceive, is torn out.

Ibid. [There seems to be also another mistake, in the relation he gives: for he says, those of Paris had determined in this matter.]

I sayⁱ so from Warham, archbishop of Canterbury, then chancellor of the university: who in his letters thereunto, desires the members "to make what expedition they could, to give in their answer to the king's question; forasmuch as Paris and Cambridge had done it already."—For this I quote the book of Epistles, in Archiv. Lib. Bod. MS. Epist. 197. Yet, I believe, the archbishop said this, to hasten the university of

^g I see no reason for this. The instrument set forth by the lord Herbert shews, that the persons deputed had good authority to set the university seal to their determination: and they were not tied to forms, but might have done it at any time.

^h Yes, such authors as you quote: you say you cannot well defend Sanders. It seems you would if you could. These are soft words concerning that scandalous writer.

ⁱ All that you say here is only negative authority: but since the lord Herbert says he saw the original, though it is not in any of these collections, you must either believe it, or make him a liar: and if it was an original, it must either have been subscribed by the hands of the persons deputed; or must have had the seal put to it. The beginning of it shews it was not subscribed, for it is in the name of John Cuttisford, their commissary: so it must have been either in the form of a notary's instrument, or must have had the seal put to it, for he calls it an original. Perhaps the blurring of it might either be casual, or when it was brought to court the king might have made some alterations in it, that it might be renewed according to these corrections. *It might be casual; Lord Herbert says not that it was rascd out, &c.

^j In this you had a warrant for what you wrote, but I had a better to correct it by.

* These words in Italica are in the bishop of Worcester's

Oxon the more; tho' probably it was not so. However, I am not to take notice of that, but to follow record as I find it. And that I do follow record throughout all my book, there is not one (I presume) of the senate of antiquaries can deny it: and therefore how there can be many things in my book (of my framing), that are enemies to the reformation of the Church of England, as was suggested by you to sir Harbottle Grimston (who thereupon made a complaint in open parliament, last April, against the said book), I cannot see^k. Truth ought to take place, and must not be concealed, especially when 'tis at a distance. And if our religion^l hath had its original, or base, on lust, blood, ruin and desolation (as all religions, or alterations in governments, have had from one or more of them), why should it be hidden, seeing it is so obvious to all curious searchers into record?^c

This is all from him that studies truth,

ANTHONY à WOOD.

July the 5th, 1679.

NUMBER II.

A Letter to Mr. Ausont, which was translated into French, upon his procuring for me a censure in writing, made in Paris upon the First Volume of my History of the Reformation.

Paris, the 10th of August, 1685.

SIR,—When I came last to Paris, I was told there was a censure of the first volume of my History of the Reformation, going about in writing. I was glad to hear of this, when I was upon the place, ready either to justify my self, or to acknowledge such mistakes as should be offered to me: for I am ready, upon conviction, to retract any thing that may have fallen from my pen, as soon as I see cause for it, with all the freedom and candor possible. I should be much more out of countenance to persist in an error, when I am convinced of it, than to acknowledge that in such a multitude of matters of fact, of which my history makes mention, I might have been misinformed in some particulars, and have mistaken others, which I was resolved to rectify, when discover'd, in another edition. This made me very desirous to see what it was that had been objected to me: and I am much obliged to you for procuring me a sight of it; for which I return you my most humble thanks.

When I had read it over and over again, I confess I was amazed to find that he who censured me so severely had read my book so slightly, and yet gives way to his passions with so little judgment and with less sincerity, that among all the things that he charges me with, there should not be one single particular, that might give me occasion to shew my readiness to retract what I had written.

What can be expected from a writer, who, after the list I had given of the many gross errors of which Sanders's History was made up, says, "that I have proved that he has failed in some circumstances that may seem to aggravate the matter more or less?" If any man will be at the pains to read what I have proved, of the falshoods of that author, and compare it with the mild censure here given; he will see cause to be ashamed of it, and will look for little sincerity, after so false a step made in the beginning. From this, he goes on to his main design, and runs out into an invective against k. Henry the VIIIth, for his incontinencies and other violences.

^k I do profess I do not remember that I ever mentioned your book to him: and sir Harbottle himself, when I asked him the question, said, he never heard me speak of it.

^l This is writ very indecently; neither like a divine nor a christian.

If I had undertaken to write a panegyric, or to make a saint of king Henry, he might have triumphed over me as much as he pleased. But I, who have neither concealed nor excused any of his faults, am no way concerned in all this.

There are only two things that I advance with relation to that prince.

The first is, that whatsoever his secret motives might have been, in the suit of the divorce, he had the constant tradition of the church on his side, and that in all the ages and parts of it; which was carefully searched into, and fully proved: so that no author elder than cardinal Cajetan could be found to be set against such a current of tradition. And in the disputes of that age with those they called hereticks, all that wrote of the popish side made their appeal always to tradition, as the only infallible expounder of Scripture; and it was looked on as the character of an heretick, to expound the Scripture by any other key or method. So that k. Henry had this clearly with him.

The other particular that I make remarks on is, that the Reformation is not at all to be charged with king Henry's faults: for, that unsteady favour and protection which they sometimes found from him, can signify no more to blemish them than the vices of those princes that were the great promoters of Christianity signify to cast a blemish on the Christian religion. Let the crimes of king Clovis, as they are related by Gregory of Tours, be compared with the worst things that can be said of king Henry; and then let any man see, if he finds so much falsehood, mixed with so much cruelty, in so many repeated acts, and in such a number of years, in king Henry the VIIIth, as he will find in king Clovis. Nor do we see any hints of Clovis's repentance, or of any restitution made by him, of those dominions that he had seized on in so criminal a manner, to the right heirs; without which, according to our maxims, his repentance could not be accepted of God. And this was the first Christian king of the Franks.

I do not comprehend what his design could be, in justifying pope Gregory the VIIth's proceedings against the emperor, Henry the IVth, with so much heat. One that reads what he writes on this subject can hardly keep himself from thinking that he had something in his eye that he durst not speak out more plainly: but that he would not be sorry, if Innocent the XIth should treat the great monarch, as Gregory the VIIth did the emperor, and as Paul the IIIrd did king Henry the VIIIth. But whatsoever his own thoughts may be, I desire he would not be so familiar with my thoughts, as to infer this from any concession of mine; for I allow no authority to the bishops of Rome out of their own diocese. The additional dignity that they came to have, flowed from the constitution of the Roman empire; and since Rome is no more the seat of empire, it has lost all that primacy which was yielded to it merely by reason of the dignity of the city. So that as Byzance, from being a small bishoprick, became a patriarchal seat, upon the exaltation of that city; by the same rule, upon the depression of Rome, the bishops of that see ought to have lost all that dignity that was merely accidental. But suppose I should yield, according to the notion commonly received in the Gallican church, that the pope is the conservator of the canons; that will signify nothing to justify their deposing of princes, except he can shew what those canons were, upon the violation of which princes may be deposed. If he flies to the canons of the fourth council in the Lateran, those being made about 150 years after p. Gregory's proceedings against the emperor, will not justify what

was done so long before these were made. When he thinks fit to speak out more plainly upon this head, it will be more easy to answer him.

As for the supremacy that king Henry the VIIIth assumed in ecclesiastical matters, he should not have condemned that so rashly as he does, as a novelty, till he had first examined the reasons upon which it was founded; not only those drawn from the Scriptures, but those that were brought from the laws and practices, both of the Roman emperors and of the kings of England. His thoughts or his pen run too quick, when he condemned the following those precedents as a novelty, without giving himself the trouble of enquiring into the practices of former ages.

He charges me with flying to the rasure of the registers in queen Mary's time, and to the burning of others in the fire of London, for proving several things for which I could bring no better vouchers; and for relying so often on a passionate writer. I suppose Fox is the person hereby pointed at.

When he applies the general censure to any particular in my work, I will then shew that it amounts to nothing. I often stop and show that I can go no further, for want of proof: and when I give presumptions from other grounds to shew what was done, I may well appeal to the rasure, or loss of records, for the want of further proof. But this I never do upon conjectures or slight grounds. And as for Fox, I make a great difference between relying upon what he writes barely upon report (which I never do) and relying upon some registers, of which he made abstracts. For having observed an exact fidelity in all that he took out of such registers as do yet remain, I have reason to depend on such abstracts as he gives of registers that are now destroyed. He might be too credulous in writing such things as were brought him by report; and in these I do not depend on him: but he was known to be a man of probity, so I may well believe what he delivers from a record, though that happens now to be lost.

The censure is next applied to Cranmer's character. He observes great defects in my sincerity, and (to let me see how civilly he intends to use me, he says he will not add) my want of judgment. I am sure he has shewed a very ill judgment in charging me so severely in so tender a point as sincerity, and using a reserve in another point, that does not touch me so much. I am accountable both to God and man for my sincerity; but I am bound to have no more judgment than God has given me; and so long as I maintain my sincerity entire, I have little to answer for, though I may be defective in the other: but I leave it to you to judge whether the defect was in his sincerity or his judgment, when he does not bring any one particular against Cranmer, but what he takes from me. So if I have confessed all his faults, and yet give a character of him that is inconsistent with these, I may be justly charged for want of judgment; but my sincerity is still untainted. When he reckons up his charges against Cranmer, he begins with this: that he was put out of his college for his incontinence. He was then a layman, under no vows, only he held a place of which he was incapable after he was married: now, what sort of crime can he reckon this marriage, I leave it to himself to make it out. His next charge is, that though I say he was a Lutheran, yet he signed the Six Articles, which he says, proves that he valued his benefice more than his conscience.

He wrote this with too much precipitation, otherwise he would have seen that Cranmer never signed those articles. He disputed much against them before they passed into a law: nor could he be prevailed on, though the king pressed him to it, to abstain from

coming to the parliament while that act passed. He came and opposed it to the last; and even after the law was made, he wrote a book for the king's use against these articles. There was no clause in the act that required that they should be signed. Men were only bound to silence and submission. If he was at all faulty, with relation to that act, it was only in this, that he did not think himself bound to declare openly against it when it was published. From this he goes next to charge him for consenting to the dissolution of king Henry's marriage with Anne of Cleve, upon grounds plainly contrary to those upon which his first marriage with Catherine of Spain was dissolved. Since one pretence in the divorce of Anne of Cleve was, that it was not consummated, though in the other it was declared that a marriage was compleat, though not consummated. Whatever is to be said of this matter, the whole convocation was engaged in it. Gardiner promoted it the most of any. So the bishops who were so zealous for popery in queen Mary's time were as guilty as Cranmer. I do not deny that he showed too much weakness in this compliance. He had not courage enough to swim against the stream: and he might think that the dissolving a marriage, the parties being contented, was not to be much withstood. But my censurer is afraid to touch on the chief ground on which that marriage was dissolved; which was, that the king gave not a pure inward consent to it; for this touches a tender point of the intention of the minister in the sacrament, on which I did not reflect when I wrote my History. By the doctrine of the church of Rome, the parties are the ministers; so if the intention was wanting, there was no sacrament in this marriage. This having been the common doctrine of the church of Rome, some remnant of that might have too great an effect on Cranmer. But if the consenting to an unjust sentence, in a time of much heat and of a general consternation, is so criminal a thing, what will he make of Liberius, Felix, Ossius, and many more, whose names are in the Roman Calendar. The carrying this too far will go a great way to the justifying the Luciferians. Whatever may be in this, I had opened the matter of Anne of Cleve so impartially, that I deserve no censure on that account.

After he had attacked the matter of my history in these particulars, he falls next upon my way of writing. In this, I confess, I am not so much concerned; for if the things are truly related by me, I can very easily bear all the reflections that he can lay on my way of writing. But that he may censure me with a better grace, he bestows some good words on me. "He is not displeased with my preface, and the beginning of my work: but all these hopes were soon blasted; I fall into a detail of little stories, with which he was quite disgusted." Yet if he had considered this better, he would have been milder in his censure. My design was to show what seeds and dispositions were still in the minds of many in this nation, that prepared them for a reformation, in the beginning of King Henry's reign, before ever Luther had preached in Germany, and several years before that the king's divorce came to be treated of in England. I therefore judged it was necessary for me to let the reader know what I found in our registers of those matters: how that many were tried, and some condemned, upon those opinions that were afterwards reckoned among the chief grounds of our separating from the Church of Rome. It seemed a necessary introduction to my work, to open this as I found it upon record. My censurer blames me for not opening more copiously what the opinions of the Lollards and the Wickliffites were: he may see in these articles that I mention what the clergy were then

charging them with, and what was confessed by those who were brought into their courts. I wrote in English for my own countrymen. There are many books that give a very particular account of Wickliffe and his followers: this being so well known, it was not necessary for me to run this matter up to its original; all that was incumbent on me was to show the present state of that party, and their opinions and sufferings, in the beginning of the reign of King Henry: so that a fair judge will not think that a few pages spent in opening this was too great an imposition on his patience, this having such a relation to my main design in writing. It is he, and not I, that has transgressed Polybius's rule: he considers these particulars as little stories, without observing the end for which I set them down, though I have made that appear so plainly, that I have more reason to complain of his sincerity than of his judgment.

His next exception is, that I give abstracts of the reasons on which the proceedings in the reformation were grounded. He thinks that in this I plead as an advocate, and do not write as a historian. I do believe there are few things in my history with which he is more displeased than this. I give no reasons of my own making, nor do I put speeches in the mouths of our reformers; though if I had done this, he knows that I could have said that I followed the precedents set me by the best writers of history both among the Greeks and the Romans. But since I was engaged to write of a reformation of errors in doctrine, and of abuses in worship and government, I must have been very defective if I had not set out the reasons upon which those of that time went, as well as I related the series of what was done by them. Both Father Paul and Cardinal Palavicini, in the histories that they wrote of the council of Trent, have related the arguments used of all sides very copiously. In political matters the chief use and beauty of history is, the laying open the secret reasons of state upon which all parties have proceeded: and certainly those who write concerning matters of religion, ought to open all that comes in their way of the grounds on which any changes were made.

He thinks all the king's reasonings for the divorce were fully answered by Queen Catherine's reasons against it. But he does not consider that he is in a communion, in which tradition is set up as that which must decide all controversies. King Henry's arguments run all upon tradition, whereas the queen pretended to no tradition, but only brought arguments of another sort, which was the way of those called hereticks: but in that matter the king insisted upon tradition, the great topic of papists. He censures me for bringing a Jew on the stage after I had set out the opinions of the universities; but it seemed very reasonable to show the notions that the Jews had of their own laws.

He returns again to reflections on the divorce of Anne of Cleve. It seems he had few things to reflect on, when in so short a paper he returns twice to the same matter. From her he passes to Anne Bullen; he fancies my whole design in writing was to establish her descent; but that I do not acquit her mother of the imputations Sanders had laid on her, nor herself of the amours in the court of France, and King Henry's ill commerce with her. If the crown of England had remained in a line derived from that queen, it might be supposed that some would have wrote on such a design; but that not being the case, there is little reason to think that any man would have given himself the trouble only on design to justify her title to the crown. I have made it fully out that a great part of Sanders's charge on her was an ill-invented calumny

to bring her right to the crown in question; and by proving some part of his relation to be false, I have destroyed the credit of the whole. I cannot be obliged to prove the negative in every particular; the proof lies upon the affirmative, and the author of a train of defamation is sufficiently disproved, when it is apparent that some parts of his relation must certainly be false. If any of these slanders had been in any sort believed in that time, there is no reason to think but the pope or the emperor would have published them; for the court of Rome kept none of the measures of common decency with the king. Nor were these things objected to Anne Bullen after that her unhappy fate gave some colour to believe everything to her prejudice. Her brother and she did both at their death deny all criminal commerce together; nor was anything proved against them, only the testimony of a dead woman was alleged to destroy them.

His last charge relates to More and Fisher; but how this comes to support his censure of my manner of writing is not so clear. I seem in these matters to write like one that intended to raise their character, rather than to depress it: nor do I justify king Henry's violencies, but set them out as there is occasion for it. More knew a law was made, requiring the subjects to swear to the king as supreme head, under the pain of perpetual imprisonment; upon which he ought to have gone out of England, since he resolved not to take the oath. Fisher knew that the nun of Canterbury had in very indecent words foretold the king's death, and had not revealed it, as he ought to have done.

He says my history reflects much on the memory of king Henry. I did not undertake to write a panegyric on him, but only to write the history of that time: in doing this, as I have discovered the injustice of many scandals that have been cast on him, so I have not spared to lay open many ill practices, when I was obliged to do it, by that impartial sincerity to which I obliged myself when I undertook that work: though he charges me as biassed by partiality, a censure I deserved not. But I do more easily submit to his charging me with my ignorance of law, and of ecclesiastical antiquity. Such general censures are little to be regarded: when he is at leisure to reckon up the particulars in which I have erred, I shall be very glad to be instructed by him. For though I have looked a little into law and ecclesiastical history, yet I value myself upon nothing but my sincerity. It is very easy to lay a detracting character in some general words upon any person. The artifice is so commonly practised, that it will not pass upon any but those who, by some prejudices, are prepared to take down everything that is boldly asserted. It seems that how great a mind soever he had to find fault, he could not find much matter for his spleen to work on, when in so short a paper he is forced to return in three several places to the article of the divorce of Anne of Cleve; and he shows such an inclination to censure, that I have no reason to think he would have spared me, if he had found greater matters to have objected to me. So all he says that seems to intimate that, must pass for words of course, which ought to make no impression.

NUMBER III.

Some Remarks sent me by an unknown Person.

KEILWAY's reports were published 1602, by Jo. Crook, who was afterwards a judge. He gives a cha-

racter of Keilway, as a lawyer of good reputation; and that he was surveyor of the courts of wards in Queen Elizabeth's reign. It appears that the king's ordering the attorney-general to confess Dr. Horsey's plea, without bringing the matter to a trial, was plainly a contrivance to please the clergy, and to stifle that matter without bringing it to a trial, and so must have satisfied them better than if he had pardoned him. Little regard is to be given to Rastall, who showed his partiality in matters in which the pope's authority was concerned; for in his edition of the statutes at large, he omitted one act of parliament made in the second year of Richard the Second, cap. 6. which is thus abridged by Poulton. Urban was duly chosen pope, and so ought to be accepted and obeyed: upon which the Lord Coke, in his Institutes, p. 274, infers, that antiently acts of parliament were made concerning the highest spiritual matters; but it seems Rastall had no mind to let that be known. He was a judge in Queen Mary's time, but went beyond sea, and lived in Flanders in Queen Elizabeth's reign, and there he wrote and printed his book of Entries.

There is a very singular instance in the Year Book, 43 Edw. III. xxxiii. 6, by which it appears, that the bishop of Litchfield was sometimes called the bishop of Chester; for a *quære impedit* was brought by the king against him called bishop of Chester: the judgment given at the end of it is, that he should go to the *great devil*. This is a singular instance of an extraordinary judgment, there being no precedent like it in all our records.

In Brook's Abridgment, Tit. Præmunire, sect. 21, it is said, that Barlow had, in the reign of Edward the VIth, deprived the dean of Wells (which was a donative), and had thereby incurred a præmunire; and that he was forced to use means to obtain his pardon: so if he had not his bishopric confirmed by a new grant of it, he must have lost it in a judgment against him in a præmunire. And if he wrote any such book, it was in order to the obtaining his pardon. Brook was Chief-justice of the Common-Pleas, in the 1st of Queen Mary: but yet it is no ways probable that Barlow wrote any such book as is mentioned p. 270 of the second volume of the History of the Reformation, for he went out of England, and came back in the first of Queen Elizabeth. He assisted in the consecration of archbishop Parker, and was made bishop of Chichester, which probably would not have been done if he had written any such book, unless he had made a public recantation of it, which I do not find that he did. So there is reason to believe that was a book put out in his name by some Papist, on design to cast a reproach on the Reformation. This is further confirmed by what I have put in the history; for by a letter of Sampson's it appears, that Barlow did feebly promise to be reconciled to the church of Rome: but it seems that was only an effect of weakness, since he quickly got beyond sea, into which the privy-council made an enquiry: that shows that he repented of that which was extorted from him.

There are in this paper some quotations out of Harmer's Specimen, on which general remarks are made, but particulars are not added. The writer of this has not thought fit to name himself to me, so I can give no other description of him but that he seems to be a person who has studied the law, and perused our historians carefully.

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